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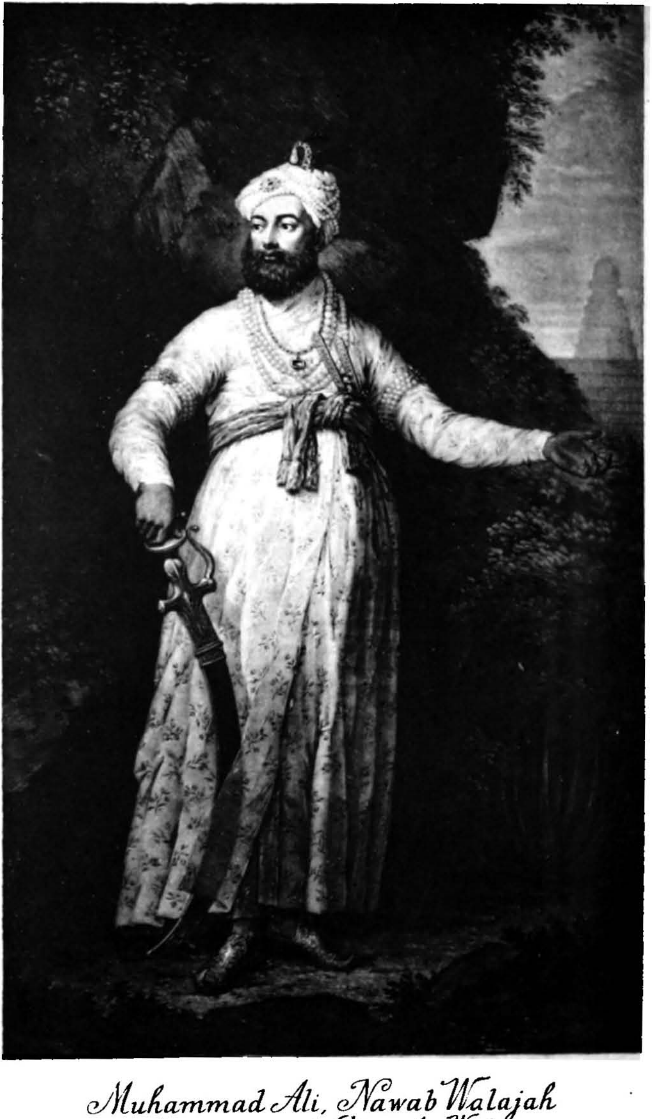
VESTIGES OF OLD MADRAS



Muhammad Ali, Nawab Walajah
from a mezzotint by Dixon after Ward

INDIAN RECORDS SERIES

VESTIGES OF OLD MADRAS

1640—1800

TRACED FROM THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RECORDS PRESERVED AT FORT ST. GEORGE AND THE INDIA OFFICE, AND FROM OTHER SOURCES

BY

HENRY DAVISON LOVE

LATE LIEUT.-COLONEL, ROYAL ENGINEERS, AND BT.-COLONEL
HON. FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

VOL. III.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

PUBLISHED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
LONDON
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> ‘I am but a gatherer and disposer of other men's stuff.’
>
> Sir Henry Wotton.

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VESTIGES OF OLD MADRAS

CHAPTER I

1770—1775

GOVERNORS DU PRÉ AND WYNCH—THE WALL TAX—WARREN HASTINGS—THE BOARD OF POLICE

GOVERNORS DU PRÉ AND WYNCH.

JOSIAS DU PRÉ was born in 1721, and joined the Madras civil service as Factor in June, 1752. Two years later he occupied the appointments of Secretary, Solicitor, and Clerk of the Peace. In 1755 he was in receipt of a salary of £15 as Factor, and of gratuities of £100 as Secretary, and £45 as Clerk of the Peace; and in 1761 we find him Tenth of Council and Import Warehousekeeper. After a period spent in England, during which he married, in 1766, Rebecca, sister of James Alexander, formerly of Madras, Du Pré returned to Fort St. George in 1768 as Second of Council, and on the 31st January, 1770, he succeeded Mr. Charles Bourchier as Governor.

Du Pré's rule of three years was marked by immense activity in fortification, a reform being begun by Call's successor, Colonel Ross, which ultimately led to the completion of Fort St. George in the shape it now bears. The Arsenal and General Hospital were planned and constructed, and a good and ample supply of water was led into the Fort. Recognizing the Nawab as a sovereign prince, the British Government sent out a Plenipotentiary who was independent of the Company. The evils of divided authority soon became apparent, but the influence and, it may be added, the indebtedness of the Nawab were vastly increased. The construction of garden houses near the Mount Road and in Egmore by civil servants and others was undertaken on a large scale, and ground was acquired with avidity. All these matters are dealt with in the following pages. Another feature of Du Pré's period was the improvement of the position of the Company's senior servants by the augmentation of their allowances. It may be remembered that, though the Governor's salary had been increased in Mr. Pigot's time from £300 to £3,000 per annum, the case of the members of Council was deferred for future consideration. In 1768 the Directors assigned a sum of Pags. 60,000 a year from the territorial revenues,[1] to be divided in fixed proportions among the senior civil and military servants as gratuities in addition to their fixed salaries. Two years later the system was modified to one of payment by results, the divisible sum being fixed at 5 per cent. of the net territorial revenue:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

(*Mad. Desp.*, vol. iv., 23rd March, 1770.)

'And as We have thought it necessary, for the greater Security of the Company's Possessions, and the better discipline of their Forces, to augment the number of Field Officers on your Establishment, It is become expedient for Us to make a new and certain disposition of the shares to be divided amongst our principal Civil and Military Servants. We therefore hereby direct that from the Amount of a Commission of 5 per Cent. on your Nett Territorial Revenues . . . one Twenty fourth part be first drawn, and paid as a separate Share to Major General Coote, Commander in Chief of all the Company's Forces in India; And that, after such Deduction, the residue of the said Commission be divided into 100 parts or Shares, which parts or Shares are to be appropriated in the following manner, vizt:—

To the Governor, 21 shares
Second of Council, 5½ shares
Rest of the Council (not having a Chiefship, as far as the Establishment of 12 Members of Council), each 2½ shares.
Brigadier General Joseph Smith as First Colonel, 11 shares.
The other Colonels, 8 shares, to be divided in equal proportions amongst them.
The Lieut. Colonels, 12½ shares, to be equally divided amongst them.
The Majors 6¼ shares, to be equally divided amongst them.'[2]

Under this scheme the Governor's share of commission works out at approximately 1 per cent. of the revenue. As his share for the six months ending 25th September, 1775, was Pags. 7,856,[3] it follows that the net annual territorial revenue of Madras at that time was about 15½ lakhs of pagodas, or £620,000.

---

[1] *Mad. Desp.*, vol. iv., 25th March, 1768.

[2] The balance of 5¾ shares seems to be unallotted.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxiv., 20th Dec., 1775.

The following private letter shows that Du Pré's path, even at the outset, was not strewn with roses:—

Josias Du Pré to Robert Orme.

'Never was any Galley Slave so totally oppressed and worn down with fatigue as I am. I have not a Moments rest, and my Constitution is so much impaired by incessant Application that I think it will be impossible for me to hold out much longer, nor have I any Encouragement. The Company use Us very ill: We cannot do a single Act to please them: every thing is wrested to our disadvantage. They send Us out an Officer[1] as Commander in Chief who, when he was in India before, Quarrelled continually with both Presidencys where he served. They raise his Ideas of his own Importance, give him undefined powers, and here he comes, sets himself above Controul, quarells with Us, and throws every thing into Confusion; and now he is gone to Bengal where, my word for it, if they do not let him rule and do as he pleases, they will not be long in peace with him.

'The Government send out Sir John Lindsay with plenipotentiary powers to threaten and Awe Us, but We will not be awed into a complyance with his demands. Nevertheless he protects the most Virtuous Nabob, than whom I believe no Devil has a blacker Heart, and under that Sanction our Measures are thwarted, and what the Consequences may be, God knows. Tis impossible for a Government to be more distressed. Every Man's hand is against Us, threatened by foreign and Domestick Enemys, and the Company at home in such a humor that We are almost certain to be blamed, do what We will. If We take the Nabobs Line, it is contrary to the Doctrine that was adopted yesterday at home. If We pursue this last, the Nabob and Sir John Lindsay stand ready to heap all the Sinister Events upon our Shoulders, and We dare not entertain a hope of Support in Leadenhall Street. Dont you think I have a comfortable prospect before me? I expect the Morattas in January. The French are Augmenting their Forces at Pondichery, and the Soubah[2] threatens in the North. A dreadfull famine has raged in Bengal, and is succeeded by so Sickly a Season that the Ships cannot Sail for want of hands.

'May Health and happiness attend you. I am, Dear Sir, Your most Obedient Servant. Jos. Du Pré.' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. xxx., 4th Oct., 1770.)

Governor Du Pré resigned on the 1st February, 1773, in favour of Mr. Alexander Wynch, when he returned to England, and took up his residence at Wilton Park, Bucks.

Some details of Mr. Wynch's early career have already been mentioned. He came out to India very young, and in 1734, at the tender age of thirteen,[3] was employed as an unpaid assistant in the Secretary's office. He became a salaried monthly writer in 1738,[1] and, with the approval of the Directors, was brought on the permanent establishment in 1740. In 1743 he was at Fort St. David, and in the following year was Secretary and Sixth of Council at that station, and Sea and Land Customer at Tevnapatam, all his duties being remunerated by an official salary of £5 per annum. He remained at Fort St. David until the rendition of Madras, when he was appointed one of the commissaries under Boscawen to receive the place from the French. In 1754 we find him Ninth of Council and Storekeeper at Fort St. George. When the expedition to Bengal was undertaken, Wynch officiated for Clive as Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. His share in the subsequent capitulation to the French, his resignation, and return to England, have been already mentioned. After a long interval he was reappointed to the service by the Directors, and he returned to India in July, 1768. In 1770 we find him Chief at Masulipatam, and in 1773 he became Governor of Madras. As in the time of his predecessor, the development of the fortifications and the migration of Europeans to the suburbs of Madras are noticeable features of his period of rule; but the most memorable event, and one that had far-reaching consequences, was the conquest of Tanjore, the deposition of the Rajah, and the transfer of his state to the Nawab. This action was disapproved by the Directors, who sent out Lord Pigot to supersede Mr. Wynch, and restore to the Rajah his dominions. Pigot arrived on the 9th December, 1775, and assumed charge of the Government on the following day.

---

[1] Eyre Coote.

[2] The Nizam.

[3] The Lists of Civil Servants of 1754 and 1757 give his age as 33 and 36 respectively; those of 1770 and 1773 as 48 and 50. The earlier figures are considered the more trustworthy.

Little is known of Alexander Wynch's subsequent career. In February, 1776, Pigot's Council recommended the late President's son, John Wynch, for appointment to the civil service,[2] and about the same time the Directors wrote that, 'in consideration of the long services of the late Governor Wynch, We have permitted his Son, Mr. John Wynch, who is a Native of Madras, and now residing there under our License, to continue at your Presidency as a Free Merchant.'[3] John Wynch, however, was then no free merchant, but an Ensign in the 1st Madras European

[1] In 1739 Wynch received a sum of Pags. 50 for transcribing St. Mary's Church Register from October, 1680, on parchment. This work is still preserved.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii.*a*, 14th Feb., 1776.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxix., 25th March, 1776.

Regiment, whence he was transferred to the civil service from the 4th September, 1775.[1] William and George Wynch, who entered the civil service in 1766 and 1773 respectively, were also sons of the late Governor, and Alexander Wynch, jun., Captain in the 2nd European Regiment, is believed to have been another son. In August, 1782, John Wynch resigned on receipt of news of his father's death.[2] The event occurred in May, 1781, when William and George Wynch were already in England.

THE WALL TAX.

When the construction of the Black Town rampart was determined on, the Government resolved to meet the cost by assessment on the inhabitants:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board much approve of the Method proposed by Mr. Call for fortifying the Black Town: and with regard to the Manner of raising the Sum for defraying the Expence thereof, they are of Opinion that the most reasonable and equitable way will be by making an assessment on every House, Garden and Spot of Ground within the Walls, according to the Value thereof, and which will also enable Us to ascertain with more Certainty the Quit Rent and Scavinger's Duty. It is therefore resolved that Mr. Marsden[3] and Mr. Macklin,[4] under the direction of the Committee of Works, be instructed to take a regular Survey of each Street, to number each House, Garden and Spot of Ground, specifying the name of the Proprietor and the value thereof, and to affix a Board at the Corner of every Street with the Name of such Street wrote in English and Malabar. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 27th March, 1769.)

Lieut. Marsden sent in his report in December. He valued the 48 streets, alleys, and lanes in Muthialpetta at Pags. 351,598, the 108 in Peddanaikpetta at Pags. 671,204, and the 'Pariar chary' at Pags. 5,350. He drew attention to encroachments on the streets 'by the Botiques of private People,' to the defective drains, which he had ordered to be covered in at the expense of the town, and to the damage to the thoroughfares due to flood-water.

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[1] *M. Ord. Bk.*, vol. i., 5th Sept., 1775.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxvii., 9th Aug., 1782.

[3] Lieut. Thomas Marsden, of the Engineers, entered the service as Ensign in 1767. He died at Tripassore in 1771.

[4] Christopher Macklin, the head bricklayer, arrived in Madras in April, 1746, and was shortly afterwards made prisoner by the French. He became the owner of house property in Fort St. George, and retired to England in 1774, after twenty-seven years' service.

The Government remarked that, the valuation being only Pags. 1,028,000, no reasonable assessment would immediately produce the sum of Pags. 150,000, the estimated cost of the rampart. They accordingly resolved to advance the requisite funds from the Treasury. They proceeded:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'This determin'd, the method of reimbursing such Sums becomes the Subject of Consideration, and after duly weighing every Argument, the Board came to the following Resolution as the most reasonable and least burthensome to the Inhabitants.

'Resolved that the present Mode of Taxation called the Quit Rent be abolished, and that in lieu thereof a Tax of 2 per Cent on the Valuation of the Houses and Grounds, as now before the Board, be levied for the first three Years, and one per Cent every Year afterwards. That the said Tax be collected every Six Months from the 1st Instant, and that the Collector, in the General Books, be called *Collector of the Town Wall Tax.*

'Agreed that Mr. Henry Brooke[1] be collector of the said Tax: that he do continue also to collect the tax hitherto called the Quit Rent on the Houses within the Walls of the Fort, but that, instead of being called Rental General as heretofore, he be stiled *Collector of the Fort Land Tax.*' (*P.C.*, vol. ciii., 18th Jan., 1770.)

It was estimated that the cost of the defences would be recouped in twelve years.[2]

The Committee of Works, when forwarding Marsden's report, made recommendations on two other points:—

The Committee of Works to the President and Council.

'As We conceive it to be a part of our Duty not only to point out to your Honor, &c., all such alterations and Improvements as may be made in the public Buildings, but also such as appear to Us useful and necessary for the convenience of the Black Town in general, We think it falls within our Province to mention that there is a piece of low marchy Ground[3] running almost North and South through the Black Town, from the Pettah Bridge to the Bound hedge between Mootal Pettah and Pede Naigue's Pettah, which serves as a receptacle for all the Filth and Nastiness of the Town, and thereby becomes a Nuisance to the Inhabitants. But as We imagine this inconvenience may easily be remedied and converted to an Advantage, We humbly propose that a Canal of 40 feet broad and six feet deep be cut from the Extremity of the Esplanade to the South end of Padré Thomas's Garden. The Ground on each side, being raised by the Earth taken out of the Excavation of the Canal, would not only be a great ornament to the Town, but become useful for Cultivation of Paddy Gardens or for Buildings. Should your Honour, &c., approve of this very necessary Improvement, We would humbly recommend as the most ready way to get it accomplish'd without any great Expence to' the Company or Individuals, that public Notice be given that whoever will undertake to make the Canal should be entitled to all the Ground on each Side clear of the public road, which we do not believe exceeds 60 feet in any part. . . .

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[1] Henry Brooke, who was also Garrison Storekeeper and Sea Customer, entered the service in 1751. He married Miss Mary Allbeary in 1764.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxvi., 31st Jan., 1770.

[3] The site of the present Popham's Broadway. The scheme of drainage adumbrated above was carried out by Stephen Popham in 1786.

'When the Fortifications round the Black Town are compleated, it will undoubtedly be necessary to have a free and easy Communication all round within the Ramparts from the Sea Side to Hog Hill, not only for the passage of Troops but also for Carriages. . . . It has therefore occurr'd to Us that there ought to be a clear space of at least 50 Feet all round, which should be provided for as the Works are carrying on; and We are of opinion that this may be accomplished, and a good road made and kept in repair by advertising publickly that any Person who will undertake it shall have a grant of the property of the Ground for 20 Feet broad out of the 50 furthest from the Ramparts, with liberty to cultivate or plant a double row of Coconut or other fruit Trees on each side on the said space of 20 Feet, and to enjoy the produce thereof for ever.' (*P.C.*, vol. ciii., 18th Jan., 1770.)

After learning Captain Montresor's views, the Government resolved to defer the drainage question till Black Town Wall should be completed.[1] The road within the line of fortifications was made, though probably not by the means proposed, for that part of it which bounds Black Town on the west is still called 'Wall Tax Road.' The tax, however, was never collected.[2] Du Pré announced, in March, 1771, that he had received from Bengal a copy of an opinion of Mr. Sayer, the Company's Standing Counsel, 'declaring expressly that the Company have not any power of taxing the Inhabitants.'[3] The Government were profoundly perplexed. The opinion had reached them unofficially, but reading it in the light of a recent Act of Parliament which rendered the Company's servants liable to prosecution in the Court of King's Bench for any oppression of the people, they thought it would be unsafe to collect the Wall Tax without special instructions from home. They decided, however, that immemorial practice would justify them in claiming Quit Rent and Scavenger's Duty. The incidence of Quit Rent was partial in the Fort, but universal outside it:—

---

[1] *P.C.*, vol. ciii., 24th March, 1770. Montresor had temporarily succeeded Call.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 28th Feb., 1772.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cv., 19th March, 1771.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Term Quit rent implies a small reserved Rent as an Acknowledgment of the Lordship of the Soil. . . . The Quit rent in the White Town or Fort has been properly a Quit Rent or reserved Rent collected without Variation from time immemorial on certain Ground Plots, tho' We know not by what Reservation. It is true that such Acknowledgement has not been made by all who hold Ground within the Town, as many Spots have been sold, particularly in what is called the New Ground in the South West Quarter of the Fort, without any Reservation of Quit Rent; but the Board are of Opinion that, the Ground having been so sold, no Quit Rent should be demanded, and that upon the old Houses so much only precisely be levied as has been heretofore paid.' (*P.C.*, vol. cv., 29th March, 1771.)

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Every Hour is productive of fresh Embarassments. We are surrounded with Difficulties and Dangers, and every action is become so subject to misrepresentation that what before appeared as Trifles seem now Matters of real Importance, in which our Characters and Fortunes are so much at Stake that the utmost Caution is necessary on every Occasion. Your Orders for almost a Century past have strongly recommended the fortifying the Black Town, and that an Assessment should be levied on the Inhabitants to defray, in part at least, the Charges of erecting the same. The Equity of such repayment we were fully convinced of, and We did not hesitate to determine on the Tax above mentioned: but now We know not what to say. On considering the subject, the President delivered to Us the Opinion of Mr. Sayer, your Standing Council, lately transmitted from Bengal, wherein he expressly declares that the Company have not any Power of taxing the Inhabitants. We turned also to the last Act of Parliament received by the Dolphin, which makes Your Servants liable to Prosecution in the Court of King's Bench, and it became a doubt whether the levying such Tax might not (however equitable in Our Opinion) be deemed an oppression, and fall under the Intent of the Act. . . . We are unanimously of opinion that the Wall tax ought not to be collected without Your express Orders, and We shall therefore wait Your Decision. In the mean time We shall continue to collect the Quit Rent and Scavinger's Duty. Even this may be dangerous, but We must abide by the Consequences, for if We were to manifest to the Colony a doubt of Our power to collect such Rates as the Scavinger's and Quit Rent, which have been collected ever since the Settlement has had existance, and thereby convince them of the real Dangers which We think We are exposed to, Anarchy must ensue: for the Usages of this Settlement have in a great many other Instances, as far as We know, been unsupported by the express Letter of the Laws of England. We know not for example by what express Law We Collect Sea and Land Customs and Juncans, or Levy a tax on Beetle and Tobacco, &c. We must therefore at all Perils continue, notwithstanding Mr. Sayers Opinion, in the old Usages until some new and Legal System be adopted.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xxvi., 25th March, 1771.)

To check the encrcachments which were taking place 'not in the Black Town only . . . but on every Road and in every

Village about the Environs,' the appointment of Superintendent of Lands was created, and conferred on a young civilian named Eyles Irwin. He was to receive the plan of the Black Town made by Mr. Marsden,[1] but as the drawing proved to have been lost, Captain Pittman, of the Engineers, was directed to make a fresh survey of that area.[2]

Instructions to Mr. Eyles Irwin.

> 'The Board have thought proper to appoint you Superintendant of the Land and Grounds belonging to the Town of Madras, St. Thome, Chipauk and the Environs. . . .
>
> 'You are to take a particular and distinct Account of every Lot of Ground within the Town and Limits aforesaid, specifying the name and the present and former Proprietors of each, the Quantity of Ground in each Lot, the Nature and Application of it, with the Buildings thereon, the Date and Number of the Choultry Bill or Bills of Sale, or such other Deeds or Proofs as authenticate the Right of Possession. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cvi., 23rd Sept., 1771.)

WARREN HASTINGS.

Warren Hastings was a member of the Madras Council from September, 1769, to February, 1772. As is well known, he joined the civil service in 1750, and spent the next fourteen years in Bengal. When Calcutta was taken he was imprisoned at Murshidabad, but was soon afterwards liberated. In 1761 he was called to Vansittart's Council, and at the end of 1764 left for England. Five years later he was re-employed by the Directors, and sent to Madras. Hastings arrived in the *Duke of Grafton* on the 3rd September, 1769, and took his seat on the following day[3] as Third Member of Council on a salary of £40 per annum. Within a few months Du Pré succeeded Bourchier as Governor, when Hastings became Second Member, Export Warehouse-keeper, Commissary General and Agent for supplying the Army, on a salary of £100 and gratuity of £2,300.[4] He took an active part in the proceedings of the Board of Police, was a member of the Select Committee and the Committee of Works, and did much to develop the resources of Madras. To him is due the earliest suggestion for providing the port with a pier. It was made in a private letter to his brother-in-law, Mr. Woodman, which is now preserved in the British Museum:—

---

[1] *P.C.*, vol. cvi., 20th Sept., 1771.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cvii., 17th Jan., 1772. Captain Philip Pittman married Miss Honora Dawkes in 1772, and died three years later.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. xxxiv., 4th Sept., 1769.

[4] List of Company's Servants, *P.C.*, vol. civ., 31st Dec., 1770.

Warren Hastings to John Woodman.

'My dear Brother, I have occasion to address you again upon a subject in which I hope to meet with assistance from you rather than from any other of my correspondents. It is this. The surf rises so high continually upon this Shore as to make the Landing always troublesome and often dangerous. Now, I have conceived it possible to carry out a Causeway or pier into the Sea beyond the Surf, to which boats might come and land their goods or passengers without being exposed to the Surf. I have heard that the Surf at Margate is as great as that of this Coast. There such a pier has been constructed. I have sent enclosed the Proposition for such a work, with an account of the Depth of water and other particulars necessary to form a Judgement of the Design, which I beg the Favor of you to shôw to Mr. Brindley, and desire his opinion whether such a work is practicable, and by what Means it can be effected. I should be obliged to you if you would obtain the opinion of Mr. Smeaton or Mr. Mylne also upon it, or any other person capable of giving a proper judgment of it. I believe it is usual to consult these people upon subjects of this kind, and to fee them for it, because I recollect an Advertisement of Smeaton's (I think) to this purpose. I have left out the name of the place, which is not necessary, and would not have you mention it.

'If I thought you would regret the trouble which I am imposing upon you, I would make an Apology for it, but I know you will undertake it chearfully. Yours most affectionately, W. HASTINGS.' (*Hastings Papers*, vol. i., 7th April, 1770.)

Mr. Woodman replied at great length in December, forwarding designs for construction in masonry or timber, but advising the use of the former material. He had consulted the Surveyor at Ramsgate, and sent plans of the harbour at that port, with details of the methods employed. He recommended the sinking of caissons supported by piling, and described the use of the pile-engine as practised at Blackfriars Bridge.

Owing perhaps to Hastings' transfer, no action was taken at Fort St. George, and although Captain George Baker had ideas for a structure by which water for shipping could be delivered outside the surf, it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that Madras was provided with its first pier.

As Export Warehousekeeper, Hastings introduced reform in the mode of making 'the Investment'—that is, of procuring textiles for export. He abolished the ancient institution of Company's Merchants. These persons, in return for cash advances, contracted to deliver goods into the warehouse of specified muster at stated rates, but their business with the weavers was done through brokers. Hastings appointed Gomastahs to perambulate the country, personally visit the looms, and make advances to the weavers, partly in material and partly in money. Each account was settled when the succeeding advance was made. The system was introduced in May, 1771.[1] Some modifications were afterwards effected, but they proved unsatisfactory, and Hastings' plan was reverted to in 1776.[2]

Hastings seems to have occupied two houses successively in the Fort. In March, 1770, Du Pré stated that a residence would be required for the Commissioners[3] who were shortly expected, and he announced that 'there is now to be procured the House and Godown which Mr. Hastings has rented evêr since his arrival at the same Price as paid by Mr. Hastings, being 108 Pagodas per month.[4] Early in 1772, when about to leave Madras, Hastings offered to sell the Company his house in Church Street for Pags. 4,000.[5] The Church Street of this period, sometimes called Church Lane, was immediately south of St. Mary's, connecting St. Thomas Street with James Street.[6]

Hastings sailed for Calcutta on the 2nd February, 1772, in the snow *Minerva*. The following is his farewell letter to his late colleagues:—

Warren Hastings to the President and Council.

'I cannot quit this Board without declaring my Regret as an Individual at losing the Society of the Members who compose it. Professions of personal Attachment may seem ill suited to this place or to the Minutes of public Transactions, but may, I hope, be allowable when they proceed not so much from the Sense of personal Kindnesses received as from the Participation of the same public Labors, and of the same Zeal for the Interests of our common Employers. I feel these Sentiments encreased by the pleasing Reflexion that the Deliberations of this Board have ever been conducted with the greatest Temper, Candor, and Harmony, Qualities most essentially necessary in the Administration of all Affairs, but now especially requisite in the very delicate and critical Points which have of late engaged the attention of this Government. May the same Spirit of Concord, and the same Zeal which has hitherto exerted itself in Support of the Rights and Interests of the Company, ever continue to animate the Resolutions of this Board, and may Peace, Honor and Prosperity crown all their Labors.' (*P.C.*, vol. cvii., 31st Jan., 1772.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cv., 20th May, 1771.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxv., 22nd July, 1776.

[3] Messrs. Vansittart and Scrafton and Colonel Forde were appointed to examine all departments of the administration. They sailed from Portsmouth in the frigate *Aurora*, which was never heard of after she left the Cape in December, 1769.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. ciii., 2nd March, 1770.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. cvii., 10th June, 1772.

[6] In 1756 Alexander Wynch sold a house lying 'on the West side of St. Thomas Street Between the House of Mrs. Somerville and the End of Church Street.' (*Bill of Sale*, No. 11, 16th July, 1756.)

Under the Regulating Act of 1773, which established the control of Parliament over the Company, Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of Bengal, with a Council of four members—General Clavering and Messrs. George Monson, Richard Barwell, and Philip Francis. The Bengal Government had power to control the other presidencies in regard to war with Indian princes. A Supreme Court of Judicature, consisting of a Chief Justice and three Judges, was at the same time established at Calcutta. The complete independence of the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen ceased from 1774, when the Act came into force in India.

THE BOARD OF POLICE.

In 1770 Du Pré's Council resolved to institute a Board of Police with the objects set forth in the following consultation:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'We have indeed for some time had in View the establishing a Board of Police, foreseeing that many good Consequences must ensue, and that the good Government of the Settlement and Inhabitants cannot be attended to without it. . . .

'Resolved that the Business of the Police be preserved distinct from the other Business of the Settlement; that the Rev. Mr. Salmon[1] be desired to act as Secretary, with a Salary of £100 per annum; and that the President and Council do meet as a Board of Police the first and third Wednesdays in every Month, or oftener if Occasion be, and other Business will permit. . . .

'Misdemeanours have sometimes been punish'd in one way, sometimes in another, and oftener not at all. This Uncertainty of Controul and Difficulty of obtaining redress hath been introductive of great Abuses in almost every thing, and particularly in the Price of Provisions and Wages of Servants. But what more than all requires the attention of Government is the great Grievance which the Indian Inhabitants of this Colony have labored under. . . .; We mean the want of some Law or means whereby their differences in Matters of Property may be determined. The Charter excludes them from the Mayor's Court unless both Parties shall voluntarily submit their Disputes to its decision, very few Instances of which (if any) have occurred. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ciii., 2nd March, 1770.)

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[1] The Rev. Benjamin Salmon, one of the Chaplains.

The proceedings of the Board of Police are recorded in *Public Sundries*, vol. xvi. A few specimen extracts are here given, which illustrate the scope of the Board's work, and incidentally throw light on the conditions of life in Madras. At the first meeting, which took place on the 8th March, 1770, there were present Josias Du Pré, Warren Hastings, Samuel Ardley, Richard Brickenden, and George Mackay.

Proceedings of the Board of Police.

'The Board, being assembled, first take into their Consideration an Evil which has been long complained of, and is incessantly felt by every individual within the Garrison, and more especially in the Season of the Land Winds, and which arises from the want of a proper Pavement of the streets and other Parts.[1] The Soil on which the Fort stands being very loose and sandy, and made still more volatile by continual Tracks, is raised by the smallest Breath of Air, and carried in such clouds as renders it extreamly disagreable abroad, and is likewise very sensibly felt in all the Houses, as venetian Blinds or Rattan Shutters are generally used instead of glass windows. . . . It is agreed that the Engineer be ordered to pave such a number of yards as may enable him to make an Estimate of the Expence of paving the Fort[2] throughout.

'Resolved, in consequence of the many Inconveniences arising from the Number of Parriar Dogs which infest the Fort, that a Reward of two Fanams be offered by public Advertisement to be given to all Soldiers and others who shall bring the Carcase of a Parriar Dog to the Person appointed to take an Account of the same at the Governor's Garden House, and, on application to the Town Major, he shall receive the said Reward: and that it be desired that those who have favourite Dogs do distinguish them by Collars with their Names engraved, which are to be exempted from this Order.' (*P. Sun.*, vol. xvi., 8th March, 1770.)

A Vestry meeting was held on the following day, at which it was decided that 'the Town should be paved with Brick Rubbish in the same manner as the Flooring of St. George's Bridge.'[3] Householders were to meet the cost of portions adjacent to their property, and Government the remainder, including the parade. It was resolved further that 'public Lamps shall be erected at equal and convenient Distances before all the Houses and public Buildings of the Fort.'

At their meeting of the 28th March the Board resolved to establish a Court for determining disputes dependent on the customs of the natives, and the Committee of Works were desired to furnish a plan of, and fix a site for such a Cutcherry.[1]

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[1] Previous paving was confined to the footways.

[2] The term is here applied to the whole of the White Town as at the present day.

[3] Probably the Walajah Bridge. The bridge near Government House, however, is now called St. George's.

Proceedings of the Board of Police.

'Publick Notice having been given . . . that all persons who had anything to offer for the better regulating the affairs of the Police might send in their Representation . . ., the President informs the Board that an Inhabitant hath represented to him that he apprehends the Title or Denomination by which the President and Council distinguish their Proceedings in this Department, Viz. a Board of Police, may have a dangerous tendency, as it is an Institution unknown to the Laws of England and derived from the Laws or Institutions of a Foreign Nation. The Board is of Opinion that the Objection is trivial: the word imports no more than the Government of a Town or City as far as respects the Inhabitants, and whether the word be derived from the French or any other Language is of little Consequence. However the Board think it proper to take Notice of the Objection made to it, that the Court of Directors may have the most minute Information as well of our Proceedings as of the Opinion and Sense of the Inhabitants or any leading Members amongst them.' (*P. Sun.*, vol. xvi., 18th April, 1770.)

Proceedings of the Board of Police.

'The want of a sufficient and reasonable Supply of all kinds of Provisions in the Markets appears to be the first and most considerable [need], and more especially in the Article of Fish, none or very little being at any Time procurable till very late in the Evening, and that very dear. Which Grievance appears the harder, as this is a Sea Port Town, and it is well known that the Road abounds with a greatest Plenty of Fish, much more than is sufficient for the Consumption of all the Inhabitants, were they not debarred from the Benefit of it by some Impediments. . . .' (*P. Sun.*, vol. xvi., 10th April, 1770.)

Before proceeding with the questions of provisions and servants, the Board invited the inhabitants to meet at the Admiralty, and elect a standing committee of five persons to assist them. The Committee consisted of Messrs. Nicholas Morse, John Hollond, Stephen Briggs, George Smith, and John De Fries.[2] The following rates and rules for servants were proposed by the Committee, and adopted:—

Proceedings of the Board of Police.

'*Regulations . . . concerning the Hire of Servants and other Hire Men.*

Butler, per Month - - - - - -	1½ Pags. to 3 Pags.
Second Dubash - - - - - -	1 „ to 1½ „

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[1] *Cutcherry*, from Hind. *kachahri*, an office of administration, a court-house.

[2] Nicholas Morse survived until 1772; John Hollond was a civil servant dating from 1760; Stephen Briggs was senior Presidency Surgeon; and George Smith and John De Fries were free merchants.

Cooks	1 Pag.	to 2 Pags.
Peons	1 „	—
Compradores[1]	1 „	—
Roundell Boys	1 „	—
Palankeen Boys	1 „	—
Horsekeeper	1 „	to 2 Pags.
Boy	20 Fan.	to 30 Fan.
Grass Cutter	30 „	—
Washerman	15 „	to 2½ Pags.
Ironing Man	12 „	to 1½ „
Shaving Barber	6 „	to 20 Fan.
Hair Dresser	12 „	to 1 Pag.
Water Woman	12 „	to 21 Fan.
Toties[2]	6 „	to 12 „

Women.

The Head Servant, or those who can do Needle Work	1½ Pags.
Common House Servants (with half a measure of Rice per day, together with the usual allowance of Curry cash)	1 Pag.

'The Masters of Palankeen Bearers and the other Tribes or Casts of Pariah Servants shall pay one Fanam monthly for each Servant to the Heads of the respective Casts, who, in Consideration thereof, shall be answerable for their forthcoming, for any Money advanced them not exceeding two Months' Wages agreable to these Regulations, and for their Cloathing; and out of the above Allowance the Heads of the Casts shall each employ a Conicopilla, who shall keep a register of all such Persons employed. And in case any Inhabitant shall refuse to pay the same, he shall not be entitled to any of the Benefits pointed out by these Regulations.

'Any Person wanting a Pariah Servant of whatever Denomination shall apply to the Head of the Cast, who shall provide the servant required.

'Any Servant desirous of quitting his Service shall give a Month's warning, and in like manner any Master having to dismiss a Servant shall give a Month's warning or a Month's Wages, except when a Servant hath just Cause of Complaint against his Master, or the Master against his Servant, in which Cases, on Application to the Magistrate, the Servant will of Course receive his immediate Discharge or Dismission, with such further Redress or Chastisement as the Nature of the Case shall require. . . .' (*P. Sun.*, vol. xvi., 18th June, 1770.)

The Standing Committee advised that lamps should be set up 30 yards apart on posts 10 feet above ground. In the following list King's Street, St. George's Street, and Hanover Square, all in the new part of the Fort, are mentioned for the first time:—

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[1] *Compradore*, from Port. *comprador*, purchaser, a servant who went to market and kept accounts.

[2] *Toty*, a sweeper.

Proceedings of the Board of Police.

(*P. Sun.*, vol. xvi., 27th June, 1770.)

'The number of Lamps to be fixed in the following streets :—

Middle Gate [Street]	16	Lamps.
Choultry Gate [Street]	12	,,
Gloucester Alley	5	,,
York Street	6	,,
Gloucester Street	9	,,
King's Street[1]	21	,,
St. George's Street[2]	8	,,
Fort Square, out and inside	30	,,
For the Parade	6	,,
Church, Company's Godown	8	,,
Sea Gate and Lines	12	,,
Charles Street	16	,,
St. James's Street[3]	16	,,
St. Thomas's Street	16	,,
Under the South Curtain	7	,,
Hanover Square[4]	16	,,
Portuguese Square and Passage	10	,,
Church Row[5]	10	,,
From Mr. Stratton's House to Mr. Adams's House[6]	3	,,
Total Number of Lamps	227	

Proceedings of the Board of Police.

'Agreed That a public Market be erected upon the Beach to the Southward of the Fort between the Sea and the River, to consist of three Seperate Sheds of Palmyra Trees with a Covering of Thatch ; One for Flesh, One for Fish, and the third for Greens, Fruit and other Articles of Provisions ; and that the Engineer be directed to set about them immediately.' (*P. Sun.*, vol. xvi., 3rd Sept., 1770.)

The Police Board was dissolved on the 18th March, 1771, after having been a year in existence :—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Your Honors were advised . . . that We had formed ourselves into a Board of Police with our Reasons for that Institution. We now transmit to you a copy of our Proceedings, and should be happy could We at the same time inform you that they had been productive of any beneficial Effect. We entered upon this Business with very sanguine Hopes, and with a Zeal animated by the Prospect of becoming instrumental in promoting the Ease and Happiness of the People residing under your Protection, the encrease of the Inhabitants, and with it that of your Revenues; and for some time We prosecuted it with an incessant and Laborious Attention. But various Causes have contributed to obstruct, to discourage, and finally to put an End to our Enquiries. As we proceeded, we discovered that We wanted Power to enforce even the most necessary of our Regulations, that the Obedience to them must be gratuitous, and any Authority used in enforcing them liable to opposition, Prosecution and presentments. We are indeed apprehensive that many of the Powers which have been exercised by this Government ever since its first Establishment, tho' never hitherto disputed, and essentially necessary to good Order and Peace of the Community, yet want the Sanction of British legal Authority. . . .

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[1] *King's Street.* Probably an alternative name for Palace Street.

[2] *St. George's Street.* The street leading from the parade to the west gate.

[3] *St. James's Street.* The Committee lost sight of the name origin of James Street.

[4] *Hanover Square.* A residential square in the south-west angle.

[5] *Church Row.* A crossway by St. Mary's connecting St. Thomas Street with Charles Street.

[6] George Stratton, a member of Council, and Reynold Adams, Master Attendant.

'These difficulties should not have hindered Us from persevering in the Work We had begun, had not our time and Attention been wholly engrossed by Affairs of Infinitely greater Importance to the Interest of our Employers. Our Idea of the Utility of the System which we were Labouring to Establish, and our hopes of effectual support in perfecting it, very much changed by the Advises received by the Mansfield and the new prospects opened by the arrival of his Majesty's Plenipotentiary. Deprived of the Confidence of our Employers, engaged in Contests with the Nabob, with General Coote, with Sir John Lindsay, on Subjects the most Interesting to your Property, to your Government, and, as We apprehend, to the very being of the Company, Obnoxious in every Step We took to popular Clamors, to the wrath of Government, perhaps to Parliamentary Impeachment, and even to your Displeasure, how was it possible for Us to attend to the internal Regulation of the Colony while so many external Damages beset Us all around? A Persuit of this kind is only sutable to a state of Quiet and Established Security. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxvii., 25th March, 1771.)

CHAPTER II

1770—1775

THE FORTIFICATIONS

On Colonel Call's retirement, Captain Henry Montresor officiated as Chief Engineer. He advised the immediate reconstruction of Pigot's and Lawrence's Bastions, and the enlargement of the ravelin between them, as recommended by his predecessor. His estimate amounted to Pags. 143,500 :—

Captain Montresor to Government.

'I think it my duty to lay before you the Plans of such Works as appear to me necessary to be undertaken in the course of the ensuing Year, for your Honor, &c.'s approbation.

'The first and most essential Objects are the rebuilding Pigot's and Lawrence's Bastions and erecting St. George's Ravelin, Pigot's Bastion being in so ruinous a condition as daily to threaten falling into the Ditch, and Lawrence's but little better. . . .

'As a convenient place for a Hospital (to be used only in time of a Siege) is much wanted in the Fort, I humbly recommend to your Honor, &c., that Pigot's Bastion be appropriated to that purpose. . . .

'The inconvenience that many of the Honble Company's Civil Servants labor under by the scarcity of Apartments induces me to propose to your Honor, &c., that the Rooms on the South side of the Fort Square, now used as an Armoury and working Shops, be fitted up for them, and that a proper place be erected in the Artillery Park where the Arms and other Stores may with more security and convenience be lodged. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol xxxvi., 16th July, 1770.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'We cannot without the greatest concern observe the very ruinous and defenceless state of the Works on the West Front, which can only be imputed to the foundations,[1] which were laid before Mr. Robins' arrival in India, and might perhaps have answered the purposes then intended. But when Mr. Brohier had afterward's charge of the Works, it certainly rested on him to ascertain whether they were sufficient for the Superstructure he erected thereon. It appears they were by no means so; but Mr. Brohier not only did not strengthen them, but by taking away great quantities of Earth from the foundation and the whole bottom of the Ditch, in order to deepen it and therewith to raise the Rampart, removed what little support the foundation had; and the Wall of the Scarp being laid in Mud, it is more amazing that it has stood so long than that it should now be in danger of falling. It is however necessary something should be done to put the West Front in a state of defence; and as any repairs that could be made would be only temporary, and the expence thereof, although considerable, would be thrown away, since both Pigot's and Lawrence's Bastions must in the end be taken entirely down, the Board are of opinion that it will be most advisable to build the whole at once in the most durable manner. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 16th July, 1770.)

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[1] The foundations had been laid by Mr. Joseph Smith.

Before anything could be done, Montresor was superseded by a permanent Chief Engineer from England.[1] Patrick Ross, who was destined to carry out the final reconstruction of Fort St. George, was commissioned a Lieutenant Fireworker, Royal Artillery, in 1757 at the age of seventeen, and became a Practitioner Engineer and Ensign, Royal Engineers, in 1758. In company with Archibald Campbell, afterwards Governor of Madras, he served at Guadeloupe and Martinique, and, like Campbell, he held an ensigncy of foot simultaneously with his Engineer commission. Ross was employed in the West Indies for several years, certainly until 1765, when we find him reporting on the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent. Following in the footsteps of Campbell, whose services had been placed at the disposal of the East India Company for employment as Chief Engineer of Bengal, Ross was nominated in 1770 to the corresponding command in Madras with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Service in India compelled him, under the rules of 1771, to resign his commission in the Royal Engineers; but he remained Chief Engineer of Madras for upwards of thirty-two years. To him Fort St. George owed its final reform and ultimate completion. The history of the long process is recounted in subsequent pages. Suffice it to say here that Patrick Ross became Colonel, Madras Engineers, in 1794, and Major-General in 1796. He retired on the 1st January, 1803, and died in Harley Street some eighteen months later. His war services included Martinique and Guadeloupe in 1759, Dominica 1761, Carnatic

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[1] Montresor was transferred to the native infantry in 1772. He died at Tanjore in the following year. (*Conolly MS. Papers.*)

1771-73, Cape 1781, Cuddalore 1783, and Mysore and Seringapatam 1791-92.[1]

On Lieutenant-Colonel Ross's arrival in Madras in September, 1770, his attention was of course directed to the west front. Instead of the renewal of the bastions and enlargement of the ravelin, he proposed a complete change of trace, which was ultimately adopted, and converted the fortress from a half-decagon into a semi-octagon.[2] He advocated the abolition of the two decayed bastions, and the prolongation of the North-East and South-West Curtains to meet in one large bastion on the site of the existing ravelin. By this proposal the three faces of the west front would be reduced to two, and the works simplified. His scheme also involved the enlargement of the Nabob's Bastion. Colonel Ross submitted a report to the Directors on the 23rd March, 1771, accompanied by two alternative plans, the first providing a bastion with subsidiary works, the second without. Call's design was forwarded at the same time. The report has not been preserved at Fort St. George, and the plans are not to be found at the India Office, but later documents indicate the nature of the proposals.

Ross was anxious to begin work on the west front without delay, to complete the Spur at the north-east angle of the Fort, and to start a similar advanced work before the south-east angle; and he proposed to utilize Benfield's services. The Government, however, determined to await orders from home before undertaking any permanent works.[3] In the meantime Ross accompanied General Joseph Smith in his first expedition against Tanjore. The Chief Engineer conducted the siege, and was wounded in the face.

In 1772 a survey of the Madras Esplanade[4] was prepared, showing some minor encroachments which had been made on the limits determined by Pigot and Call. Instructions were given to set up six boundary stones. Four of these stones may still be seen in China Bazar, viz., at Parry's Corner, Kondi Cheṭṭi Street,

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[1] *Conolly MS. Papers.*

[2] For an understanding of the work executed by Colonel Ross reference should be made to the plan entitled *Fort St. George as Completed.*

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cv., 17th June and 12th July, 1771.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cvii., 29th May, 1772, and *P.C.*, vol. cviii., 14th Aug., 1772. The plans have not been preserved.

Stringer Street, and Badriah Street. Each consists of a masonry obelisk about 15 feet in height. Built into the square base is a tablet of black stone inscribed in raised letters '*Boundary of the Esplanade, 1st January,* 1773.' An additional obelisk, without inscription, at the corner of Popham's Broadway, was probably erected later, when that thoroughfare came into being.

In 1772 the Committee of Stores reported[1] that the ordnance available in the Fort, in the event of siege, consisted of 424 pieces, viz:—

Mortars 13, 10, 8 and 5½ inch	85
Howitzers 8 and 5½ inch	18
Iron Guns 42, 32, 24, 18 and 12 pr.	275
Brass Guns 12, 6 and 3 pr.	46

At the same time they enumerated the works to be armed. The list is here given, as it indicates the state of the fortress prior to the final phase of development which Colonel Ross eventually completed:—

'Demi Bastion.
North East Redout.
Blind before the North East Bastion.
North East Bastion.
Royal Bastion.
North Ravelin.
The 2 Flanks in the Ditch.
North Curtain.
Middle Gate Chevalier[2] and North Gate Curtain.
The two Chevaliers.
Mint Bastion.
North West Curtain.
North West Ravelin.
Pigot's Bastion.
West Curtain.
St. George's Ravelin.
Lawrence Bastion.
South West Curtain.
South West Ravelin.
Nabob's Bastion.
South Curtain.
Charles Bastion.
St. Thomas's Bastion.
St. Thomas's CounterGuard.
South Lunets of Ravelin.[3]
The West Detached Redout.[4]
Sea Gate Battery.
North East Spur.
South East Spur.'

Having asked for copies of his predecessors' reports on the fortifications, Ross was informed that, as the Engineers had addressed the Court direct, no copies were found in the records. The Government desired that, for the future, Colonel Ross would preserve copies of all his communications to them or to the Directors.[5]

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. xlii., 29th June, 1772.

[2] *Chevalier*, cavalier, a portion of rampart higher than the general line.

[3] The Tenaillon.

[4] Probably the work shown on the map of 1768.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. cviii., 14th Aug., 1772.

In November, 1772, the Court's observations on Ross's proposals were received. The Company appear to have entrusted the final decision to Fort St. George. The Engineer submitted remarks to the Council on the subject of the despatch. Their gist is as follows:—

On the north front, Ross considers that nothing is immediately necessary.

On the east front, besides the works proposed for the protection of the extremities, he opines that the intervening line needs reinforcement. A bastion, joined to the body of the place, should be made before the Sea Gate. It would flank the curtains, give fire to seaward, facilitate the landing of goods, and 'by exposing those ranges of Columns[1] more to view, it would add to the beauty and Appearance of the Place.' The curtain northward of the Sea Gate 'has been lately rebuilt on the Foundation of the old Town Wall,' and is now a defensible rampart, but the curtain to the south of the gate still remains untouched. This portion should be taken in hand. A wet ditch, with sluices to the sea, is considered practicable, notwithstanding the indifferent foundations of the old Town Wall.

On the south front, the works should be finished according to the original design.

On the west front, the proposed large bastion, costing Pags. 90,000 without outworks, will be better and cheaper than Call's project. Outworks can be added later if deemed expedient. The foundations of the South-West Ravelin have settled, and the work should be removed. A cunette[2] and counterscarp gallery[3] should be carried round the whole of the new works.

The Council confined their attention to the west front:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'A Letter from the Chief Engineer is now read . . . containing his reply to the Remarks of the Honble Court on his Letter and Plans for compleating the Works of this Fort, accompanying the Plans for the West Front, and giving as his Reasons for preferring that with the large Bastion that it will be less Expensive, more secure, and the Execution of it be attended with no danger, as he purposes it should be built entirely without the Present Works, and that these should not be removed until it be compleated.

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[1] The Sea Gate Colonnade.

[2] *Cunette*, a wide trench throughout the length of the ditch.

[3] *Counterscarp gallery*, a tunnel from which the ditches are flanked from loopholes in the counterscarp wall.

'In matters of this Nature our Resolutions must be guided chiefly by the Judgment of the Engineer, and it would be imprudent to controul him, except on such designs as do not appear immediately Necessary, and might be attended with too much Expence in the Execution. The one above proposed for the West Front is, we think, supported by good Arguments, both in point of Security and Expence. It is therefore Resolved that the said Plan, with one Bastion in the Center between the Mint and Nobob's Bastion, be adopted.

'The Engineer lays before the Board two Plans, Sections and Elevations of the said Bastion, the one having a Cavalier in the Center, the other a double Flank without a Cavalier. The Board are of opinion that the Bastion be constructed as large as that proposed with the Cavalier, but without Cavalier or double Flank, as Colonel Ross does not deny but that the West Front will then be as strong as any other part of the Fort.

'The rest of the Plan will be conformable to the Engineer's Judgment, according to which it is proposed that the wet ditch be filled up, and that a Cavette or Cunette run in it from the Royal to the Nabob's Bastion.' (*P.C.*, vol. cviii., 6th Nov., 1772.)

Colonel Ross then prepared a set of thirteen drawings[1] of the bastion, showing 'all such particulars as may be necessary for a Person to form a contract upon, whether he is an Artist or not.' The faces of the bastion measured 315 feet, and the flanks 150 feet. The foundations, of such depth as the soil might demand, were to rest on wells.[2] The escarp wall, 23 feet high, was 9½ feet thick at base and 3½ feet at top, and was provided with counterforts[3] built on wells. The internal wall was 18 feet high, and the space between it and the escarp was occupied by casemates, the arches of which sustained the earthen parapet above. The plans also showed 'the Berme, Cavette, Counterscarp, Covertway and Revetment of the Crest of the Glacis.' The counterscarp was provided with a subterranean gallery, as on the north front, with communications to mines. Full specifications of building materials are given. The Gateways[4] are described in great detail:—

Colonel Ross to Government.

'It is proposed to Ornament the outer Gateway of the Body of the place with two Tuscan Pillars, and an Architrave, Frieze, Cornice and Pediment of that Order. . . . Its height and width is twelve feet, over which an eliptick

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cix., 8th Jan., 1773. The drawings have not been preserved.

[2] As executed, the solid foundations were 10½ feet deep on wells sunk 5 feet.

[3] *Counterforts*, internal buttresses.

[4] A gateway was provided at the middle point of each of the two curtains.

Arch is bound. . . . Between the outer gate and the Organ[1] there are two Recesses . . . on each side for the Convenience of foot passengers. The Projected Arch, formed on account of the space for receiving the Organ, is of blue Stone,[2] . . . behind which a second Gate similar to the first is intended. . . . Towards the body of the Place, it is proposed to have the Porch supported by Pillars of four feet six Inches square. . . . From these Pillars Arches are sprung, that afford a free Communication with the interior of the Place independant of the roadway for carriages. On one side of the Gateway an Officers Guard Room and Prison are intended, . . . and on the other side a Soldiers Guard Room. . . . A set of appartments are intended over the Gateway: that in the middle to have a Viranda upon the Rampart, to be supported with Pillars two feet six Inches square, made of Blue Stone, in order to receive the Gro[o]ve for the Organ that is to be suspended by the Beam that lies upon them. . . . The Beam by which the Organ is hung should be squared to sixteen by eighteen Inches, with a Camber of two inches and a quarter, dovetailed into the other Timbers, which should be sixteen by fourteen Inches. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cix., 8th Jan., 1773.)

Early in 1773, Colonel Archibald Campbell, lately Chief Engineer of Bengal,[3] who halted at Madras on his way home, was invited to inspect the fortifications. He gave his views in the following terms:—

Opinion of Colonel Archibald Campbell.

'I have, with Lieut. Colonel Ross, carefully examined the present State of the Fortifications of Fort St. George, and Duly considered the Plan and Sections of the new Works proposed to be erected along the West and South West Front of this Fortress. . . .

'*North Front.*—The Works are in good Repair and well disposed for Defence, but the Esplanade unaccountably lumber'd with Wood.

'*East Front.*—Half the Works are in a tolerable State of repair; the Ditch in front of them shallow and of little Capacity, and the Foundations happen not to be laid low enough to admit of the Ditch being deepened. The other half[4] of this Front is in a ruinous Condition, and the whole is so ill flanked, so low and insecure, it may be assaulted at any time of the Night with little Risk to an Enemy.

'*South Front.*—The Works are in a tolerable State of Repair, but incompleat. An Enemy's approach may be advanced along the South Beach without much Annoyance from this Front in its present Condition, and a Lodgement established opposite to the East Face of the Envelope[1] before St. Thomas's Bastion, which would command the Communications of the Outworks, and look into them in Reverse.

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[1] *Organ*, *orgue*, a species of portcullis. 'Orgues . . . in Fortification, long and thick pieces of Wood, armed with Iron-Plates at the end, and hung up separately by a Cord over a Gate, being ready upon any surprize to be let fall in the Way, to stop it up instead of a Portcullice.' (Phillips, 1706, quoted in the *Oxf. Eng. Dict.*, Murray.)

[2] *Blue stone*, Pallāvaram gneiss, sometimes called charnockite.

[3] Afterwards Governor of Madras and Commander-in-Chief. Campbell and Ross were old friends; they belonged to the same corps, and had served together at Guadeloupe from 1760 to 1762.

[4] The southern half.

'*West Front.*—The Works in general are in a Ruinous condition, confined in their Extent, ill flanked, and afford but little reciprocal Defence. The near Approach of the Black Town on this side must be productive of serious Consequences to the Garrison in case of a Siege.

'*The Body of the Place.*—Much crowded with Buildings; the Ramparts in some parts much encroached upon; and, with respect to Casemates, there is not a Sufficiency to answer the common Services of a Siege.

'*Black Town Wall.*—The Line which surrounds the Boundary of the Black Town of Fort St. George is, in its present State, not only exposed to every Disaster which can arise to an ill designed thin Wall, insecured against the Inclemency of the Weather, but is absolutely so open and incompleat in every part that this Work, after all the Expence already laid out upon it, is in fact no more than the very Shadow of a Defence to the Settlement of Fort St. George. . . .

'A brisk and enterprizing Enemy, acquainted with the Condition of those Works and the nature of their Defects, would find little Difficulty by a Coup de Main to wrest at this Instant from the Honble Company a Place of the utmost Importance to the very Existence of their Settlements in India.

'The Design given in by your Chief Engineer, Lieut. Colonel Ross, appears to me to be in all Respects well calculated to remove every Inconvenience attending Fort St. George at present; and I am happy to find that your Honble Board have wisely ordered that part of this Design should immediately be carried into Execution, not doubting but that the same good Prudence will, one Day or other, direct the propriety of finishing the whole, as the Exigencies of affairs will permit.

'Had a General Design been executed when the North Front of Fort St. George was originally planned,[2] founded on the same good Principles, and calculated upon the most extensive Idea for a noble Fortress to suit the Ground between the Inundation[3] and the Sea, it would have been an easy Matter, on this or any subsequent Occasion, to carry on another part of the same great Design to correspond with what is already done or what may be hereafter order'd into Execution. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cix., 2nd March, 1773.)

Tenders for the masonry of the new bastion were submitted by two persons, Montresor and Benfield. That of the latter, amounting to Pags. 130,279, was the lower, and was accepted. Benfield undertook to complete the work in four months.[4] Great progress had been made by June, 1773, and the bastion would have been finished within contract time but for a shortage of bricks.

Built into the escarp of the south face of the bastion may be seen a finely dressed stone measuring about 6 feet by 3 feet, with

[1] *Envelope*, counterguard.

[2] By Colonel Scott in 1753.

[3] *Inundation*, the river backwater.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cix., 13th and 27th March, 1773.

Greek border, which bears the following inscription in raised letters:—

> '*Saint George's Bastion, Erected in the Year of Our Lord* MDCCLXXIII, *and the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King George III*^{d}*., Under the Auspices of the Honble Alex*^{r}*. Wynch, Esq*^{r}*., Governor. Designed by Lieut*^{t}*. Col*^{l}*. Ross, Chief Engineer.*'

In 1773 a second expedition against Tanjore was undertaken. Owing to the loss of defensive power of Fort St. George through the reduction of its garrison and the demolition of Pigot's and Lawrence's Bastions, General Joseph Smith and Colonel Ross advocated the construction of temporary redoubts in the covered way. Government approved, and ordered the work to be carried on by Benfield, pending the arrival of Major Mitchell from Masulipatam.[1] Colonel Ross accompanied the Tanjore expedition and directed the siege. The place fell by assault in September.

Early in 1774, when the curtains adjacent to the new bastion were in progress, it was found impossible to utilize any part of the old north-west and south-west walls. The new curtains were accordingly carried on to the Royal and Nabob's Bastions. Ross represented the need for demolishing the old north-west and south-west ravelins, as they obstructed the new ditch and line of the covered way, and he advocated the construction of new ravelins. His estimate of additional expenditure due to the curtains, counterscarp gallery, cunette, and two ravelins with caponiers to connect them with the body of the place, amounted to Pags. 199,000, of which the ravelins represented Pags. 60,000. The Council assented to the removal of the old works, and permitted Colonel Ross to form the covered way and glacis in such manner as to admit of new ravelins being built thereafter.[2] The whole of the escarp between the Royal and Nabob's Bastions was reported complete by the middle of 1774.[3] The inner wall and the casemates of St. George's Bastion were then begun.

Already the Nabob's Bastion was in process of enlargement, Ross's proposal to envelop it with a hollow bastion at a cost of

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. xlvi., 29th June, 1773. Major Archibald Mitchell was transferred in 1770 from the Royal Artillery to the Madras Engineers. He died in 1774.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxi., 4th March, 1774.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxii., 12th July, 1774.

Pags. 36,300 having been approved.[1] The intervening space was, however, filled in, and the resulting work was named the Walajah Bastion. It was executed by Benfield. Its completion necessitated an alteration in the tenaillon of the south front. Ross again pressed for new ravelins on the north-west and south-west faces, to replace those which had lately been demolished. He submitted two designs, the first of which provided for two large ravelins projecting well forward towards the river, and the second for two small ravelins each flanked by two lunettes. After reviewing the history of the proposal since 1771, Wynch's Council assented to the second design, and agreed 'that the said small Ravelins be constructed with the Reverses or retaining Walls for the Lunettes which may be raised hereafter.'[2]

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We have the pleasure to acquaint Your Honors that the Building of the West Front is going on with great Dispatch. During the time General Clavering[3] was here, he examined the Fortifications in Company with the Chief Engineer, and informed Our President that he was much satisfied with the new works. . . . In Justice to Your Chief Engineer, Colonel Ross, we must take Occasion here to observe that he has been very diligent in the Superintendance of the Fortifications, and that his Conduct has been very satisfactory to Us.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 1st Oct., 1774.)

In November, 1774, Colonel Ross sent in proposals for the works he considered necessary to complete the Fort:—

Colonel Ross to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxii., 30th Nov., 1774.)

'After mature deliberation, I have formed a Plan comprehending everything I would wish to introduce, either by addition of new Work or by reforming the old. This Plan will render Fort St. George very formidable, and so uniformly strong that no particular part can be attacked with much Advantage. In some parts the Works differ from what I first offered. . . . The Deviations from the original design are chiefly in the smaller and detached parts. . . .

'The Works to the Westward, comprehending the Northwest and Southwest Fronts, having already been fully explained and determined on, and being in hand and in good forwardness, require no Remarks.

'The Tenaillons on the South front . . . I have seperated, and have likewise removed their Flanks;[4] the former to lay them open so as to be defended from the Body of the place, and the latter to expose the Ditch before the Body of the Place and the Reverse of these Works to the fire of the Bastion, Counterguard, and the intermediate Curtain. A small part I have added to the East Tenaillon to assist the Envelop, and afford a proper Defence to the proposed Bonnet[1] to secure the South East Angle. To these works the Counterscarp and Covertway remain to be formed. . . . The Body of the place to the southward is closed with the old Town Wall, which is in an inefficient state, and too narrow to admit of Cannon. It must be reformed when circumstances will admit.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxi., 19th March, 1774.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxii., 12th July, 1774.

[3] Member of the Bengal Council.

[4] The Tenaillon thus became once more a virtual ravelin flanked by two lunettes or demi-tenaillons.

'I come next to the East Front, where the first great Object is to secure this Line against the sudden Encroachments of the Sea and the violent beating of the Surf, which continually destroys the advanced Works, and leaves cover for an Enemy at the South-East and North-East Angles, and at times threatens the very Town itself, the Evil and Danger of which must be guarded against before a Line of Fortification can be thought of. . . .

'On reflecting on the absolute necessity of a Wall to secure this line, a small part of which hath been some Years performed, and in that part answers the intention, I have been induced to try if the Wall for the remaining part might not be made to serve the twofold Purpose of security against the Sea and Defence to the Fort; and it is with that View I have the pleasure to offer it to Your Honor, &c., having constructed it to serve as the Counterscarp of a wet Ditch, instead of another Wall for that purpose, to guard the place against Surprize or Escalade, to which it hath hitherto been so much exposed. . . . It will also be the means of keeping the East Line much lower than it must necessarily be made if it has no wet Ditch before it. . . . I have availed myself of the piece of Wall formerly built at the North East Angle . . .

'The Fortifications of the East Front being within the proposed Wall, no difficulty can attend the execution, the advanced Wall first being built. The Advantages I propose to derive from the Design are a succession of Flanks towards the South East and North East Angles, and a well disposed Fire to the Sea without encroaching on the interior of the Fort, already too much crowded with Buildings. I have also constructed a Bonnet before the Saliant Angle of the Counterguard at the South East, well flanked and defended, and occupying the point from whence the South and East Fronts were before so much exposed.

'It hath allways been thought, and with good Reason, that some Work was essential to occupy and strengthen the Saliant Angle of the Covertway before the Demi Bastion, where the Place was attacked the last Siege, but Circumstances would not then admit of erecting a Work of sufficient strength and importance; and as some Work appeared indispensably necessary there, I conclude it was determined to erect the small Redoubt to answer the present Purpose. But that small Work is now become very inadequate to all the other parts of the Fortifications. I have therefore introduced such Works as I think are proper for the Defence and Security of that Angle against a powerfull Attack. . . . I have introduced Redoubts in the reentering Angles of the Covertway, which I think will be of considerable advantage to the proposed Work[2] and to the North Front in general. . . .

'I would be glad to have leave . . . to turn Arches of about sixteen feet

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[1] This Bonnette was designed to cover the South-East Counterguard.

[2] The proposed work was evidently a counterguard before the demi-bastion.

Wide from the inner lining of the old Ramparts to the Westward against Piers to be erected for the Purpose from the Ramps[1] at the new Gateways towards the Nabob's and Mint Bastions, in order that the Ramparts may be of a proper width. Those on the Side of the Artillery Park will serve as Work Shops for the Armourers, which are wanted. Those on the other side may be given in Addition to the Buzars already established there, or may be used for any other purpose. . . .

'I take this opportunity to request your permission to remove the range of Tyled Houses by the Nabob's Ground and the old Carpenter's Yard, and to form Palace Street agreeable to the Plan for the interior of the Fort. . . . This I think necessary to mention, as Palace Street will now become a Principal Road out of the Fort.

'PATRICK ROSS
'Lieut. Colonel and Chief Engineer.

'30th Nov., 1774.'

This letter was accompanied by an estimate of which the following is an abstract:—

	P. f. c.
'South Front; Reform of the Tenaillon and the Counterscarp before it; cunette and berm before the body of the place - - - - - - - -	35,502-16-,,
South Curtain - - - - - - - - - -	13,328-14-,,
Wall to the Sea - - - - - - - - - -	97,500-,, -,,
East Line and advanced Redoubts - - - -	50,023-34-,,
Work at the South East angle - - - - - -	14,816-28-,,
Straightening Cunette before Royal Bastion - -	2,000-,, -,,
Cazerns from the Ramps towards the Nabob's and Mint Bastions - - - - - - -	5,000-,, -,,
Pags.	218,171- 2-,,'

The Council agreed to all that the Chief Engineer demanded. As regards time of execution, they directed that the Sea-wall should be carried on as the seasons permitted, the north and south ends being undertaken first. The counterguard before the Demi-Bastion was to be put in hand at once, but the redoubts in the re-entering angles of the north covered way were to stand over for the present. The weakness of the old south curtain was admitted, but the Council considered that its reform might be deferred. The works in progress on the west and south fronts were to be pressed on, and it was hoped that they would be finished in the course of the ensuing year.

The Government's decision was reported to England early in 1775,[2] and the Directors, in their reply of the following year, expressed alarm at the magnitude and cost of the works undertaken and contemplated:—

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[1] *Ramp*, a sloping way from the terreplein to the top of the rampart.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii. *a*, 25th Jan., 1775.

The Company to Fort St. George.

'It is with concern we observe . . . that your Chief Engineer has thought it necessary to propose the executing of very considerable and extensive outworks before the North-West and South-West Curtains of the West Front, and that you have not only acquiesced therein, but also approved and were on the Point of commencing Alterations in the Old, and additional new works before the South Front.

'In Our Letter of the 25 March 1772 We gave you Our Sentiments and Remarks on Colonel Ross's Projects transmitted to us in 1771, and We find he . . . laid before you two Plans, One of which with a large Bastion to be carried out before the West Front (but without any considerable Outworks) you approved for the Reasons then urged; and we apprehend that plan without Outworks was then represented and deemed of sufficient Strength. But no sooner were the Center Bastion and collateral Curtains brought up to the level of the Cordon than we find a new Project, or rather two Projects produced, discussed and resolved on; and the Nabob's Bastion entirely surrounded by a new One. A Reform (as you call it) equally unexpected was soon after resolved on for the South Front; and considerable additional Works, with a wet Ditch round them, proposed before the North Front to join an entire new project along the Sea Line.

'We are alarmed beyond Measure at the Consequences into which these successive projects may lead us. We shall not at present enter upon a discussion of all the Arguments and Reasonings urged by the Chief Engineer . . ., but in this Place confine Our selves to a few general Remarks.

'With respect to the South Front, we always understood, from the nature of the Ground, the confined extent of the Beach between the Sea and River, the natural Security which that River affords, and the difficulty of approach, that no Enemy would think of an Attack on that side, even against such Works as were proposed for strengthening that Front in the Projects sent us in 1766. . . .

'That some Alterations and Additions were necessary to strengthen and secure the Sea Line we readily admit, and therefore approved the Projects of Our late Chief Engineer, especially the building of the Wall to preserve the Works and the Glacis on the North East and South East faces against the ravages of the Sea. But we do not conceive it possible, from the natural Changes in the Sea Beach and the violence of the Surf, that the new Line of Works now proposed to be so far towards the Sea can be executed without an enormous Expence; or that they can (at almost any Expence) be rendered secure against the Effects of the Sea in a violent Monsoon. We are equally apprehensive that a wet Ditch cannot be preserved in a proper State, nor kept free of sand, which we conclude will be constantly washed or blown into it; and should the projected Works be executed, we think we have the greatest Reason to doubt whether there will be any room left between the sea side and the works for Boats to Land or Goods to be Shipped off.

'The Old and New Line of Works on the North Front, the Magnitude of the Royal and Demi Bastions, surrounded with a large dry Ditch and Cuvette, and the spacious Raveline which covers the Curtain, as well as the excellent Glacis and covered Way before the whole, were works of such strength and capable of such Defence that, tho' the proximity of the Black Town may induce an Enemy to direct his attack there, yet we do not apprehend (considering the Defence made with inconsiderable temporary Works against the French in 1759) that it could be necessary to add a redoubt on each side the Raveline, and a large Counterguard before the Saliant Angle of the Demy Bastion, with a wet Ditch round the whole, which must destroy great part of the Glacis and Counterscarp already Built.

'Upon the whole, when we review the Plan lately transmitted to us, and recur to those which have been sent us before, with the explanations we have received and the Opinions we have expressed thereof, we cannot but be greatly alarmed at the repeated multiplication of Outworks, which are not only too many for the Body of the Place, but must be productive of a vast increase in the Amount of Our Garrison Charges.

'In . . . our Letter of the 27th November 1771 We expressed very fully our apprehensions of the Inconvenience which frequent change of Projects and pulling down and rebuilding so many of the Works would subject us to in point of Expence. And we accordingly find that the works you have been lately carrying on have greatly augmented the head of Fortifications in the Dead Stock Account, which, with the large Sum of 256,903 Pagodas under the head of Committee of Works advanced to Contractors, amounted the 25 January 1775 to near 1,100,000 Pagodas; and, from the monthly Advances which appear to be made, we fear the annual Expence will not fall short of 100,000 Pounds.[1] Such a charge under one particular branch is more than the Company can support; and as we have been under the necessity of limiting our Expence of Fortifications in Bengal, so we must confine those under your Presidency to 50,000 Pagodas per Year, unless the most imminent danger should render an excess unavoidably necessary.

'We moreover direct that the Projects for the several Fronts be reconsidered with every degree of attention that such important and expensive Works require, and as the Right Honble President[2] has already had the successful experience of defending Our Settlement of Fort St. George in its Infant and very Incomplete State of Fortification against the most powerful Enemy we ever had to contend with, We rely much on his Judgment.'[3] (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxix., 5th April, 1776.)

Ross estimated the cost of the new works at about Pags. 252,000, and reported that their execution would occupy two years. This estimate and Benfield's tender were accepted.[4]

'North East Counterguard - - - - - -	Pags. 30,351
North Lunettes - - - - - - - -	15,472
Wall for defence against the Sea - - - - -	96,509
East Line and advanced Redoubts - - - -	54,891

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[1] Evidently an error for Pagodas.

[2] Lord Pigot, who reached Madras at the end of 1775.

[3] Among the Directors signing this despatch was Mr. Charles Boddam, formerly of the Madras Council.

[4] *M.C.*, vol. li., 17th April, 1775.

South East Bonnet - - - - - - - - -	13,850
Reform of the Tenaillons - - - - - - -	19,845
Cunnette and Berm to the Southward before Body of the Place - - - - - - - - -	4,524
South Curtain - - - - - - - - - -	16,434'

Later in 1775, Messrs. Henry Brooke, Francis Jourdan,[1] and George Mackay proposed[2] that a bound hedge be planted right round the limits of Madras, beginning 'from the Redoubt at St. Thomé, along the borders of the St. Thomé River[3] to Morse's Choultry,[4] thro' the Long Tank, round the Village of Chittapett,[5] the Octagon[6] and Wepery, and from thence to be continued to the Sea at about a Mile distant from the Northern Wall of the Black Town.' The cost was to be met by public subscription. The proposal was referred to the Chief Engineer:—

Colonel Ross to Government.

'The carrying of a Hedge composed of Palmeiras, Bamboes, Calderas, Milk Hedge, Prickly Thorn, &c., from St. Thomé to the Northward of the Black Town, defended by Redoubts at proper distances, will no doubt add greatly to the Security of the Inhabitants, and will enable Us to protect their property and Cattle from the Incursions of a Country Enemy. . . . Should we be attacked by an European Power, it will supply us with materials for a Siege, and will enable Us to gain time by making them Cautious of their approach, and by obliging them to begin their operations at a distance, as the forcing it injudiciously may cost them dear. On the other hand, an European Enemy, once in possession of it, will have a Line of Circumvallation ready formed which can easily be defended by a few people, who will thereby be enabled to cutt off our communication with the Country, and to prevent our supplies from thence. It will likewise furnish the Enemy with materials for a siege. . . .

'I think the Arguments are in favor of the Bound Hedge, provided it be so formed as to afford no means of approach to the Works already constructed.' (*M.C.*, vol. liii., 20th Nov., 1775.)

In discussion by the Council, reference was made to the losses of the inhabitants during Hyder's incursion of 1767, and to the proved value of the bound hedges of Fort St. David and

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[1] Francis Jourdan entered the civil service in 1759. In 1775 he was Thirteenth of Council, Land Customer, and Superintendent of Nabob's Disbursements.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. liii., 30th Oct., 1775.

[3] *The St. Thomé River*, now called the Adyar.

[4] There is an old Choultry on the Mount Road near Lushington's Gardens, but it does not now bear the name of Morse.

[5] *Chittapett*, now called Chetput.

[6] The nature and position of the *Octagon* are not known. The structure was probably an eight-sided house, like the 'Nabob's Octagon' at Chepauk, to be mentioned later.

Pondicherry; and it was stated that the value of land in Black Town had been trebled since the construction of the new rampart, though that defence was still incomplete. Finally it was 'ordered that the Chief Engineer be directed to mark out the Hedge proposed, and the Committee of Revenue to inform themselves, for the information of the Board, of the Nature of the Soil, the value of it, the quantity that may be required, and to whom it appertains.'[1] The project, which was not carried out, was revived by Mr. Stephen Popham eleven years later.[2]

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. liii., 20th Nov., 1775.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxvii., 12th May, 1786.

CHAPTER III

1770—1775

THE GENERAL HOSPITAL AND THE ARSENAL—CAPUCHINS AND JESUITS—CAPTAIN BAKER'S WATER SCHEME

The General Hospital and the Arsenal.

It was recognized in 1767 that the continued retention as a hospital of the church and buildings in the Capuchin burial-ground was altogether undesirable, and the Chief Engineer and Surgeons were desired to select a site for a new building.[1] Three years passed, however, before anything was done. On the eve of his retirement Call wrote as follows:—

Colonel Call to Government.

> 'After surveying every Spot within the Walls or near the Town, I am still of opinion none is so proper for an Hospital as that where the Companys Garden house formerly stood, now called Hoghill; and according to the Dimensions of the Ground there, I leave with the Engineer a Plan calculated indeed with good Conveniences and Accommodations for 600 Men and about 20 Officers, the whole to be terrassed and built in Chunam. It is true the Plan is expensive and large, but as one third or half of it may be built at once, to be augmented afterwards, I thought it best to project it as large as the Ground would permit.' (*P.C.*, vol. ciii., 20th Feb., 1770.)

Montresor, in reporting that the structure would cost Pags. 85,000, advised that the body should be constructed first at about one-third of this sum, and the wings added later. The Council agreed that 'the airy Situation of Hog Hill pointed it out as the properest place' for the hospital, but considered the expense prohibitive, and called for a more modest design. In the meantime the Surgeons sent in a strongly-worded minute:—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xcvii., 23rd Feb., 1767.

The Surgeons to the President and Council.

(*P.C.*, vol. civ., 20th Dec., 1770.)

'The situation of the Sick during the late Rains having been so truely deplorable, we think it a duty incumbent on Us, as Men and as Surgeons to the Hospital, to represent to the Honble Board the necessity there is of finding out some Remedy against the dangers they are exposed to in every Monsoon, and even in less inclement Weather. The dangerous inconveniences they sustain may be easily estimated by reflecting on the Bedridden in Fluxes, Inflammations of the liver, Fevers and Salivations having no other defence against Wind and rain but open Straw Sheds, which, in spite of continual Repairs, are puddles every heavy Shower that falls. . . .

'A splendid or an Expensive Building for an Hospital we look on as very unnecessary; but we beg leave to think that some convenient and Oeconomical plan might be contrived to answer every purpose of an Hospital, and such we hope You will be pleased to take into Your Consideration.

'STEPHEN BRIGGS }
'GILBERT PASLEY } Surgeons.'

Colonel Patrick Ross, who had lately arrived from England as Chief Engineer, learning that the sick from the Fleet were generally accommodated in the Company's hospital, proposed in 1771 a double block of buildings to cost Pags. 46,500, inclusive of offices and enclosure wall, and the levelling of Hoghill. Gilbert Pasley and Samuel Scott, the Presidency surgeons, advocated large airy wards, but the Chief Engineer said that 20-foot rooms would enhance the cost to Pags. 55,500.[1]

While the hospital question was still under consideration, the Government resolved to build an Arsenal in the south-west angle of the Fort, and Ross submitted an estimate of Pags. 9,327:—

Colonel Ross to Government.

'The Arches, which are to be Bomb Proof, I have made quite independantly of each other, and of a sufficient Width to contain abreast two of the largest Field Carriages, so that between each Row of Pillars there may at least be put four Guns with their Limbers, Tumbrils, &c. It is proposed to have the Space between the Arches of the Front that is towards the Artillery Park open, and the Windows on the other side to be in the Recesses, in form of the Arch, which will admit Abundance of Air. . . .

'The Gate way is to front Hanover Square, over which I think there should be a Crane for hoisting in and lowering down the dry Stores that are to be lodged in the upper Floor. The Stair goes up from the Artillery Park,[2] on the Landing of which another Crane may be put if thought necessary. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. xxxvii., 26th Nov., 1770.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cv., 5th April, 1771.

[2] From this it would appear that the Artillery Park occupied part of the Arsenal site.

The Engineer, on becoming acquainted with local conditions, found it necessary to treble his estimate :—

Colonel Ross to Government.

'The first Calculate of the Expence was formed on the Supposition that the Foundation would be on sound ground ; But I have since learnt that the Spot on which the most considerable Part of it will stand is a Body of Earth and Rubbish thrown on the Bed or Bank of the River which originally flowed there ; and as I now see the necessity of laying the Foundations much deeper than I could have any Idea of before I obtained that knowledge of the Situation on which the Building is to be erected, from whence only I could foresee that it would be proper the Piers should stand on inverted Arches under the level of the Base, whereby the Walls will bound and tie each other, and effectually prevent any Danger that would otherwise be apprehended from the badness of the Ground. . . .'

Government Order.

'The Board have long seen the necessity of having a proper place for depositing, assorting, and arranging the various Military Stores. . . . The Committee of Stores, before and after General Coote's Arrival, having represented that the Stores were in the greatest Disorder . . ., the Chief Engineer was directed to prepare a Plan and Estimate accordingly. . . . The Estimate amounts to Pags. 28,000.' (*P.C.*, vol. cv., 2nd April, 1771.)

Tenders for both the Arsenal and the Hospital were invited. Proposals reached the Government from two persons only, Paul Benfield and John Sulivan.[1] Colonel Ross recommended Benfield as being a contractor expert with inverted arches, 'a method he has had the merit of introducing and only practising in this part of the World,' and skilful 'in sinking Wells, according to the Custom of the Country, to support heavy Works.' Sulivan's tenders, however, were lower and were accepted. His figures were, Hospital, Pags. 42,000, Arsenal, Pags. 28,000.[2] Ross was blamed for introducing 'the various Ornaments which now appear in the Elevations of the Arsenal and Hospital, though the Orders of the Board were that those Buildings should be as plain as they could consistently be made.' On this ground, and on account of obstructiveness due to his preference for Benfield as contractor, Ross was suspended from the direction of these buildings, and Captain Philip Pittman, of the Engineers, was placed in charge. The order, which did not apply to the Colonel's principal duty of control of the fortifications, was subsequently rescinded.[1] In the following year the Government wrote home thus :—

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[1] John Sulivan was a young Writer who came out in June, 1765, at the age of seventeen.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cv., 4th May, 1771.

Fort St. George to the Company.

> 'We informed your Honors . . . We had been under the Necessity of resolving to erect an Hospital, an Arsenal, and Godown for preserving Grain. The Hospital is building on the very Spot which Mr. Call recommended. It is calculated to contain 300 Men, and more than half of it is now compleated. The Arsenal is also in Great forwardness, but for want of materials and money the Godowns are not yet begun. . . .
>
> 'It has been a general receiv'd opinion that Native Artificers are unequal to the Charge of any Work of Consequence, and that therefore Artificers from England were necessary : but this Opinion has been espoused with too much haste, for the Hospital and Arsenal, Works in which the Assistance of your Master Bricklayers and Master Carpenters would appear Necessary if at any time so, have been conducted by Black Mastrys[2] without any assistance from them, and We are persuaded that they are equal to the execution of any Works that may be undertaken. The Arsenal is built on inverted Arches, which your Chief Engineer was of Opinion Mr. Benfield only could Construct, and yet all the lower Story, which consists of Bomb Proof built upon those Arches, has been certified to be finished in a workmanlike manner. We therefore leave you to Judge how far such European Artificers may be Necessary.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 28th Feb., 1772.)

By October, 1772, the Hospital had been finished, and the sick installed there.[3] It appears to have consisted of two blocks, which are perhaps the westernmost of the present edifice. They were built on one floor only, but were designed to carry a superstructure. The Arsenal was completed on the 9th November of the same year. Both buildings were constructed by John Sulivan as contractor, with Colonel Ross as supervising Engineer.

CAPUCHINS AND JESUITS.

Towards the end of 1772 the Capuchin Fathers petitioned for the restoration of their Burial-ground. Representing that they would 'be necessitated to erect a proper Church, the temporary one they had there before, not being even compleated, is now ruined and gone to decay,' they asked for a grant of materials for a new edifice. They added that the allowance of Pags. 15 per month granted by Pigot's Government was intended to meet the hire of substituted buildings, and they requested that an adequate rent should be given by Government for their protracted use of the property:—

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[1] The Directors ordered that any repetition of such conduct on the part of Colonel Ross should be met by dismissal. (*M. from Eng.*, vol. lxxv., 25th March, 1772.)

[2] *Mastry*, *maistry*, a native foreman of works; from Port. *mestre*.

[3] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 15th Oct., 1772.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'As the new Hospital is entirely finish'd, and We have no further Occasion for the Church House and Garden which was taken from the Capuchins for that purpose, it is Agreed to restore them, and that they be permitted to build their new Church on that same Spot unless, upon enquiry and report from the Engineer, it should appear to be inconvenient by being too near the Esplanade, in which case, by the Companys Orders, they are to be paid 1,000 Pagodas, and to be permitted to carry away the materials of the Old Church.' (*P.C.*, vol. cviii., 20th Nov., 1772.)

Colonel Ross raised no objection, and the new church, now the Cathedral in Armenian Street, was built about three years later.

The Company's orders above referred to were issued in 1770. The Capuchins, failing to obtain a settlement of their long outstanding claim for compensation for St. Andrew's Church in the Fort, which was demolished in 1752, as well as for Vepery Chapel and the ground attached to it, at last sent M. Jean Baptiste de Colmar to England to plead their cause. What influence he brought to bear is not known, but the Directors speedily voted a sum of Pags. 15,000, of which they themselves paid Pags. 3,000, leaving Fort St. George to advance the balance as required for the erection of a new church. They also ordered the restoration of the bells of St. Andrew's. They paid de Colmar £500 for the expenses of his journey, and granted him a free passage back to Madras.[1]

Fort St. George to the Company.

'The Capuchin Friars residing at this place applied to Us some time ago for the Sum of money directed by your Letter of the 23rd March 1770 to be paid to them as a compensation for the Losses which they have sustained in their Possessions here. As your Honors were pleased at the same time also to inform Us that you enforced the Orders of the year 1716 in favor of this Society, We have searched our Records for the purport of these Orders; but the Book of Letters Received from Europe for that year proved to be One of those which could not be found after the Capture of this Settlement by Mr. Le Bourdonnais. . . . In the mean time, to avoid the Inconveniences which might ensue from the Capuchins being possessed of too large a Sum at one time, We propose advancing the money which you have directed Us to pay them in such small Sums from time to time, as may be necessary for Building their Church, and for other purposes to be approved of by Us.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 29th Jan., 1773.)

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, 23rd March, 1770.

Fathers Victor, Medard, and Mariel then petitioned for leave to manage their affairs without the intervention of churchwardens. Representing that their fraternity had laboured under the English flag for 130 years, they forwarded copies of letters sent by Father Bernard to Governors Palk and Bourchier in 1764 and 1766 to explain the sources of their capital. In the first of these letters it was stated that Father Severini, during his forty years' residence, was entrusted with the management of several estates, for which he received a commission of five per cent. Among the estates were those of 'Nicholas Manook,'[1] Pags. 30,000, Luis de Madeiros, Pags. 19,000, and Petrus Uscan, Pags. 60,000.[2] In this way Severini accumulated about Pags. 6,000. The second letter explained Father Thomas's acquisitions for the Church:—

Father Bernard to Governor Bourchier.[3]

'As to the buildings We had in the Fort, Father Thomas built them at the Expence of the French Company, which, during the Space of 14 years, remitted him all their Dollars from Europe to sell for them, purchase Pagodas, and send back to Pondicherry. The amount of these Pagodas was about a Lack and a Quarter, and on which he had his Commission, and which, in the Course of 14 years, procured him a Fortune of about 70,000 Pagodas.[4] Besides, all this time this Father lived at Madras, the private Merchants of Pondicherry sent him annually from 10 to 15 thousand Pagodas to purchase Goods for their Voyages to Bussora, China, Manilla and Europe, on which he drew Commission. Thus, Sir, you may perceive by what Channel this Father has acquired the means of Erecting these Buildings in the Fort.' (*P.C.*, vol. cix., 5th Feb., 1773.)

The Bull of Pope Clement XIV. abolishing the Order of Jesuits raised the question of interest payment on the perpetual deposit of Pags. 20,000[5] held by the Madras Government from the Society in China. Father Lewis Costas, curate of the Mae de Deus Church in San Thomé, claimed to receive the interest on the ground that, though the Society was extinct, the individuals who lent the money still survived. Payment was accordingly ordered pending reference to England.[1] In due course the Directors sanctioned the refund of the principal.[2]

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[1] Probably Niccolão Manucci.

[2] The wills of Luis de Madeiros Barreto of 23rd August, 1745, and Petrus Uscan of 19th January, 1750, are mentioned in the *Madras Catholic Directory*, 1867.

[3] Dated 22nd November, 1766.

[4] Perhaps an error for Pags. 7,000.

[5] Made between 1720 and 1726.

The Bishop of San Thomé subsequently ordered Father Costas to hand over his church and vicarage. The Father appealed to Fort St. George for protection, and forwarded a copy of a Declaration of 1613 by Bishop Sebastian of San Thomé regarding the origin of the church. This document has been quoted on an earlier page. Wynch desired Bishop Bernard not to publish the Bull without the consent of Government.

Father Lewis Costas to the Governor.

'The Pope, in his Bull, does not give our Possessions to the Bishops. Princes have seized them in their respective Kingdoms where the Bishops have not any part. St. Thomé belongs to the English Company, and not to the King of Portugal. I do not see by what right a Portuguese Bishop can expell me from my house, as every Governor from Mr. Palk to You have granted me the Protection of Your Flag. I claim the English Law, which secures any one in the Possession of his own, and I implore, Sir, your Protection and that of the Council. Neither the Bishops nor Christians have contributed in the least to the Building of my Church. The Jesuits have done every Thing. I am their Successor: as such I have a right to enjoy the Fruit of their Labors. . . . I am old. The Father De Gebaums is so likewise, and very infirm. We have a right to pass the remainder of our days, according to the Bull, in our House. How can the Bishop expell Us contrary to the Pope's Intentions? . . . L. COSTAS.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxiii., 15th May, 1775.)

The Bishop of San Thomé to the Governor.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxiii., 15th May, 1775.)

'The Church called the Mother of God, the House and whatever it contains within the Walls were neither the Work of the French Jesuits nor of those denominated Portugueze Jesuits . . ., for they were built at the Expence of the Royal Treasury of Goa, and it won't be difficult for me to procure Vouchers and Certificates from them to prove the same. . . .

'These fourteen Years that I have resided in this City I have paid all respectfull deference and Veneration to his British Majesty, whom God preserve, and the Noble Governor and Gentlemen of the Superior Council of Madras. . . . I acknowledge that his most Faithfull Majesty has no Dominion here whatsoever; yet in regard to myself here, as well as everywhere else, I do and shall allways profess myself his most Faithfull Subject; and if Your Honor and the Gentlemen of Council should judge it proper and rightfull that the abovementioned French Fathers should remain with the Administration of the

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxiii., 22nd April, 1775.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxi., 4th July, 1777.

Parish house and Garden, and also that I should not read in Church to none of my Flock the Bull which I have received of the Total Extinction of the Religious Order denominated of the Society of Jesus, I shall readily therewith comply. . . .

'FREY BERNARD
'Bishop of Méliapour.'

Government granted the Bishop leave to nominate a new curate, provided Father Costas were left in possession of his buildings. The Father, however, withdrew his claim on learning that its maintenance would expose him to ecclesiastical penalties.[1]

At this period we find a reference to the curious mixed worship at St. Thomas's Mount which was mentioned by Marco Polo and Odoric, and which stills prevails at certain festivals. In 1771 the Mount priest complained of the conduct of Pariahs in forcing their Elephant flag into Christian churches:—

Complaint by the Mount Padre.

'The said Flag is undoubtedly abominable to all the Christians for two Reasons, being in itself a Mark of Paganism, and for the vile Origin of its Commencement, as it is reported by Tradition; and Feliciano de Santos, an ancient Portuguese, used to say that the King of Bisnagar named Nacirsing,[2] on the Occasion when he joined the Dutch to the Expulsion of the Portuguese from the City of St. Thomé, granted to the Pariars the said Elephant Flag in order to abandon the Portuguese, their then Masters, and follow the Moors to plunder the Place, discovering the Treasure, and committing many other infamous Actions, which Decency will not permit to mention here. . . .

'The Honble Lord Pigot, a few months before he was Governor of Madras, was once an Eye Witness of the Insolence committed by the Pariars at the Mount Feast under their Elephant Flag. He promised to put an entire Stop to, and prohibit the said Flag, and without doubt he would have put in Execution what he intended; but the Pariars had recourse to the Mount Padre on the Occasion, and promised him upon Oath to do and observe in every respect whatever the said Padre would determine concerning their Flag. They did observe it strictly during the Government of Lord Pigot, for they did not molest nor force themselves with their Flag; but as soon as he embarked for Europe the Pariars forgot their Oath, and by Violence forced their Flag up to the Mount, disturbed the Christians that were there at their Prayers, and committed Indecencys.' (*P.C.*, vol. cvi., 29th Nov., 1771.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxiii., 22nd May, 1775.

[2] Apparently there was confusion in the good priest's mind between the King of Narsinga or Vijayanagar, the King of Golconda, and Nāṣir Jang, Subahdar of the Deccan.

CAPTAIN BAKER'S WATER SCHEME.

Captain George Baker, who was posted Master Attendant of the port in 1762, had relinquished his appointment and returned to England. In 1771 he addressed the Court of Directors from London with proposals for conveying water from the Seven Wells in the north of Peddanaikpetta to the Fort. The following extract from his letter explains the scope of the scheme:—

Captain George Baker to the Court of Directors.

(*Mis. Let. Recd.*, vol. lv., 23rd April, 1771.)

'Whereas the water in the Town of Fort St. George and its Environs to a considerable distance from the Fort is so very brackish as to render it unfit for the ordinary uses of mankind (and even for the tempering the mortar for the fortifications and buildings), the Company having constantly been under the necessity of causeing other water to be brought from distant wells to the town on cattle, and on carts, and by laborers for the Common use of the Factory and Garrison; and this dayly as it is used, without having any stock in reserve for an emergency, except what is received from the Heavens, and retained in some reservoirs lately made for that purpose, which, however, may prove on many occasions very inadequate, besides that having layn any considerable time in those Reservoirs may after all prove very unwholesome.

'And though the Siege of Fort St. George was begun immediately after the rainy Season, when the earth had been sufficiently wash'd with a deluge of rain water and retain'd much of the moisture it had imbibed, and the wells in and near the Fort were render'd by this means much less brackish, yet I believe the gentlemen now in England present at that Siege apprehended and even found considerable inconvenience from the scarcity of good and wholesome water, and which certainly would have been most severely felt in a more unfavorable season. . . . All which it is conceived, by the means hereafter mentioned, may be guarded against in future without any additional expence to the Company.

'There are moreover other motives for an improvement on the present mode of bringing water into the town, particularly that of having it in your power to deliver it on the beach near the Sea Gate to boats for shiping, which on many occasions that have occurred and must often occur, such as the dispatch of Mr. Watson's ships for the retakeing of Calcutta, Mr. Cornishes Fleet for Manilla, Mr. Pocock's squadron after his engagement with the French . . . occasionally would have been, and may again be of very great advantage in similar cases, and indeed even in the ordinary course of business, both to the Company and publick in general.

'These I conceive to be practicable things, and therefore purposely distinguish them from the supplying the ships by a new method, which, to say the least of it, is an arduous task, if not an impossibility:—I mean conveying the water from the shore to the back of the surf, where ships boats may supply themselves, on paying for it, when the surf is high or impassable, or when the massoolahs shall be otherwise employed. Now, if those boats should take it from thence, great advantage would result from it, as the difficulty of going off in a loaded boat is (generally speaking) the passing the surf, and rowing to the southward against wind and current from the present watering place north of the black town. This however, being no part of the present plan, is only mentioned here. . . .

'This premised, Mr. George Baker, your late Master Attendant at Fort St. George, . . . humbly offers to undertake, at his own proper expence, to convey, by an aqueduct or otherwise, from the well or wells from which the town of Fort St. George is usually supplyed, or to dig any other at such place as shall be found more convenient, and convey from thence into such reservoir in the Fort as shall be by the Governour and Council appointed for that purpose, a quantity of water sufficient to last three thousand men at three quarts per man per day for three months (which will be upwards of eight hundred tuns), and from which said reservoir the Factory, Garrison, buildings and shipping may be dayly supplyed, and the quantity used be dayly replaced. And by this means the whole body of water in such reservoir be kept in circulation while the communication with the well is kept open. And if that communication should be (by the town being closely invested or otherwise) cult off, the above quantity will be in reserve for exigency, and that too without any additional expence, as Mr. Baker will undertake to do this on the following (as he hopes) reasonable terms, viz. for a sum of money to be paid him yearly equal only to what it shall have cost the Company annually on an average for the fifteen years which may immediately precede the day on which the town shall be first supplyed, or the reservoir first filled; or for the specifick sum of two thousand pagodes per annum. . . .

'2ndly. And that if Mr. Baker shall find sufficiency of water, he shall be at liberty to furnish any part of the Inhabitants therewith on such terms as shall be agreed between them and him.

'3rdly. And if he shall deliver the water for the ships on the beach at or near the Sea Gate, he shall be paid such a part of the present price thereof as shall, in the opinion of the Governor and Council, bear a just proportion to the trouble and expence thereby saved, and the advantage gain'd by its being delivered there.

'4thly. If the water for the ships shall be delivered to boats at the back of the surf opposite the Fort, Mr. Baker shall then be likewise paid such part of the present price of the water as shall . . . bear an exact proportion to the great trouble and expence thereby saved, and the still greater advantage of its being so delivered.

'5thly. If Mr. Baker shall . . . be enabled to deliver the water to the ships in the Road, he shall be allowed the exclusive privilege of furnishing them therewith at the ordinary price they now pay for the same.

'George Baker.'

The Directors having asked Colonel Call for his views, that officer wrote from Whiteford, Cornwall, criticizing Baker's proposals, and generally approving them. He remarked:—

Colonel John Call to the Court of Directors.

'It is beyond a doubt of the utmost importance to have every town, but more especially a fortifyed place, plentifully and easily supplyed with wholesome fresh water; but this is an advantage which Fort St. George, from its situation, has not internally, and hath hitherto been too dependant on a troublesome and indeed dubious mode of getting wholesome fresh water. I say dubious and wholesome because I know that the water, instead of being fetched from the seven wells at the extremity of the Black Town, was often taken out of the wells on the North Esplanade, where, tho' the water after the Monsoon or heavy rains was tolerably good, yet at times, and very often, it was both brackish and sour. The soldiers often complained of this practice, and I am sensible from experience that the chunam work suffered greatly from the salt in the water with which it was mixed up. . . .

'The reservoir . . . should be built on the highest part of the town, which I conceive to be in a vacant spot to the eastward of the grand magazine between the Church and the Inner Fort, and, if possible, ought to be covered with an Arch, Bomb Proof, or at least three feet thick of brick work. . . .

'If this scheme of Mr. Baker's be carried into execution, and four months fresh water for 6,000 men can be effectually secured for all emergencies in the cisterns and reservoir at three quarts per day for drinking, (other water for cooking, &c. uses being plênty enough), Fort St. George will thereby acquire a great additional strength, because, when the works are finished, I do not conceive that any enemy can be strong enough in India to undertake an active Siege, or siege of that place in form, when there are 6,000 men or any reasonable force in garrison, provided with eight months provisions, and water for four months certain in cisterns and reservoir. . . . JOHN CALL.' (*Mis. Let. Recd.*, vol. lv., 25th May, 1771.)

On the 26th June, 1771, an agreement was made[1] between the Company and 'George Baker of Kenton in the County of Devon, Gentleman,' whereby the latter engaged to 'convey into the said Town of Madras, by Aquaducts or other means, Water Sufficient for the Use of the said ffactory and Garrison, and to make and Construct one or more Reservoir or Reservoirs within the said Fort, which, together with those already made and constructed, shall contain, and be capable of supplying at all times, a Quantity of good and wholesome fresh Water sufficient at the least for the Use and Service of Six Thousand Men for the Space of Four Months, after the Rate of Three Quarts to each Man for one Day.' The works were to be carried out at Baker's expense, but the Company was to pay him Pags. 200 monthly. The contract was to run for twenty-one years. Special payment was provided for water delivered to the Factory and buildings, as well as to the shipping and town of Madras, if such supply should be required.

Captain Baker arrived in Madras in July, 1772, and commenced operations. He agreed with the Chief Engineer that the reservoir should be built on ground 'between the Houses of Mr. Powney and Mr. Boswall[1] (which was formerly the old Mayor's Court House and latterly the Prison).' It was arranged that the reservoir, as well as two bomb-proof cisterns to be placed north and south of the Fort Square, should be constructed by Government.[2] The lead for the pipes did not reach Madras until May, 1773, but Baker engaged to deliver water to the Fort within two months.[3] He fulfilled his promise. The old cisterns were charged, and Baker urged the Government to provide the new ones in order that his undertaking might be completed.[4] In 1776 it was decided that Captain Baker's monopoly-term should not begin until the reservoirs were built. Till then he was to enjoy the interim advantages of his contract.[5] To preserve the purity of the water supply, the Committee of Works advised that the well-ground be enclosed. Part of the area being in private occupation, compensation was proposed, but the scheme involved encroachment on the Parchery. The Committee, while suggesting that the denizens of that locality might move outside the ramparts, remarked that 'the Parriars who inhabit the Patcherry claim possession from the time the Company first settled at Madras.' The Committee added:—

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxxv., 27th Nov., 1771.

The Committee of Works to Government.

'On Examining the situation of the Wells, we find that the space of Ground taken from Narrain, &c., for the security of the Powder Mills joins to what is here proposed to be enclosed, and it therefore occurs to Us that it would be more eligible to extend the enclosure farther than Captain Baker proposes, so as to encircle the Ground in front of the Powder Mills,[6] making that side of the enclosure come up to the Pettah Naigue's Street Powder Mill. The Wells will then have no Buildings or Inhabitants near them to the West, North or East, the extensive Ground of Coja Gregorio Agaperry lying on the other side of the Street to the East of the Wells, the Black Town Wall to the North, and the proposed Enclosure extending to Pettah Naigue's Street. That Street, the

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[1] Mr. Thomas Powney, free merchant, and Dr. Alexander Boswell.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cviii., 14th Aug., 1772.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cx., 29th May, 1773.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cx., 17th Dec., 1773.

[5] *M.C.*, vol. lv., 23rd Feb., 1776.

[6] These Powder Mills were erected in 1770. (*M.C.*, vol. lvi., 19th July, 1776, and *P.C.*, vol. cv., 14th June, 1771.)

Powder Mills, and the space around them requisite to be kept clear will make a very spacious opening on this side of the Wells. . . . ALEXANDER DALRYMPLE, JOHN M. STONE,[1] PATRICK ROSS.' (*M.C.*, vol. lvi., 19th July, 1776.)

Government resolved that the well-ground be enclosed by some 920 yards of 8-foot wall.

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[1] John Maxwell Stone entered the civil service in 1755. Twenty years later he was Tenth of Council, Sea Customer, Garrison Storekeeper, and Rental General and Scavenger. He married Mary Seale in 1757.

CHAPTER IV

1770—1775

THE PLENIPOTENTIARY—BUILDINGS AND LANDS—SUBURBAN BUILDING SITES

THE PLENIPOTENTIARY.

THE territorial acquisitions gained by the Company prompted the Home Government to exercise some control. The Directors strenuously resisted interference. Nawab Walajah, however, yearning to be actually, as well as nominally, an independent prince, appointed Mr. John Macpherson, lately purser of one of the Company's ships, to go to England as his agent, and seek the King's protection against the Company. Macpherson, who owned a persuasive tongue, approached the Prime Minister[1] in 1768, and was so successful in his mission that Sir John Lindsay was sent to Madras in the dual capacity of naval Commander-in-Chief and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of the Nawab, having power to treat with native rulers and to enquire into the past conduct of political affairs. Though operating against the Company's interests, Macpherson contrived to ingratiate himself with the Directors, who appointed him to a writership on the Madras establishment.

Sir John Lindsay arrived in 1770, and acquainted an astonished Council with his powers, of which the Directors themselves were as yet in ignorance. Du Pré took a strong line. He refused to grant inspection of the records, and declined to accompany the Plenipotentiary when the latter presented his credentials at Chepauk. In his capacity of naval Commander-in-Chief Lindsay was, of course, recognized: he was accommodated with quarters, first at the Admiralty, and afterwards at a house in St. Thomas Street which was purchased from Francis Jourdan[1] for Pags. 9,000. Lindsay identified himself with the Nawab in opposition to the Company, and Chepauk became a centre of intrigue. Hyder Ali, with whom Bourchier had concluded an alliance offensive and defensive, claimed British aid against the Marāthas. Du Pré found a pretext for remaining neutral; but Walajah would be satisfied with nothing less than open enmity with Hyder, and Lindsay supported him. In the meantime the Directors had learned from Madras of the Plenipotentiary's powers, and they remonstrated with the King's Ministers. The latter made a show of concession by recalling Lindsay,[2] but they nominated in his place Sir Robert Harland, Bart., who was invested with the same powers as his predecessor.

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[1] Macpherson's proceedings are recorded in *M.C.*, vol. lv., 22nd Jan., 1776.

Harland arrived in September, 1771. He was accommodated with a house belonging to Benfield, which was afterwards purchased by the Council for Pags. 14,200.[3] Two houses in the Fort were allotted to the naval captains, and one in Black Town to junior officers. Harland adopted Lindsay's views, so that differences with the Government soon became acute. On the approach of the monsoon of 1772 he took the squadron to Bombay:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Sir Robert Harland thought fit to embark without paying the usual Compliment to the Governor of the Fort of taking leave. When Sir John Lindsay arrived, he paid the Compliment of the first Visit to the Governor. Sir Robert Harland did so likewise. When Sir John Lindsay embarked for Europe, altho' the differences with him had been as great as with Sir Robert Harland, he paid the Complimentary Visit of taking leave, and the Governor has been scrupulously attentive in returning all due honor. He accompanied Sir John Lindsay to the Beach, and there paid him the honor of the proper Salute from the Fort. As Sir Robert Harland thought fit to embark from the Fort without paying the Governor of the Fort the proper Compliment, he was neither accompanied nor saluted. The like case happened under Mr. Pigot's Government. Admiral Cornish in disgust embarked on the Manilla Expedition without taking leave, and was not saluted.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 15th Oct., 1772.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. civ., 17th July, 1770. Francis Jourdan entered the civil service as Writer in 1759. He was afterwards employed in the administration of Manila, and in 1770 was Deputy Commissary General at Madras.

[2] Admiral Sir John Lindsay had seen service under Pocock in the West Indies in 1762, and was rewarded with knighthood. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies at the age of thirty-three, and in March, 1771, he was invested by the Nawab at Chepauk with the insignia of the Order of the Bath. In 1783 he was Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean. He died in 1788, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cix., 5th Feb., 1773. Benfield had, in 1768, received a grant of ground in Park Street, near Lawrence's Bastion (*Register of Leases*, No. 39, 4th April, 1768). Park Street seems to have become the thoroughfare, on the south side of the Hanover Square block, between the square and the arsenal.

In 1774 Harland interfered in regard to the fortifications:—

Sir Robert Harland to the President and Council.

'As I find myself under the necessity of communicating to the Secretary of State an account of the present State of the Fortifications of Fort St. George; without paying any compliment to my Candour, I should think you could not be displeased at this Instance of it in making You acquainted with my Intentions.

'You must be sensible, from the relation in which the Company's Affairs abroad now stand with regard to the public, that the situation of Fort St. George is considered as a very great National Concern, and that it is not only Your Constituents but the public who are deeply concern'd in its Security. Therefore it gives me pain to lay before his Majesty an Account of the present unfinished and defenceless State of the Capital of this Presidency, and more particularly so as truth obliges me to add, from my own Observation, that it has remained in its present unfinished and defenceless State ever since the beginning of June last year.

'I should be deficient in my Duty if I did not at the same time mention that, to my knowledge, offers were publickly made, the beginning of last Year, by one who is an able and skillfull Artist[1] to complete the whole Fortifications before the October Monsoon 1773; but this Plan appears to have been defeated by some Management, which may very probably make the subject of a future Enquiry in which you may be concerned.

'As my only meaning is to observe a candid Conduct towards you in the necessary and faithfull discharge of my Duty, I shall not take up your Attention with a pompous display of unmeaning words, but I shall conclude with this one Observation that, as the security of the place is so great a national Object, it may be thought expedition in its accomplishment ought to have the principal Consideration; and as this is an observation very likely to occur to every one who has the interests of the Nation at heart, I hope you will consider this as a friendly communication, which may in Some Measure prepare You for any unfavorable Construction which may be put on the Conduct of a transaction not easy to be reconciled to the Expectation of the Nation or of your Constituents. But as it is very possible, notwithstanding the Delicacy with which I have chosen to express myself, that You may consider this an Attack upon Your Conduct and Management, I have thought proper to tell You that not only my Duty obliges me to report, but I am also commanded to remonstrate against all such Measures as shall appear to me to be pernicious. RT. HARLAND.'

Government Order.

'We think the Letter now before Us will afford a sufficient Proof that We have but little reason to expect Candour from Sir Robert Harland in any representation he may think proper to make of our Conduct. A mind evidently disposed to receive the most unfavorable Impressions of this Government, and to catch at every Opportunity of censuring the Measures of those who are charged with the administration of the Company's Affairs, will never want Pretences for gratifying its Purposes. What Justice can We hope for from a Man who has been uniformly employed since his Arrival in Canvassing and Condemning all our Actions, Whose Prejudices will scarce permit him to consider anything that We do dispassionately? . . .

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[1] The allusion is to Benfield.

'Sir Robert Harland having been pleased to insinuate that it has been owing to some *Management* of ours that the Works on the West Front are still unfinished, We shall, for the satisfaction of the Honble Court, explain, in as few Words as possible, the real Cause of their present State, from which We trust it will appear that We have not been in the least wanting in attention on our part. Sir Robert Harland observes that, to his Knowledge, offers were publickly made, the beginning of last Year, by an able and skillfull Artist to Complete the whole Fortifications before the October Monsoon 1773. The Person he alludes to is Mr. Benfield, who did not make Proposals to complete the whole Fortifications, as Sir Robert Harland asserts, but only to raise the Bastion intended for the Security of the West Front in the Space of four Months, and to raise the Defences and secure the body of the Place before the Monsoon. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxi., 24th Jan., 1774.)

The Council conclude by ascribing the delay to heavy rain, and shortage of bricks.

Fort St. George to Sir Robert Harland, Bart.

'We have just received Your Letter of Yesterday's date.

'The present State of the Fortifications of this place gives us as much Concern as it can possibly do you. In whatever Light, however, the Conduct of this Government respecting them may appear to You, We trust We shall be able to justify ourselves to those to whom We are responsible, and to convince them that our constant Attention hath not nor will be wanting in a matter of such real Importance.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxi., 24th Jan., 1774.)

Harland left India in the following July in anticipation of relief by Sir Edward Hughes. On the eve of departure, he conveyed a civil message to Governor Wynch and Council, who, in return, wished him 'all imaginable happiness.'

BUILDINGS AND LANDS.

Notwithstanding the enlargement of the Fort, there was difficulty in finding house accommodation within it, and a Committee of Distribution of Civil Apartments was appointed in April, 1771. The building which had been taken in the previous year for the lost Supervisors was allotted to newly-arrived Writers. The Directors desired, in 1770, that a residence should be provided for General Coote, and Christopher Macklin's[1] house was rented for three years at Pags. 1,200 per annum. Coote's stay, however, was brief, and the house was appropriated for civil and military servants, and any strangers who might arrive.[2] The Committee also secured rooms in 'the Hotel' to accommodate seventeen Company's servants, and took the house of the late Mrs. Munro in Charles Street for the use of the officers of the expected naval squadron.[3] Early in 1773 the Committee represented that, owing to the enhanced value of house property in the Fort and Black Town, the authorized lodging allowance of Pags. 5 a month to Company's servants was inadequate. Quarters were provided as far as possible, but, although two and sometimes three gentlemen were squeezed into one room, the cost worked out to upwards of Pags. 10 per head. The Council accordingly doubled the allowance for house rent,[4] and the hired houses were evacuated. One of them, belonging to 'Chippermal Chetty' (Teperumāl Cheṭṭi), in Charles Street had been occupied by the Company for ten years.

The Chief Engineer ultimately submitted a scheme which provided for cisterns and granaries as well as quarters:—

Colonel Ross's Estimate.

(*M.C.*, vol. li., 25th April, 1775.)

	Pags.
'Large Bomb-proof Granary on the South side of Fort Square, with Cisterns under it - - - - - -	28,000
Small Granary on the North Side - - - - - -	10,000
Twenty three Rooms to be built upon the Portugueze [Square] which shall make convenient appartments for the Servants - - - - - - - - - -	20,000
Godowns to be fitted up for the Gentlemen in the Portugueze Square - - - - - - - - -	900
Eighteen Rooms over the Bomb Proof Barracks, North side of the Parade, which can conveniently lodge nine Gentlemen - - - - - - - -	25,950
Appartments for 3 Gentlemen over the intended Gate -	3,500
Surgeons Appartments - - - - - - - -	14,050'

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[1] The situation of the building is uncertain. Macklin, the Company's Bricklayer, a good man of business, bought a house in Choultry Gate Street for Pags. 902 in 1765, and sold it three years later to Moses De Castro for Pags. 7,000. In 1771 Macklin purchased ground from Benfield in Hanover Square and Park Street. (*Register of Leases*, Nos. 28, 41, and 51.)

[2] *P.C.*, vol. civ., 6th July, 1770, and vol. cv., 17th May, 1771.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cv., 28th June, 1771, and vol. cvi., 30th Aug., 1771.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cix., 16th Jan., 1773.

The Government considered granaries superfluous, and resolved to have cisterns only. An additional reservoir was to be provided by adapting the casemates under the Nabob's bastion to hold water.

In August, 1770, Captain Henry Montresor was directed to build the new Powder Mill, which had been for so many years under consideration. 'A Piece of Ground to the North West of Madras had been allotted for that Purpose.' From a consultation of July, 1776, relating to the waterworks, it appears that the site was within the ramparts, close to and west of the Seven Wells.[1] Montresor announced that manufacture would begin before the end of 1771.[2]

The north beach 'between the Fort and the Watering place' for ships was occupied' by the private banksalls or warehouses of native merchants. In 1772 Government resolved to resume possession of the ground, and directed the Engineer to construct new banksalls, and place them under the control of the Sea Customer to be rented to merchants.[3]

In 1773 Mrs. Rebecca Casamaijor, widow of Noah and mother of James Henry Casamaijor, addressed the Governor regarding her former property on the Island, opposite the Company's old Garden House:—

Mrs. Rebecca Casamaijor to Governor Wynch and Council.

'I beg leave to represent to your Honor, &c., that, when this place was taken by the French in the year 1746, two houses with Gardens and a considerable Spot of Ground, situated on the Island, which my late Husband, Mr. Noah Casamaijor, purchased from Mr. Alexander Carvalho,[4] were destroyed, and having since been appropriated to the purposes of the Company, are now entirely lost to my Family. I have therefore to request that Your Honor, &c., will be pleased, in Consideration of the foregoing Circumstances, to allott me such a Piece of Ground in the Black Town as may be thought a reasonable Compensation for that which was taken from me. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cx., 11th Oct., 1773.)

Government referred the matter home, and in due course they received directions to investigate the claim in view to making compensation. In October, 1775, the Committee of Works reported that Mrs. Casamaijor's ground originally measured

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lvi., 19th July, 1776.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cv., 14th June, 1771.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cvii., 13th March, 1772.

[4] The ground was originally granted to Mr. Thomas Cooke in 1717.

1,214,400 square feet or '506 Lotts.'[1] Its value of Pags. 2,000, with compound interest for twenty-seven years, would amount to a large sum, and the Committee hinted that Mrs. Casamaijor might have made her claim earlier. In the Black Town there were only 356 lots of 2,400 square feet available for distribution, and the Committee recommended that 253 lots should be awarded to the lady. The Council, however, cut the compensation down to one-sixth of the original Island area.[2]

A tomb of the Hopkins family—presumably that of Capt. Charles Hopkins, a master-mariner, who was admitted to the civil service in 1750, became Chief of Devikota, and died in 1757—occupied in 1772 a position in Peddanaikpetta on the borders of the Esplanade. Mrs. Phyllis Hopkins,[3] the widow, sold her ground 'in Mootoo Kistna 'Moodeliar Street' to a native, who subsequently complained that part of it was considered by the Engineer to be within the limits of the Esplanade. A certificate of Mrs. Hopkins' ownership, signed by Warren Hastings and Richard Brickenden,[4] showed that on the property 'a Tomb with an Epitaph is erected, measuring in length sixteen Feet and in breadth sixteen Feet, which Ground is not to be disposed of by anyone.'[5] The injunction has not been obeyed, for no trace of the tomb can now be found.

In 1773 Mr. Andrew Ross, a prominent free merchant of one-and-twenty years' standing, addressed Government regarding 'the building a Bridge over the Brook at Mamelon, which many of the Inhabitants, both poor and rich, have often prompted me to promote, as I have a House in the Neighbourhood, and may therefore have the opportunity of lending some Assistance.' The proposal had been put forward in the previous year, and several subscriptions had been tendered. The Nawab offered to bear the whole cost, but nothing had been done for want of materials. The bridge was to consist of a single arch, and to cost Pags. 2,000. The Council agreed that the enterprise would be of utility, and they promised to assist when the state of the public works would permit.[1]

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[1] Equivalent to about 28 acres.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxiv., 27th Oct., 1775.

[3] Mrs. Hopkins' daughter Amelia became the wife in 1756 of Captain (afterwards General) Richard Smith.

[4] Richard Brickenden, who joined the Madras service in 1768 as a Senior Merchant, was a Councillor in 1770 and Land Customer.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. cvii., 10th April, 1772.

The barracks in Fort St. George were reported on in 1770 by General Joseph Smith and the Chief Engineer as follows:—

General Smith and Colonel Ross to Government.

'The New range, and that which was formerly an Hospital, are the only places by any means proper to quarter Soldiers in. The largest of these will contain near 500 Men, and the lesser 300, allowing for the proportion of Troops on duty.

'The South Curtain Barrack is at present occupied by Invalids, and a part of the East by Artillery Men, but both are so exceedingly low and close that they must be prejudicial to the Men's health, and should be appropriated to no other use than Storehouses. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 25th June, 1770.)

Three companies of Artillery were consequently transferred to the Mount, and in 1775 the Chief Engineer proposed to erect permanent barracks there. He sent in two plans, in one of which the buildings were disposed in three sides of a square, while in the other, which he preferred, they were ranged in line. Sanction was duly accorded.[2] The officers were to receive house rent, but on a representation being made that no quarters were procurable, Major Matthew Horne,[3] the Commandant, was permitted to build bungalows 'on the South side of the Mount, running from the Palmyra tope to the West point of the foot of the hill near the Men's barracks.' Within a year he had constructed ten sets of quarters.[4]

In 1771 Captains Montresor and Pittman offered to make 'a Survey of Fort St. George and its environs of 10 miles in Circumference on a Scale of 400 Feet to an Inch.'[5] Representing that 'It is an Undertaking which will require great Perseverance and Fatigue on our Parts,' they hoped that assistance would be granted them in 'carrying on so great a Work.' The Council approved the proposal,[6] but it is doubtful whether the survey was ever completed.

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[1] The bridge was eventually erected in 1786, under the will of Adrian Fourbeck, a free merchant.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. li., 17th and 25th April, 1775.

[3] Matthew Horne, in 1759 a Lieutenant of Artillery, served in the Manila expedition of 1762. He married Miss Ann Salmon in 1774.

[4] *M.C.*, vol. li., 5th June, 1775, and vol. lv., 15th April, 1776.

[5] Equivalent to 13·2 inches to the mile.

[6] *M.C.*, vol. xxxix., 18th March, 1771.

In the same year the Select Committee drew the Company's attention to the Nawab's frequent purchases of house property:—

The Select Committee to the Secret Committee.

'We know not whether the following circumstance may appear to your Honors of sufficient moment to engage your attention, but as we foresee many inconveniences resulting therefrom, We think it our Duty to take Notice thereof. The Nabob is at this time possess'd of one House at Chipauk, one on Choultry Plain, one near the Spur,[1] one at Vipary,[2] four at the Mount, several at St. Thomé, and several in the Black Town. Three Capital Houses have been purchased in the Fort by Persons in his Service, Viz one in the Name of Mr. Boswall, one in the name of Mr. Storey, who are both his Surgeons,[3] and one in the Name of Mr. James Johnson[4] of whom particular mention has been made to Your Honors in our former Advices. We cannot say that these Houses have been purchased for the Nabob, but we are not without suspicion. If it be the Nabob's inclination to encrease the Number, no doubt he may, in a very short time, become possess'd of most of the principal Houses in the Place, since Houses are frequently, in consequence of the Death or departure of the Incumbents, offer'd to sale, and the Nabob can always afford to give more for them than any one else, as a few thousand Pagodas are to him of no consequence. In our present situation we have not thought it expedient even to hint our thoughts to him on this subject: it is enough that we inform Your Honors thereof. The consequences are obvious. JOSIAS DU PRÉ, WARREN HASTINGS, SAMUEL ARDLEY.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xxvi., 25th March, 1771.)

SUBURBAN BUILDING SITES.

It will be remembered that in 1769 the Council ceased making grants of ground for garden houses pending instructions from home. The Directors in due course gave the Government full discretion, with the result that a flood of applications poured in from 1772 to 1774, when a second halt was called. It is unfortunate that no map of the period has been discovered, for identification of the sites connected with the original grants of waste ground would have considerable local interest. The *Public Consultations* record the applications made, state whether they were granted or refused, and describe the site by reference to some previously established road or garden. Mackay's Garden[1] is frequently mentioned as a point of reference, and it is the only site whose position is certainly known. Further help is rendered by the *Book of Grants of Ground from* 1774. The first thirty grants it contains are all dated 1st November, 1774, but most of them relate to applications which were sanctioned in and after 1772. The first page is occupied with a copy of a lease to Mr. Henry Brooke[2] of about 25 acres of land on Choultry Plain for 99 years, at a rental of Pags. 3 per annum, with a fine of Pags. 30 payable after every 30 years. The lease is granted on condition that a brick house shall be built on the ground. The remaining leases were issued on similar conditions, but the only particulars recorded are the name of the lessee, the area allotted, the yearly rent, and the name of the village in which the land is situated. The information derived from the Book of Grants and the Consultations is collated below.

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[1] The Spur Tank in Egmore.

[2] Acquired from Captain Maskelyne.

[3] Walajah liked variety in his medical advisers. In 1778 he had eight doctors in his service—viz., two physicians and six surgeons. The former were the Messrs. de Maloa, father and son; the latter were Drs. Robert Storey and Job Bulman, residing on Choultry Plain, Dr. Robert Bird, Dr. Weston, of San Thomé, Dr. James Dott, of the Luz, and Dr. Plott, who was then 'a Debtor in the Goal.'

[4] James Johnson, a free merchant since 1764. He married Miss Hannah Butterworth in 1775.

The attitude of the Government towards the applicants for land is disclosed by the subjoined extract. In 1772 Mr. John Sulivan, Writer and Contractor, prayed for 'a Spot between Mr. Storey's house and the Road leading to Sir Robert Fletcher's Garden.' Du Pré's Council disposed of the case thus:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board confess themselves much embarassed in respect to the Requests for Grants of Ground. If they grant to one, why not to another? Rank in the service cannot be admitted as a Determinate Line, and where shall we stop, and by what shall We be determined? Yet stop We must, for the applications that have poured in upon Us since the Receit of the Company's Commands leaving such Grants to our Discretion give Us just Cause to apprehend that, if We continue to comply with them, there will soon be no more vacant Ground to grant, and thus indeed that Embarassment will Cure itself: but it is not fit that all the Ground in the Environs should be thus given out of the Company's Power. The President therefore takes the opportunity of the application now made by one to whom he has been thought partial to put his negative upon his Request, as an Example that he will do so to every Application which shall not be supported with uncontrovertible Reasons; and the Board unanimously acquiesce.' (*P.C.*, vol. cviii., 14th Aug., 1772.)

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[1] The word Mackay is now locally pronounced with the accent on the first syllable. Curiously enough, it is possible to show that local custom is justified by George Mackay's own pronunciation of his name. It was the practice of civil servants of the period to use seals bearing their names in Persian characters. An impression of Mackay's seal shows the words جورجه مکه (*Bills of Sale*, No. 16, 1st Sept., 1758).

[2] Henry Brooke, a civil servant of 1751, was a Member of Council and Paymaster in 1773.

On Mr. Wynch's accession, grants were freely made, and continued until 1774, when it was found that the public service sustained injury through the number of private buildings in course of erection, and the consequent difficulty experienced in procuring workmen. The Council 'being of opinion that further Grants of Ground cannot be made without many Inconveniences, it is Resolved that all further Applications of this kind be rejected.'[1]

Turning to the Book of Grants, it appears that of the thirty leases issued on the 1st November, 1774, eleven related to Poodoopauk, six to Veerasanoor, three to Nungumbaukum, seven to Egmore, one to Vepery, and one to San Thomé. The Triplicane River, or to call it by its modern name, the Cooum,[2] passes from the edge of the Spur Tank near Egmore village to Chintadripetta by a deep loop to the southward. The road from Egmore towards Fort St. George is the chord of the loop, which is bisected by Egmore Redoubt. The Mount Road, running south-west, forms a tangent to the loop opposite the villages of Komaleswaranpett and Poodoopett on the northern bank. The district through which this highway passes from the Government Garden to near Mackay's Garden is known as Poodoopauk. It includes the roads now called White's Road and Peters' Road, or part of them. Veerasanoor, a name not now recognized, appears to have been contiguous to Poodoopauk on its south-west side. Land lying between the Mount Road and Spur Tank to the west of the loop belonged to Nungumbaukum; while the almost circular area within the loop formed the district of Egmore. The following are particulars of the thirty grants of the 1st November, 1774, and of one grant, Captain Donald Mackay's, of later date:—

In Poodoopauk.

Reynold Adams, about 6 acres, rent Pag. 1 per annum. The ground was 'on the North side and near the East end of the

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxii., 19th Sept., 1774.

[2] Perhaps a contraction of Komaleswaran, a name applied at this period to the stream.

Highway commonly called Lord Pigot's Road.' Adams was a free merchant who arrived in 1764, and became Master Attendant in succession to Captain George Baker.

Patrick Ross, 10 acres, rent Pags. 4 per annum. Colonel Ross's land was 'on Choultry Plain . . . opposite to Pigot's new Road.'[1]

James Taylor, 8 acres, rent Pags. 2. Taylor, who entered the civil service in 1764, was Paymaster of Sepoys and Registrar of the Mayor's Court. His land lay 'to the Southward of the Avenue leading from the Mount Road to Mr. Stratton's Garden, and near the Brick Kilns.'

Thomas Powney, 8 acres, rent Pags. 2, applied for a plot 'between the Road leading to the Mount and the river before Mr. Stratton's[2] house.' Powney was a free merchant from 1750.

John Hollond, 8 acres, rent Pags. 2. A civil servant of 1760, Hollond received ground 'adjoining to the Tope situated South East of the Nabob's, formerly Turing's Garden.' Dr. Turing's house, near the Mount Road and the ford across the river, is frequently mentioned at the time of the siege.

Edward Monckton, 11 acres, rent Pags. 4. His building site was 'to the North East of Sir Robert Harland's Garden House on Choultry Plain.' The Hon. Edward Monckton joined the civil service in 1762. Ten years later he proceeded on a mission to Quedah,[3] and on his return was appointed Assaymaster at the Mint. He married Sophy, daughter of Lord Pigot, in 1776.

Alexander Wynch, 14 acres, rent Pags. 6. The Governor applied for a 'Spot of Ground in the Country.'

Henry Augustus Cosby, 5 acres, rent Pag. 1. His ground was 'adjoining to Mr. Wynch's, laying betwixt the high Mount Road and the Road leading to the Admiral's.' Captain (afterwards

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[1] The designation 'Pigot's Road' is no longer in use. As the thoroughfare, which was new, lay east and west in Poodoopauk, it must have been either White's Road or Peters' Road. The former, as the highway from Triplicane towards the Mount, had probably long existed, so the choice falls on the latter. Captain Thomas Peters, of Madras, who died in 1798, may perhaps have given the road its present name.

[2] George Stratton, who joined as a Writer in 1751, was Chief at Vizagapatam in 1773. He was a son of John Stratton, of the civil service, who has been mentioned earlier. John Stratton left two sons, George and William, and a daughter, Sarah, who married George Mackay. (*Register of Bills of Sale*, No. 16, 1st Sept., 1758.) George Stratton married Miss Hester Eleanora Light in 1768.

[3] Monckton's narrative of the mission is recorded in *P. Sun.*, vol. xxi., 25th June, 1773.

Colonel Sir Henry) Cosby, was Adjutant-General in 1774 and died in 1787.[1]

James West, 8 acres, rent Pags. 3. This appears to have been an old grant. Lieut. West left the 79th Regiment to become a free merchant. He married in 1761 Ann Innis, widow of Captain John Innis and daughter of Captain John De Morgan.

Cawn Saib, 6 acres, rent Pags. 4. Perhaps 'Abd-ul-Rassīd K͟hān.

John Sulivan, 10 acres, rent Pags. 3. Whether this was the ground near Sir Robert Fletcher's which Sulivan failed to obtain in 1772 is uncertain.

In Veerasanoor.

Edward Saunders, 7 acres, rent Pags. 2. This ground, granted in 1772, was 'East of Mr. Mackay's Garden and North West of the Mount Road.' Saunders was a civil servant dating from 1762. He married Miss Helen Turing in 1773.

Charles Desvoeux, 11 acres, rent Pags. 4, received 'a Spot of Ground on the Mount Road to the Southward of Mr. Mackay's Garden.' Desvoeux, a civil servant, formerly employed as an assistant engineer, had lately returned from a mission to Acheen.

Paul Benfield, 7 acres, rent Pag. 1, received a plot adjoining that 'granted to Mr. Saunders on the South West side, near to Mr. Mackay's Garden on Choultry Plain.'

Augustus De Morgan, 6 acres, rent Pag. 1. His site was 'on Choultry Plain between Mr. Whitehill's Garden and the Tope opposite Mr. Brooke's house.' Captain Augustus De Morgan arrived as a Writer, but was transferred to the Artillery in 1761. He was the son of Captain John De Morgan, who has been frequently mentioned in these pages. Augustus De Morgan was killed before Pondicherry in 1778.

John Whitehill, 27 acres, rent Pags. 15. This was an old grant. Whitehill was a civil servant of 1752. In 1773 he was Chief at Masulipatam.

Moses De Castro, 6 acres, rent Pag. 1. De Castro, a Hebrew free merchant, had been resident in Madras since 1766.

In Nungumbaukum.

Richard Joseph Sulivan, 6 acres, rent Pag. 1. The ground was 'situated on the Bank of the River to the Westward of Mr.

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[1] *List of Inscriptions*, J. J. Cotton.

Mackay's Garden.'[1] R. J. Sulivan, a civil servant of 1768, was Sub-Secretary in the Military Department.

Robert Wood, 5 acres, rent Pag. 1, obtained land 'lying to the North West of Mr. Mackay's Garden on the opposite Bank of the River to Mr. Petrie's and General Smith's.' Captain Robert Wood married Miss Mary Kirkpatrick in 1775, and died in 1781.

James Daniell, 6 acres, rent Pag. 1. He applied for land 'to the Westward of Mr. Mackay's Garden house, and adjacent to the Spots for which Captain Wood and Mr. Richard Sulivan have lately applied.' Daniell, a civil servant of 1761, was Paymaster at Madura and Palamcotta in 1774.

Donald Mackay, 6 acres, rent Pags. 6. Captain Mackay, who was perhaps a son of George Mackay, received this grant in 1774, but the lease is dated 21st August, 1778. There is a 'Mackay's Gardens' situated near the present Nungumbaukum High Road and west of Mackay's Gardens, Mount Road. Whether this was the site granted to Donald Mackay is doubtful, for the map of 1798, though marking it private property, shows it as agricultural land without a house.

In Egmore.

William Petrie, 11 acres, rent Pags. 4, received ground 'between the South West side of Mr. Munro's[2] Garden and the River.' Petrie was a civil servant of 1765.

Joseph Smith, 15 acres, rent Pags. 7. General Smith's land is described as 'to the Eastward of Mr. Dark's.'[3]

Eyles Irwin, 11 acres, rent Pags. 5. He was granted land 'lying near the Village of Erembore to the Eastward of the Garden belonging to Mr. Charles Darke.' Irwin, a civil servant of 1768, was Superintendent of the Company's Grounds.

Richard Mathews, 11 acres, rent Pags. 4. Captain Mathews's Ground was 'to the South East of Mr. Troutback's[4] Garden near the River.'

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[1] A line due west from Mackay's Garden would not, however, strike the present course of the river.

[2] Robert Duncan Munro, a civil servant of 1765, and son of Dr. Andrew Munro. He married Miss Elizabeth Williamson in 1782.

[3] Charles Darke, a free merchant from 1770. His daughter Rebecca became the wife of Colonel John Floyd in 1791.

[4] Samuel Troutback, a free merchant and old resident of Madras, was Boatswain of the *King George* when that ship was wrecked near Sadras in 1719.

Charles Bromley, 6 acres, rent Pag. 1, received a plot 'lying near the Road leading from Madras to Ellembore, situated between the Garden House of Colonel Jno. Wood, and Egmore Fort.' Bromley was an attorney and notary. He married Miss Elizabeth Steward in 1770.

James Call, 6 acres, rent Pag. 1, was granted a site 'contiguous to Colonel Wood's Garden on the North side.' Call, a civil servant of 1765, was Deputy Inspector of the Nawab's Accounts. He is believed to have been a younger brother of Colonel John Call.

George Smith, 11 acres, rent Pags. 5. This appears to have been an old grant. A free merchant from 1754, George Smith was a nephew of Dr. Andrew Munro. In 1769 he married his cousin Margarete Aurora Munro.

In Vepery.

William Harcourt Torriano, 6 acres, rent Pag. 1. Torriano wrote in 1774:—'Being very desirous of building a little Habitation in the Country for the Sake of my own Health and that of my Family, I have pitched on a Waste Spot of Ground situated between the Road that leads to Egmore and that of Vipery.' W. H. Torriano, a civil servant of 1766, was now Clerk to the Committee of Works. He was doubtless connected with, though not a son of, George Torriano of the civil service, who died in 1741.

In San Thomé.

George Dawson, 17 acres, Pags. 8. Dawson, a civil servant of 1751, was a member of Council and Export Warehousekeeper in 1773.

The following additional applications are recorded in the Consultations as sanctioned between 1772 and 1774, but none of them are mentioned in the Book of Grants:—

The Nawab asked for, and was granted, land 'between the House occupied by Mr. Johnson[1] and that of Abdul Receed Cawn.' It was probably in Poodoopauk.

Captain John Kennedy was allotted ground 'North of that given to Mr. Bromley, and on the Road to Egmore.'

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[1] Samuel Johnson was a civil servant of 1754. There was also a James Johnson, free merchant.

The executors of Colonel John Wood[1] (William Chambers and Christian Frederick Swartz) were granted a spot adjacent to the late Colonel's garden house in Egmore.

The following applications, though either unnoticed or rejected by the Council, are mentioned as they contain a few topographical details:—

'Edward James'[2] asked in 1773 for a plot 'on the South East Angle of Mr. West's Garden and South West of Mr. Adams's Garden, fronting the Road between Mr. West's and Mr. Adams's.' In the following year Mr. Charles Edward Jones, of the civil service, applied for ground 'near the Luz situated on the West Front of the House[3] at present inhabited by Colonel Ross.' Both applications were refused.

Mr. George Taswell,[4] who afterwards succeeded Adams as Master Attendant, applied in 1773 for land 'between that already permitted to Lieut. Colonel Ross and Mr. Adams.'

Mr. Gideon Firth, a civil servant, asked in 1774 for a spot 'lying North of Pigot's Road and East of the Brick Kilns on Choultry Plain.'

Mr. John Turing, the Contractor for Bricks and Chunam, a civil servant of 1762,[5] requested a grant of ground 'on the South side of Pigot's Road nearly opposite Mr. Dawson's Garden,' or as an alternative, a spot 'between the Gardens of General Smith and Mr. Dawson.' Smith's ground was in Egmore, however, while Dawson's is classed as San Thomé.[6]

Mr. James Henry Casamaijor, a civil servant of 1762, sought but failed, to obtain land in Veerasanoor 'opposite to Mr. Desvoeux's, and on the East side of the Mount Road.' There is no record of any grant to him in Egmore, where 'Casamajor's Road' perpetuates his name.

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[1] Colonel John Wood took a prominent but unsatisfactory part in the campaign of 1768 against Hyder Ali. He was tried by court-martial with adverse results, and though the Court refrained from passing sentence on account of his earlier good service, he was dismissed by Government. He married Miss Elizabeth Owen in 1762, and died at Madras in 1774.

[2] Colonel James of the Artillery married Miss Sophia Crockett in 1763.

[3] Evidently this house was not built on the ground granted to Colonel Ross.

[4] George Taswell married in 1776 Mrs. Honora Pittman, widow of Captain Pittman of the Engineers.

[5] John Turing married in 1773 Miss Mary Turing, one of the daughters of Dr. Robert Turing.

[6] Dawson appears to have had an earlier grant of land in Royapetta.

Captain Henry Montresor, of the Engineers, failed to obtain ground 'on Choultry Plain, South West of Mr. Munro's Garden House.'

Mr. Andrew Majendie, Agent for victualling the troops, a civil servant of 1766, applied in 1774 for 'a Spot of Ground and Tank situated on the South Side of the Road leading to Mr. George Smith's, and to the Westward of the Tope belonging to the Portugueze Church at the Luz.' George Smith had land in Egmore, but he was resident in the Luz in 1778.

Mr. Charles Oakeley,[1] the Secretary, a civil servant of 1767, and afterwards Governor of Madras, applied for a plot of land on Choultry Plain.

Mr. George Andrew Ram, the Coroner, a civil servant of 1767, asked in 1774 for ground 'lying near the Road leading to Ellembore, situated between the Spot of Ground granted to Mr. Bromley and Egmore Fort.'

Mr. Charles Mordaunt, a civil servant of 1765, applied in 1773 for 'a Spot of Ground lying South West of Mr. Stracey's and North East of Mr. Petrie's on the Bank of the River.'

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[1] Charles Oakeley married Miss Helena Beatson in 1777.

CHAPTER V

1770—1775

NAWAB WALAJAH — MILITARY NOTES — VARIETIES — LOCAL LITERATURE

NAWAB WALAJAH.

ALLUSION has been made to the negotiations of the Nawab with the British Ministry through the medium of Mr. John Macpherson. The Madras Government communicated to the Company their conviction that backstair influence was being exerted :—

Fort St. George to the Company.

> 'We think it our Duty to intimate to Your Honors that We are well informed the Nabob holds a Secret Correspondence with some Person or Persons in England. . . . This Correspondence, We believe, is carried on thro the Means of British Subjects in the Nabob's Service.
>
> 'It gives Us Pain to be obliged to speak of the Nabob's Conduct and Character in Terms which convey Ideas so different from those which have hitherto been given You of him, since it is natural that One of these Effects should be produced, Viz^t. either that We shall be thought partial, and to write thro Pique and Resentment, or that We have hitherto concealed from You his true Character. As to the first, should that Impression be made, nothing but Time and the Proof of Facts can remove it, and much We fear that Time and those Proofs are not far distant. And in Justice to our former Representations We can truely assert that he does not appear now the Man he did. A Change of Circumstances has produced a Change of Character; not totally, for Indications of what now glares were never wanting; but it is a delicate Subject, and 'tis not without much Reluctance that we have treated it thus freely. . . .' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. vii., 6th April, 1770.)

The cause of the change they attributed to the Nawab's belief that his private creditors would influence the Company against him, and that the loss of the Company's friendship might be compensated by the sympathy of the Crown. Walajah was weighted with a load of debt. His share of two-thirds of the cost of the war with Hyder was ten lakhs of pagodas, which, with previous outstandings, brought his total indebtedness to the Company up to twenty-two lakhs. The Nawab was extravagantly liberal, and borrowed in all directions. Among his creditors were servants of the Company, including the Governor and members of the Council. Messrs. James Call, James Bourchier, and George Mackay had been appointed trustees for the creditors. In 1769 the Select Committee declared that the Company held the first lien on the revenue, and they called on the other creditors to renounce the assignments which the Nawab had made over to them. Governor Bourchier and Mr. Du Pré set the example of renunciation, and placed themselves under the Company's protection for the recovery of their dues. Others did likewise. Among them were[1]:—

	Pags.
Charles Bourchier	66,000
James Bourchier	29,150
Henry Brooke	51,950
John Call	58,950
Josias Du Pré	15,100
George Mackay	51,250
Joseph Smith	16,250
George Stratton	34,100
Edward Stracey	15,250

When Wynch became Governor, the Nawab wrote to him as follows:—

Nawab Walajah to Governor Wynch.

'There has subsisted a Friendship between me, the Company, and the English nation for these three Generations, and by God's Blessing the invariable regard I have ever borne them is so well known as to need no explanation. You are the tenth Governor of Madrass I have seen since Mr. Morse's time and since my accession to the Government of the Carnatick. My revered Grandfather, in the time of King Aulumgeer, was in Friendship with the English, and my Father paid greater attention to their Friendship than my Grandfather; and as to me, I have the preserving thereof still more in view than my Father had, and accordingly, by God's Blessing, the same on my part is daily increasing. You may possibly remember our interview together when, agreeable to my Father's orders, I came with an Army to the assistance of Fort St. David's, from which time our friendship has continued. We were both then Young Men. Thanks be to the Almighty, I am now absolute Lord of the Carnatick, and you the Governor of Madrass, which affords me great satisfaction. I am convinced that the Union of two such old Friends as You and I will prove of service and benefit to a great many affairs of the Circar and the Company. Out of my great pleasure on the occasion I have sent you a flowered gold Dress and a Horse, the customary tokens of congratulation on accession to the Government. Esteem me ever as the true friend of the Company and the English Nation. What can I say more?' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xxii., 3rd Feb., 1773.)

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. xxxviii., 30th April, 1770.

The Nawab had always claimed tribute from Tanjore. When payment was refused, he prevailed on Wynch's Government in 1773 to send a force under General Joseph Smith to compel it. Tanjore was taken and its Rajah deposed. Walajah had two sons, 'Umdat-ul-Umarā and Amīr-ul-Umarā.[1] The younger was of strong character and exercised great influence over his father, who made him Captain-General of his troops. In 1775 Amīr-ul-Umarā was suspected of designs on Tanjore:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that he has long had information that the Nabob's second son, Omeer ul Omrah, was endeavouring to get a grant of the Tanjore Fort and Country, But that he did not imagine the Nabob would be prevailed upon to make such a grant; that he is now advised that Omeer Ul Omrah has succeeded in his Application, and that Saneds are prepared, and that he proposes to start shortly to take possession. That he is further informed that Omer ul Omrah has views of Connections with the Dutch and other European Nations to the southward. That the Nabob himself has, since the return of his second Son from Tanjore, shewn a disposition not so favorable to the Company as heretofore, and manifested more Jealousy's of the English and a stronger desire of independance than has ever been seen before. . . . That it is publick at the durbar that the Nabob's second Son is the principal Agent and adviser of the measures so inconsistent with the interest of the Company; That he is known to be of an enterprizing and artful [nature], a master in Intrigue, and that in the execution of his designs he is indefatigable and would spare no expence to accomplish them; that he publickly expresses his dislike of all Europeans, and It is said that his Intention is, when his plan is ripe, to throw of[f] all dependance on the English.

'He [the President] observes that the Board have yet no publick Advices from the Company relative to Tanjore, and that it therefore ought not to be disposed of, at any rate until the Companys sentiments be known relative to that Conquest. . . .

'For all these reasons he therefore moves that a letter be written to the Nabob, desiring him on no account whatever to make a grant of the Tanjore Country until the expected letters arrive, much less to give it to his Second Son, as the Board cannot consider him as a friend to the Company, and apprehend very material Inconveniences may arise from such measures.' (*M.C.*, vol. li., 25th April, 1775.)

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[1] Dr. Ives, who saw the Nawab at Fort St. David in 1755, says that 'he was accompanied by two most beautiful boys, his sons.' They were then of seven and five years of age.

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Wynch's proposal was assented to after much discussion, and in the course of debate, it was resolved to prohibit the attendance of Europeans at the Durbar. The question then arose whether the prohibition should extend to the Council, and whether it was fitting that the Governor alone should have access to the Nawab. Several of the members had private interests to serve, and they were obviously jealous of one another. A split occurred in the Council, the minority consisting of Stone, Johnson, and Smith. The last wrote a dissenting minute of thirty folios, from which the following is extracted:—

General Joseph Smith's Minute.

'Had the President been candid, the matter was easily brought to a crisis. But the President first moves that all Europeans but himself be prevented from visiting the Nabob: this done, he gives information that Ameer Ul Omrah, the Nabob's Second Son, is Ambitious, designing and intriguing, and that he is committing himself with the French, Dutch and Danes, all which he hints the Nabob gives countenance to; and supports this by many striking Circumstances, such as that he has got a Foundery at Tanjore, and that he is collecting all his father's forces there, and this, he hints, with a View of becoming an Enemy to the Company. It must have implied a great neglect in Duty in me, who should, I think, be better acquainted with the Situation of the Nabob's Army than any other Member of this Board, for such things as these to have passed without my knowledge or information. Surprized as I was, I immediately made them the business of my enquiry, and I found the information that the President had disclosed to be literally with[out] foundation. I therefore, in justice to the Government of England, my Honble Employers and myself, solemnly required from him his proofs of the Private and secret information; but this he would not expose to the nice Enquiry it merited. I own there ought to be attention paid to the Language of any one who may have the honor of filling the Chair of this Government; but when we find from experience that such Language becomes contradicting, and tends to sully the Honor of our Nation and hurt the Interest of our Employers, it becomes the Duty of every Member of this Board to use his utmost endeavours to prevent it. . . .

'It has been the constant recommendation of every Commanding Officer to the Nabob to put his Army upon some footing of discipline. When his Army was to be depended on for the Service of the Company as well as himself, the want of it has often been felt very materially; and the Nabob, convinced of its propriety, entertained every English officer he could find, but refused the applications of Foreigners, and applied to this Government for Officers to Command and Discipline his Cavalry. We gave him some, and have since found the advantage of it. Those Regiments which are not commanded by our Officers are filled with English Gentlemen, who having left England in search of fortune, and not being provided for in the Company's Service, their Friends have recommended them to the Nabob. Many Gentlemen of the Majority have their Relations in his Service. . . . Whilst the Nabob is entertaining these Officers, he puts his Army under the command of his Son Ameer Ul Omrah, who appoints an English staff, amongst which is the President's Son.[1] . . . The Cavalry is the most material Body he has. The attention of Ameer Ul Omrah in requesting his father to encrease their numbers . . . and put them under Orders of our's and other English Officers merits, in my Opinion, the thanks of the Company. It keeps the Company from the great expence of maintaining Cavalry, and by having our Officers at the head of them, is guard against all bad Consequences. . . . JOSEPH SMITH, General.' (*M.C.*, vol. liii., 1st July, 1775.)

The majority in the Council reviewed the Nawab's position in the following letter to England:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'You have been so often advised of the Temper and disposition of the Nabob that it would be almost unnecessary to enter again upon his Character; yet his Conduct, which has of late been very extraordinary, and the hasty strides he is making towards rendering himself independent of the English Nation, if not to reduce the Company to a dependance upon him, render it incumbent upon Us to enter fully into the Subject. . . .

'The Nabob, thro' a long War, during which he met with many adverse Strokes of fortune, was, thro' the influence of the English, possessed of the Carnatic; and yet, so early as 1763, his Mind was tinctured with Jealousies, and tho' he had, in consideration of past Services, promised a Jaguire to the Company, he was unwilling to grant it, and wanted to Clog it with Conditions of future Services. This Mr. Pigot objected to, and at length it was granted unconditionally. From that time he has recovered Tinnevelly and Madura, which had revolted, been rendered Master of Warriorpollam and the adjacent Pollygaries, of Ongole, of the Marawar Countries, and lastly of Tanjour; and every accession of Power has added to his Vanity and Ambition, and he now looks down upon the Company, who have so long so generously supported him, as a Power which is and ought to be subordinate to him.

'The Nabob is Sedulous and free of many of the Vices of His Countrymen, but he has the usual Characteristicks of the Natives of this Country. He is Suspicious, Vain, and Ambitious; and not being of a resolute or active Mind, he has frequently been misled by those who have had the Art to raise his Jealousy of the Company, or who have flattered his Vanity, or raised in his Mind Ideas of Conquest or future greatness. These marks can be traced through every part of his Connection with the Company, but particularly of late Years; and judging from the influence which his Second Son has had with him, contrary to the Advice of his principal Men, we think that the various Changes of Fortune, with the Manner of Life of the Mussulmen, has brought Age upon him sooner than could be expected; for without admitting this we can scarcely account for his Conduct towards this Government.

'His Eldest Son, Umdit Ul Umrah, is a young Lord of Capacity, and the Adversities he has suffered have had the good effect of rendering him Moderate and affable. He is learned, and the favorite of the People. He has the justest Sense of the Connection between the Carnatic and the Company, and that the Lord of this Country ought, in a certain degree, to depend upon the British Nation for the Support and protection of the Country.

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[1] Probably Alexander Wynch, who entered the army in 1768. In 1791 Major Alexander Wynch married Miss Elizabeth Read.

'His Second Son, Ummeer ul Umrah, is a young Lord of Intrigue, Enterprise and Ambition. He is indefatigable in his pursuits and profuse in the Accomplishment of them, but with all he has a great share of vanity, which leads him to communicate his Plans for greatness. He is invested with a great degree of Power. He has 7 Distinct Corps, consisting of Cavalry, light Armed Sepoys and Artillery,—12 Battalions of Sepoys with near 1000 Artillery, all which are far better disciplined than those of any of the Country Powers. Some of his Black Cavalry, we are informed, are as well disciplined as any of the English Troops : his Artillery attached to them may vie almost with Europeans. He has the Tanjour and Trichinopoly Countries, with Orders upon most of the Southern Countries for the payment of the Army. He was not put in the Command of Troops already formed. Before his Time they were a rabble to be held of no Account. He has formed them himself ; he has promoted every Man in them ; he pays them himself, and all look up to him for Honor and Wealth. He has a perfect knowledge of his Father's Foibles, and by raising at one time his Suspicions and at others by painting to him the pleasures of independence and of extension of Conquest, he has so gained upon the old Nabob that his Power seems almost unlimited. . . .

'It is a principal in the Moorish Religion that the Father is Master of his Family and has the disposal of his Estate ; and on this Plan it appears to Us that the Nabob has been seduced to entertain Notions of altering the Succession. Permit Us to point out to You our reasons for thinking that in the present Case he has no such right.

'The Phirmaun of the Mogul in 1765 obtained by Lord Clive, and accompanied by Titles which the Nabob still uses, was in 1766 proclaimed, at his desire, in the presence of the Governor and Council of this Place, of the principal Inhabitants and of all his Sardars. By such Acceptance he acknowledged the right of the Mogul to make the Grant that expressly fixes the Succession after his Death in Umdit Ul Umrah, his Eldest Son, and their Heirs for ever. . . .' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. x., 4th July, 1775.)

The Directors replied[1]: 'You are to secure to His Highness's Children the Government of the Carnatic in a Just and lineal succession, according to the Phirmaund from the Emperor Shaw Allum, and the Treaty of 1768 between the Company, the Soubah of the Deccan, and the Nabob.'

MILITARY NOTES.

MAJOR-GENERAL EYRE COOTE arrived from England in July, 1770, as 'Commander in Chief of all the Company's Forces in the East Indies.' His salary was fixed by the Directors at £1,500 a year, with a fixed percentage of the farmed revenues, a free house, and an allowance, when in the field, of £10 a day. After a brief residence at Fort St. George, the General proceeded to Bengal.

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxix., 25th Nov., 1775.

In 1773 we meet a reference to Francis Swain Ward, who, though trained as an artist, had entered the Company's military service. He painted many views in Southern India, some of which are preserved at the India Office. Four views of Fort St. George, drawn about 1785, have been reproduced for this work. Ward became Lieut.-Colonel in 1786, was pensioned in the following year, and died at Negapatam in 1794 at the age of sixty.

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Having been induced to excuse the Offence with which Mr. Francis Swain Ward, who some years since was a Lieutenant of Infantry at Fort St. George, was charged, We have restored him to Our Military Service, and he is to rank next after that Person who shall be the Youngest Captain of Infantry upon his Arrival at your Presidency.

'And that Gentleman having thought proper to present the Company with some very valuable Paintings of several places in India, We have agreed, as a Testimony of the Esteem We entertain for his very ingenious Performance, to present him here with the Sum of Two hundred Guineas, and at Fort St. George with One thousand Pagodas, which last mentioned Sum We would have you pay him from the Company's Cash when he arrives.' (*M. from Eng.*, vol. vi., 7th April, 1773.)

In the same year, James Capper was appointed Commissary-General with the rank of Colonel. A grant of about 11 acres of land within the limits of San Thomé was made to Colonel James Capper in 1778 at a ground rent of 8½ pagodas[1]:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The Inconveniences which our Army experienced in the late War with Hyder Ali, on account of defects on the part of the Contractor, who was also the Commissary General, has determined us to appoint a special Officer to the Post of Commissary General upon the Coast of Choromandel. . . .

'James Capper, Esquire, whom We have appointed Commissary General, is to be allowed the Salary and Emoluments Annexed to the Station of Youngest Councillor. And in order to give him Rank in the Field, We have granted him a Brevet Commission of Colonel; but he is not to perform any Military Duty or receive any Pay, Batta, or other Emolument whatever, in consequence of such his Military Rank.' (*M. from Eng.*, vol. vi., 7th April, 1773.)

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[1] *Book of Grants of Ground*, No. 70, 22nd Feb., 1788. Another James Capper, who entered the civil service in 1770, was Factor and Under Searcher at the Sea Gate in 1775, and died in the following year (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii.*a*, 15th Oct., 1776). Francis Capper joined the Madras Army in 1788, and became Lieut.-Colonel in 1800 (*List of Officers*, Dodwell and Miles). It was probably this officer, who may have been a son of Colonel James Capper, who built the 'Capper House' on the beach northward of San Thomé.

The following extract supplies an example of court-martial sentences of the period, and their execution:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The General Court Martial held at St. Thomas's Mount is dissolved, and the Sentences ordered to be carried into execution on Friday Morning next on Marmilon Plain.

'*Crime.* George Warburton and Lawrence Currie, Matrosses in the 3rd Company, William Duncan and Edward Hullness, Matrosses in the 5th Company of Artillery, confined on the 9th Instant, by order of Major Horne, for desertion.

'*Sentence.* The Crime laid to their Charge being a breach of the 1st Article of the 5th Section of the Articles of War, they do Sentence George Warburton and Lawrence Currie to be Shot to Death, and William Duncan and Edward Hullness each of them to receive on their backs one thousand Lashes from the Drummers of the Army.

'D. A. BAINE,
Dep. Judge Advocate.

MATTHEW HORNE, Major, Artillery,
President.

'Approved by the President and Council.

'R. J. SULIVAN, Secretary.'

'The Board, willing to shew Clemency and Mercy, and hoping that the Execution of one of the Criminals under Sentence of Death will have the desired effect of deterring others from desertion, direct that they be marched to the Place of Execution, there throw the dice agreeably to the Custom and usage of War, when he that throws the lowest Cast is to receive the punishment to which he has been sentenced by the Court.'

'— June. This day, agreeably to the General orders of the 14th Instant, Lawrence Currie and George Warburton threw the dice on Marmelon Plain, when the former, upon throwing the lowest Cast, was Shot to Death according to his Sentence.' (*M.C.*, vol. lii., 14th June, 1775.)

Lieut.-Colonel Abraham Bonjour complained, in August, 1775, of the publication of aspersions on his character in the *London Packet* and *British Chronicle* of the 2nd and 23rd May, 1774.

Extract from the 'London Packet.'

'When Sir Robert Fletcher related some of the Facts, on Thursday at the India House, relative to the Slaughter of the Inhabitants of Marawar in the East Indies by a Detachment from the Army Commanded by General Joseph Smith, but under the immediate direction of Colonel Bonjour, several of the Proprietors quitted the Court, and the strongest marks of a Mixture of Horror and Amazement were visible on the countenances of those who staid to hear that Shocking Narrative. The Story related by Sir Robert Fletcher was in substance as follows:—General Smith having marched at the head of the British Troops, in conjunction with one of the Nabob's, against a Rajah of that Country, the latter sent a Message with certain offers or conditions, which were accepted of by the former. The Messenger accordingly returned to the Rajah, and informed him of the Success of his Embassy. Relying on this assurance, the Rajah called in his advanced posts; all thoughts of hostilities were laid aside; and looked upon himself in the most perfect Security. In the mean time, Colonel Bonjour advanced with his Detachment and surprized the Prince and his Army, who were consequently unprepared, and put every one of them to the Sword without Distinction, except the unhappy Princesses, Daughters of the Rajah, who were preserved only to gratify the . . . Inhuman Butcher and Ravisher, the Nabob. He added, the Officers concerned in this Bloody Business had extorted a previous promise from the Nabob's Son that, if they should happen to be successful in this interprize, he was to give them a largess of 50,000 Pagodas, worth about twenty four thousand Pounds; but being afterwards unwilling to comply with this agreement, for the faithful performance of which he had given a Bond, the General, being appealed to [regarding] it's Equity, confirmed the agreement, and decided in favor of the Officers.'

Colonel Bonjour explained that the lamentable slaughter, which occurred at Callicoil in 1772, was due to a miscarriage of orders. The Rajah was unfortunately killed, but there were no princesses to preserve. With regard to Tanjore, where Major Fletcher was present, Bonjour remarked:—

Colonel Bonjour to Government.

'The Murder of the Rajah, the Imprisonment of the Daughters . . . &c., &c., &c., all these fine things must Warm the Imagination of good and virtuous Men; but what Judgement will they form when they know that the Rajah is now in a good State of health in his Palace with all his family; and what will they also think upon the . . . Nabob, if they are told and Reflect that this same Nabob, according to the custom of the East, has a large Collection of the finest Mussalman Women that both Indostan and Persia produces, which are far Superior to Poor Gentoo Princesses, who, in such distressful circumstances, would sooner inspire a Man of his generous disposition with Pity and Charity than any other thought.

'Pondamalee, 25th August 1775. A. Bonjour.'

Government Order.

'The Board are concerned to observe that Lt. Colonel Bonjour, who has so deservedly acquired the reputation of a brave Officer, and maintained the Character of a humane, good Man, should be so seriously hurt at the common intelligence of a News paper. His general Conduct is sufficient to subvert such glaring Calumny, and the Board shall ever be happy to give him their testimony of approbation both for his conduct in the Marawar Country and during the time he has been in the Service. Ordered that a Copy of this Minute be given to Lieut. Colonel Bonjour.' (*M.C.*, vol. liii., 28th Aug., 1775.)

Bonjour went home sick towards the end of the year, in company with General Smith.

Sir Robert Fletcher, a Madras officer, who has been mentioned above and on an earlier page, had been dismissed the service, while in command of a brigade in Bengal, for his part in the officers' mutiny of 1766. He went home, prevailed on the Directors to reinstate him, and, arriving in Madras early in 1772, wrote as follows to his friend Orme:—

Colonel Sir Robert Fletcher to Mr. Orme.

'My Dear Friend, . . . The Kings Minister has turned the Nabobs head, and unless we can get rid of this power, there will be an End to influence and authority of the Company. You Proprietors are mad about Ships of the Line. What the Devil cou'd four Ships do in case of a French war? Is it in their power to prevent the enemy from Landing upon many parts of the Coast? Believe me that four Battalions of Sepoys wou'd be a better Security. Call them home therefore, and the Plenipo with them. My best Compliments to General Smith,[1] Mrs. Smith and Jacky, and believe me always, My Dear Sir, Your most faithful and affectionate ROBT. FLETCHER.' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. xxx., 12th Feb., 1772.)

In the following September General Joseph Smith resigned, and was succeeded by Fletcher:—

Colonel Sir Robert Fletcher to Mr. Orme.

'My Dear Friend, . . . I am now in the Command and in the Council, and Considering John Wood's Character and Conduct,[2] and the board's letter to the Court of Directors by the Lord North, I think myself pretty firmly fixed. For God Sake get me a Kings Commission as Commander in Chief sent out, that I may have the power to do good to the Service, and to pay proper Regard to your recommendations. At present the Governor is the Executive man at the head of every Department. I shall do all I can for your Young-Man. My best Compliments to General Smith and his Lady and Son. I am, my Dear Friend, Your most faithful Servant, ROBT. FLETCHER.' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. xxx., 30th Sept., 1772.)

Fletcher, however, was not established as firmly as he believed. Differences arose between him and Governor Du Pré. Fletcher was ordered to withdraw from the Council, and proceed to Trichinopoly. Writing to Orme on the 17th January, 1773, from Carangooly, he said:—'I should be puzzled indeed what to say to you, even if I had time to write. Your friend Du Pré deprives me of that pleasure at present. He has treated me like a Dog, but that is nothing compared to the Wickedness of his Administration.' Fletcher claimed to resume his seat in Parliament, and was permitted to sail for England. General Joseph Smith once more took up the command. Fletcher made good use of his time in England, and in due course returned with the rank of Brigadier-General, bearing a commission to succeed Smith as provincial Commander-in-Chief. On the latter's final resignation in October, 1775, Fletcher again assumed the command, and his seat as Third Member of Council. He appointed Mr. Thomas Lewin his Secretary, and Lieut. William Sydenham, Aide-de-Camp.[1]

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[1] General Richard Smith.

[2] Colonel Wood had been tried by court-martial in 1769, and subsequently dismissed by Government.

A dispute between Major Horne and Captain Cliften at the Mount having come to the notice of the Council, the Commander-in-Chief contributed the following reminiscences and remarks:—

Minute by Sir Robert Fletcher.

'When I was on this Establishment under General Lawrence, whose name I cannot write without every feeling of reverence and Respect, few Orders were issued, but such as were issued were proper and sufficient. They were attended to with a passive obedience; every duty was performed with alacrity and Spirit, and whether or not the same obedience is observed in these latter times, either to the Orders of the Board or those of the Commander in Chief, I leave to your own Observations and to your perusal of the Book of General Orders. I confess myself to have been one of the most disorderly Subalterns in the Army; but a little Severity and many good examples soon reformed me. I remember having been twice in Arrest, once by Major Polio[2] for having been seen out of my Quarters in the evening of the day on which I had reported myself sick and unable to mount Guard; and again by Captain Beaver for not being present at an Evening Review of the Linnen and necessaries of the Grenadier Company, to which I belonged. If Majors and Captains were to observe the same discipline now, they would be thought harsh and severe, and might give their Subalterns a more colorable excuse than any thing they have at present for their daily applications to remove from one Corps into another, or to be excused for years from joining any Corps whatsoever, as has been the case with some. Nay, I am told by Colonel Lang that he has seen the European Regiment Paraded at Vellore without more than one Officer present. How these things come to pass now, I know not; but I well remember that, in the time of General Lawrence, when our Establishment of Subaltern Officers to each Corps was much more inconsiderable and less expensive than it is now, no pretence was ever admitted, or ever used, I believe, to justify a difficiency of Officers in any Battalion or in any Company in the Service; but as I mean not retrospection, and Wish only to look forward, it is my Resolution, under

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. liii., 14th Oct., 1775.

[2] Major Paul Polier de Bottens.

> the Authority and support of the Board, and the example of Old Officers, to cure these Evils as soon as I can, not by harshness and Severity, but by Moderation and advice. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. liii., 20th Nov., 1775.)

A few months later Sir Robert was himself under arrest.[1]

A list of officers of the Madras Army, for December, 1775, shows that the total number was 412, from Commander-in-Chief to Cadet.[2] In 1746, the Madras Garrison had contained only 10 officers, and that of St. David about as many. The amazing increase in the course of a generation is a reflection of the development of the Company's influence and territorial possessions on the Coast:—

Cavalry.—Captain John Tonyn, 1 Lieutenant, and 2 Cornets - - - - - -	4
Artillery.—Lieut.-Colonel Edward James, Majors Mathew Horne and Charles Cliften, 4 Captains, 5 Captain-Lieutenants, and 29 Lieutenants -	41
Engineers.—Lieut.-Colonel and Chief Engineer Patrick Ross; Major and Director William Stevens; Captains and Sub-Directors George Maule, Alexander Mitchell,[3] and Alexander Dugood; 2 Lieutenants and Sub-Engineers; 2 Ensigns and Practitioner-Engineers - -	9
Infantry.—Brigadier-General and Commander-in-Chief Sir Robert Fletcher; Colonels Ross Lang and William Flint; Lieut.-Colonel Humphrey Harper; Majors James Fitzgerald, William Baillie, Eccles Nixon, and George Brown; 58 Captains, 135 Lieutenants, 151 Ensigns, and 8 Cadets - - - - - - -	358
	412

At the end of 1775 the Directors appointed Colonel James Stuart to be second in command, with succession to Fletcher:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

> 'Having fully considered the state of our Army upon the Coast of Choromandel, We think it absolutely necessary that it should be put upon the most

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[1] *M. Ord. Bk.*, vol. i., 31st July, 1776.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. liii., Dec., 1775.

[3] Not to be confused with Major Archibald Mitchell, of the Engineers, who died in 1774.

respectable Footing, and therefore have accordingly appointed Colonel James Stuart (an Officer who, from his general good Character and distinguished Services in His Majesty's Army during the late War, We have the highest opinion of) to be a Colonel of Infantry on the Fort St. George Establishment, to take Rank next to and immediately after Colonel Sir Robert Fletcher.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxix., 25th Nov., 1775.)

Colonel Stuart, who reached Madras on the 1st May, 1776, had been 29 years in the British Army.[1] Captain in the 56th Foot in 1755, he had seen active service in Nova Scotia in 1758, and subsequently at Belleisle, Martinique, and Havana, and he was promoted Lieut.-Colonel in 1761. Some incidents in his stormy career at Madras will be mentioned later.[2]

The strength of the Madras Army was now growing with great rapidity. In 1776 there were twelve sepoy battalions for the Carnatic, and six for the Northern Circars. On Stuart's recommendation the numbers were raised in the following year to twenty-one battalions of 750 men each for the Carnatic and Tanjore, and eight Circars battalions.[3] The Invalid establishment of sepoys was placed under Major William Sydenham, the Town Major, who divided them into companies and caused them to do duty in Black Town:—

The Town Major to Government.

'To shew the Honble Board the Usefulness of the Invalid Sepoys in one instance only, the Town Major begs leave to mention that, in consequence of their being stationed at the Gates of the Black Town, and in the avenues leading to it, he is immediately acquainted with the arrival of every Stranger that comes to the Settlement; and as every Foreigner inhabiting the Black Town is also obliged to report to him when any Stranger arrives at their Houses, . . . he (the Town Major) has constant Intelligence of a set of People who were formerly taken little notice of, but who will now be careful how they act in any degree improperly. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. lx., 25th Aug., 1777.)

The Mount having been assigned as Artillery headquarters, Poonamallee Fort was allotted to a European battalion. Colonel

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lv., 1st May, 1776, and vol. lvi., 26th Aug., 1776.

[2] Colonel James Stuart had in Madras a contemporary of the same name, who arrived with the 78th Foot in 1782. Both officers had served in America, both were under Eyre Coote in the final war with Hyder Ali, and both held the chief command in the Southern Presidency. Colonel James Stuart of the 78th was about ten years junior to his namesake. He afterwards served in both the Seringapatam campaigns, and became Commander-in-Chief of Madras in 1801, eight years subsequent to the death of the elder Stuart. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

[3] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 2nd July, 1777.

Ross reported[1] that within that fort there were two ranges of barracks 360 feet long, and quarters for thirteen captains and subalterns. The Commandant and remaining officers lived outside. The hospital was badly situated under the rampart within the fort.

At this period we find the following bearers of well-known Madras names serving in the army:—

Donald Mackay, Captain of Artillery.
George Mackay, Lieutenant, 1st European Regiment.
Æneas Mackay, Do. Do.
Robert Mackay, Ensign.
James Mackay, Do.
Alexander Wynch, Captain, 2nd European Regiment.
John Wynch, Ensign, 1st European Regiment.
Jonathan Doveton, Lieutenant Do.
Gabriel Doveton, Ensign.
Samuel Doveton, 2nd Carnatic Battalion of Sepoys.

VARIETIES.

The passenger accommodation provided in the Company's ships for persons returning to England is described in the consultations of January, 1775. The tonnage of the vessels ranged from 575 to 804. Capt. Jeffery Jackson, Commander of the *Speke*, declined to receive Captain Boswall, an insane officer, although Surgeon Gilbert Pasley certified the patient harmless. The Council ordered Jackson to allot Captain Boswall 'a Cabbin of one Window of the Great Cabbin on the Larboard side next the Quarter Gallery.' The other passengers, Mr. John Smith,[2] Mrs. Wood[3] and family, and Mr. Arthur Cuthbert[4] and family, sent in petitions of remonstrance.[5] Dr. Alexander Boswall, physician to the Nawab and brother of the patient, represented that Capt. Jackson's demands were exorbitant, as 'he desired as much Money for him as he could get for all his other Passengers. On my asking him what he meant or expected for his great Cabbin (for example), or what he valued it at, he said five thousand Pagodas, and that he could get that for it.' Jackson described the accommodation provided for the other passengers:—

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lx., 22nd Sept., 1777.

[2] Mr. John Smith, late of Council.

[3] Mrs. Wood, widow of Colonel John Wood.

[4] Mr. Arthur Cuthbert came to India with Admiral Watson in 1754, was a free merchant from 1763, and in 1771 became Agent for the Squadron.

[5] Mrs. Phyllis Hopkins was also a passenger. Her daughter Sarah had become the wife of Arthur Cuthbert in 1765.

Capt. Jeffery Jackson to Government.

'To John Smith, Esq^r., I gave one half of my Round House[1] in lieu of his Accommodations in the Great Cabbin, which he agreed to give up to me to be disposed of as I judged proper. To Mrs. Wood and her four Children I gave the other half of the Round House and a part of the Cuddy; and to Mr. Arthur Cuthbert, for the Accommodation of himself, his Wife and his Wife's Mother with three Children, I gave the Great Cabbin, a Passage being taken off the Larboard Quarter Gallery. From this Disposition of the Apartments on board my Ship, the Board will see that I might with great Truth say I could not accommodate Captain Boswall, even was the unhappy State of his Mind out of the Question.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxiii., — Jan., 1775.)

The merchants of Madras addressed the Government on certain commercial matters. They represented that, owing to the scarcity of diamonds and the Company's restrictions on remittances by Bills on England, Europeans who had made money were driven to export specie, and that a serious drain resulted. The merchants also drew attention to mismanagement in the Master Attendant's department in connexion with the landing and shipping of goods. The boatmen were underpaid, and thieving was prevalent. The petitioners further advocated the establishment of regular postal communication between Madras and Bombay:—

The Merchants to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxiii., 16th Jan., 1775.)

'We have then further to request of the Board that a fixt Dispatch or Conveyance of Letters to and from this Presidency and that of Bombay may be established as soon as it may be done with Convenience: and We believe that it may be easily accomplished from the Experience We have of the frequency and certainty of private Pattamars, tho' they are attended with too great an Expence to Individuals, and too much confined to these to make them of general Benefit: and if at first a fixt Dispatch in every two Weeks should take place, it might afterwards become a Weekly Tappy. . . . To lighten any additional Expence to the Company which might arise from a fixt Dispatch, all Letters might be charged with such a moderate Postage as would not prove any discouragement to a frequency of Correspondence. And this Tappy should also be open for all persons whatsoever, without any Distinction, whether British Subjects, Natives or Strangers, as is now the established

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[1] The Round House appears to have been on the next deck above the Great Cabin.

Custom in the Post or Tappie, which has been settled several Years, to go and return twice in a Week between this Presidency and Bengal. . . .

'EDWARD MONCKTON.
'GEORGE SMITH.
'THOS. POWNEY.
'ROBERT STOREY.
'ANDREW ROSS.
'JNO. DOUGLAS.
'GEORGE PURNELL.
'MOSES DE CASTRO.
'PAUL BENFIELD.
'ANDW. MAJENDIE.
'GILBT. PASLEY.
CHAS. DARKE.
ANTO. DE SOUZA.
ARTHR. CUTHBERT.
DAWSONNE DRAKE.
JOHN D'FRIES.
JOHN TURING.
GEORGE BAKER.
CHAS. BROMLEY.
GEO. SAVAGE.
THOS. PELLING.'

The Government referred to the Directors the question of the export of specie. The case of the boatmen was enquired into by Messrs. John Maxwell Stone and Francis Jourdan. They reported[1] that, since the boat rules of 1762 were framed, the price of provisions and cost of labour had risen, so that a cooly now received 2½ to 3 fanams a day. The boatmen could not make more than 2 fanams. Out of 9 fanams charged for a trip, the crew of ten men received 5 fanams, and not more than four trips a day could be made. The Committee advised that the rate per trip should be raised to 10 fanams for the north roadstead and 13 fanams for the south, out of which the crew should receive 7 fanams. They recommended that the extra charge for Sunday trips, instead of being paid to the Church, should go towards a fund for disabled boatmen and their orphan children. These proposals were approved by Government.

The Presidency surgeons, Gilbert Pasley and James Anderson,[2] represented that the young medical assistants sent out from England ought to possess certified qualifications.[3] Government appear to have prescribed examination by the Chief Surgeon, for an assistant named Terence Gahagan complained that Dr. Pasley was too severe:—

Terence Gahagan to Government.

'Be that as it may, I could have wished to be Judged by an Impartial Person, for it is an incontestible truth that a Man resolved to oppose and perplex might, in the Labyrinths of a Physical and Anatomical Examination, not only confuse and embarrass, but actually extort Improprieties that might condemn the Person under Examination, When at the same time He might merit the Apellation of an Ingenuous and qualified Practitioner.' (*M.C.*, vol. liii., 14th Oct., 1775.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxiii., 24th March, 1775.

[2] James Anderson's service commenced at the siege of Manila. In 1771 he was transferred from Vellore to Madras as one of the Presidency surgeons. (*List of Inscriptions*, J. J. Cotton.) Anderson married Maria Rheta de Lamabonay in 1766.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. li., 30th Jan., 1775.

The Government gave the applicant the alternative of returning to England, or of being tested by Drs. Anderson, Boswall, and Davies, and resolved 'that all Surgeon's Assistant[s] in future be properly examined before they are admitted into the line of Surgeons.' Gahagan elected to go to England. He returned in 1778 fully qualified.[1]

Local Literature.

When General Smith, in his minute on Walajah's army, alluded to the advent of gentleman adventurers seeking service with the Nawab, he may have had in mind the case of Mr. Philip Dormer Stanhope, late of the 1st Dragoon Guards. Mr. Stanhope arrived in Madras in 1774, and, on the General's recommendation, was appointed to one of the Nawab's cavalry regiments. Letters written by him to a friend in England were collected, and published in 1784 under the title *Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus.* The following are brief extracts :—

'*Letter V.* Madrass, August 1774.

'The Children of Israel, when released from their Babylonish captivity, could not have welcomed the happy hour of their deliverance with more exquisite joy than what I felt on the morning of the 8th when we anchored in Madrass roads and prepared ourselves for a visit to Fort St. George, which, . . . from the natural beauties of its situation as well as the extreme healthiness of the climate, is with justice stiled the Montpelier of the East. . . .

'From the little I have hitherto seen, I feel myself highly prepossessed in favour of Madrass. The elegance of the buildings, the beautiful rows of trees which form an agreeable shade on each side of the streets, and the universal appearance of wealth and magnificence must strike forcibly on the eyes of a stranger. . . . The houses of the English gentlemen are lofty and well proportioned, and from their construction are so extremely cool that I can scarcely believe myself in the torrid zone. Every person who can afford it has a country retreat at the distance of a few miles, which is called a garden-house, and is fitted up with peculiar elegance. . . .

'At a short distance from the fort, at a village called Triplicane, resides the Nabob of Arcot, who is acknowledged an ally of the British empire, and is, by the treaty of Paris, an independent prince. He keeps a very splendid court, where the English meet with every mark of attention, and are often preferred to very lucrative posts about his person. He has twelve battalions of foot, and several regiments of dragoons commanded by English officers, and tolerably well versed in the European art of war. . . . The capital of the Nabob's dominions is Arcot, . . . but he has for some years past resided entirely at Triplicane, where, under the immediate protection of the English, his person is secure from either foreign or domestic enemy, and where he is at hand to influence the governor and council, as his own interest shall require, by the power of all-prevailing gold. He has three sons, the second of whom is his favourite, and is Captain General of his army.'

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxi., 30th Jan., 1778.

'*Letter VI.* Madrass, August 1774.

'I yesterday dined at the Governor's public table, and spent a most agreeable evening at his garden-house. The dinner was elegant, the attendants numerous, and indeed every thing bore the appearance rather of royal splendor than of the domestic establishment of a governor who is not even the representative of a crowned head. We retired soon after dinner, according to the custom of the country, to take our afternoon's nap. . . . In the evening I ordered my palanquin, that I might indulge myself with a view of the country previous to the hour of meeting at the governor's.

'On my arrival at the governor's, where I found the company already assembled, I was most agreeably surprised at the sight of several card-tables, which were filled with English ladies. . . . They were dressed in light muslins, the produce of the country, and seemed totally to have laid aside that unbecoming stiffness which too often contributes to diminish the charms of the British fair. . . .

'I . . . paid a visit to the Black town, which stands about a mile to the northward of the fort, and is inhabited by merchants from all quarters of the globe. Its appearance, when contrasted with that of fort St. George, is mean and shabby, but still there are some tolerable streets, several churches handsomely decorated with the offerings of the superstitious, and some Pagodas or Indian temples. . . .'

'*Letter X.* Madrass, June 1775.

'I arrived at this agreeable place on the thirteenth of last month after a passage of five weeks,[1] which, at this time of the Year, is far from tedious. I reside at present with Mr. Adams, who is master intendant at Fort St. George, and has, besides the house allowed him by the Company, a most elegant little mansion in the parish of St. Thomas, about a league distant from Madrass. . . .'

'*Letter XVIII.* Chillingbrum,[2] February 1776.

'A change of government has happened, which has totally overthrown the late system of politicks in the Carnatic. . . . The arrival of Lord Pigot to succeed Mr. Wynche in the government of Madras, and the return of General Smith to Europe in consequence of the appointment of a new Commander in Chief are events equally unexpected and unpleasing. . . . The universal benevolence and affability of Mr. Wynche will long be impressed on the grateful hearts of the inhabitants of Madrass, and the memory of General Smith will ever be revered in India while either heroic bravery in the field or the most unbounded generosity in private life shall be deemed a virtue. . . .'

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[1] From Calcutta.

[2] *Chillingbrum*, Chilambaram, in the South Arcot district.

Effusions of a different order came from the pen of Mr. Eyles Irwin, a young civil servant whose name will occur in the sequel. Irwin, who was born in 1750, arrived at Madras at the age of eighteen. Fascinated by the natural beauty and historic associations of the Mount, he wrote, before attaining his twentieth year, a pastoral poem entitled *Saint Thomas's Mount.* The work was published anonymously in England in 1774.[1] It has for frontispiece a view of the Mount by J. Collyer, which is perhaps of somewhat earlier date. Allusion is made in footnotes to Hyder's ravages of 1767, and the cyclone of 1768, in the following terms:—

'About the latter end of the year 1767, a party of his [Hyder's] horse penetrated to Saint Thomas's Mount: Many gentlemen's seats were plundered and burnt by the ravagers, and their fine gardens wantonly destroyed.'

'The damage sustained by it [the storm of the 30th October, 1768] round Madras is inconceivable. Four or five vessels with their crews were lost in the road, or wrecked on the coast; and many of the poor natives, with an innumerable quantity of cattle, perished on shore. A more violent and destructive storm was never known in this part of the world.'

The following brief extracts from the poem illustrate the author's style. One from each canto is made:—

'Where thou, Saint Thomas, rear'st thy sacred height,
Successive beauties strike the ravish'd sight:
There orange-groves diffuse their sweets around,
And flow'rets paint the vareigated ground:
On ev'ry side ten thousand blooms appear,
Like Luna circled in her starry sphere.'

'Two chapels only grace these verdant plains:

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One awful rises on Saint Thomas' brow,
And one adorns the distant dale below.
Thy gardens, Ross,[2] here crown the river's side,
Swell from the valley, and o'erhang the tide:
Here late fair Lessley led th' harmonious throng,
'Till Echo grew enamor'd of her song:
But thou, sweet warbler! seek'st some distant shore
And with thy music soothe these shades no more!'

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[1] During a visit to England in 1777 Irwin printed his *Series of Adventures in the Course of a Voyage up the Red Sea,* and he subsequently published numerous minor works in prose and verse. He died at Clifton in 1817.

[2] Whether Andrew Ross, free merchant, William Ross, civil servant, or Colonel Patrick Ross, is uncertain. The first, however, certainly owned property near the Mount.

'When to her lute our Brooke[1] melodious sings.
In softest numbers Clifton's charms rehearse ;
Her name, my Muse, will raise thy glowing verse.

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And, Taswell, thou, distinguished from the throng !
(Thyself a songstress) smile upon her song.

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Thy form, sweet Powney ![2] rises on the sight,
Like the mild dawning of Aurora's light :
In native grace array'd, and native ease,
Like thee, oh ! teach th' admiring Muse to please !'

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[1] Probably Mary Brooke, *née* Allbeary, wife of Henry Brooke.

[2] Perhaps Catherine Powney, *née* de la Metrie, wife of Thomas Powney.

CHAPTER VI

1775—1776

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD PIGOT—THE REVOLUTION

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD PIGOT.

THE Company's Ship *Grenville* anchored in the roads on the evening of Saturday the 9th December, 1775, having on board Lord Pigot and two prospective councillors, Messrs. Russell and Dalrymple. On the following day the new Governor's commission was publicly read, first to the assembled inhabitants, and afterwards to the troops in garrison, and Mr. Wynch was superseded. Lord Pigot's Council consisted of George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, George Dawson, Henry Brooke, Claud Russell, Alexander Dalrymple, John Maxwell Stone, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, and George Mackay. Stratton had lately been transferred from Vizagapatam, where he served as Chief.

The premier object of Lord Pigot's appointment was the restoration of Tanjore to the Rajah. Walajah, of course, was bitterly opposed to rendition, as were his European creditors and other interested persons. Influences external and internal affected the Council, and split it into two sections. The struggle between the parties, resulting in the victory of the majority, constitutes the history of Lord Pigot's brief administration. The act of usurpation which terminated his rule can be compared with nothing in Madras history save the deposition and imprisonment of Mr. Foxcroft, which Sir Edward Winter had contrived and carried out upwards of a century before.

In January, 1776, the President laid before Council[1] an unsigned paper which had been placed in his hands. The document was headed, 'A Short Memorial Of Services to his Highness the

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lv., 22nd Jan., 1776.

Nabob of the Carnatic, Walaujau, &c., by ——, whom he sent upon a secret Commission to his Majesty's first Minister of State, 1767.' Written in the first person, it set forth the proceedings of Mr. Macpherson in England, his negotiations on behalf of the Nawab, and his representation of the alleged indignity and tyranny with which that prince was treated by the Company. The anonymous author averred that he had published pamphlets in England extolling the virtues of the Nawab, and took credit for the notice and portrait of Walajah which appeared in 'Major Dowe's History, 2nd Edition.'[1]

Mr. John Macpherson was summoned before the Council, and was asked whether he was the author of the paper. He declined to give a definite answer, but represented that the transactions which were mentioned in the document related to a period anterior to his becoming a Company's Servant.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President observes to the Board . . . that Mr. M^c. Pherson's reply is a clear proof not only that he is the author, but that he still holds the same principles, unfaithful to the Company and ruinous to their Interest, and therefore a very improper Person to remain in their Service. On which Account He strongly recommends to the Board that John M^c. Pherson be dismissed from the Company's Service, which instance of condign punishment He has great reason to think will tend very much to bring the Affairs of the Company to Order.' (*M.C.*, vol. lv., 23rd Jan., 1776.)

The Council, by a majority of nine to two, Fletcher and Palmer being the dissentients, dismissed Macpherson from the service.[2]

On the 30th March, 1776, Lord Pigot went down to Tanjore to reinstate the Rajah, and remained there a month. Benfield accompanied him to explain his claim for upwards of half a million pagodas, secured by assignments on the Tanjore revenues. This immense sum represented loans to Walajah for the payment of his sepoys, and advances to the inhabitants for cultivation. The claims were formally acknowledged as just by the Nawab through his Secretary, Mr. James Wooley.[3] Benfield further demanded compensation for grain which had been requisitioned by the Company's troops. On the 14th June Pigot moved in Council that Benfield's claims were private, not public concerns. The Council negatived the motion by seven to five, and resolved that the Nawab was entitled to the Government share of the next crop in Tanjore. The Governor, in a letter signed by himself alone, then informed the Directors that the majority had repudiated his proceedings in connexion with that province.[1]

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[1] *History of Hindostan*, Alexander Dow, 1770.

[2] Macpherson went home and appealed to the Directors, who reinstated him. In 1781 he returned to India as a member of the Bengal Council. He succeeded Hastings as Governor-General in 1785, and was created a baronet in the following year.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. lv., 28th May, 1776.

A further cause of difference immediately arose. Sir Robert Fletcher recommended Colonel Stuart for the Tanjore command. Pigot proposed to appoint a Council, with Mr. Russell as Chief. When his proposition was rejected, he desired to send that gentleman as Resident.[2] At length, on the 20th August, after many days spent in fruitless discussion, Mr. Mackay moved that the instructions to Stuart be considered, but Pigot refused to put the question.[3] The members then recorded their opinions separately. A majority approved the instructions, but the Governor declined to sign them. On the 22nd August the majority handed in a minute declaring the Governor's conduct to be unconstitutional and illegal. Pigot, however, held that no resolution of the majority could be valid without his concurrence, and, further, that the power of veto was vested in himself. The majority then drew up an order to the Secretary, Mr. R. J. Sulivan, to issue the instructions. Stratton and Brooke signed the order, but before the paper passed to the next member, the Governor seized it, and refused to allow the matter to proceed further without a reference to England. At the same time he drew a document from his pocket and read as follows:—

Lord Pigot's Charge of the 22nd August.

'I charge George Stratton and Henry Brooke, Esq^{rs}., of being guilty of an act subversive of the Authority of Government and tending to introduce Anarchy, in the signing [an] Order to the Secretary to give Instructions to Colonel Stuart which has not been approved and passed by the President and Council.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 24th Sept., 1776.)

Lord Pigot then moved that Messrs. Stratton and Brooke be suspended. Mackay, Jourdan, Palmer, and Floyer[4] voted against

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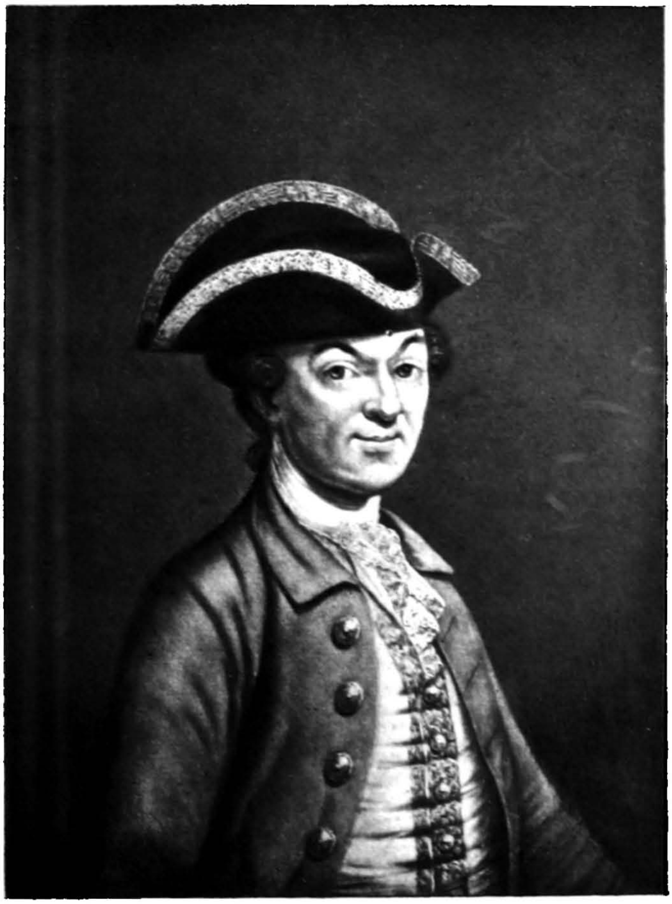
[1] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 22nd June, 1776.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii.*a*, 21st Sept., 1776.

[3] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 24th Sept., 1776.

[4] Mr. Charles Floyer succeeded Mr. Dawson, who had sailed for England. Floyer married Miss Catherine Carvalho in 1761.



Lord Pigot
from an engraving by Scawen after Powell

the motion; Stone, Dalrymple, Russell, and the President in its favour; and the President carried it by his casting vote. Messrs. Stratton, Brooke, Floyer, Palmer, Jourdan, and Mackay, who are henceforth termed the Majority, protested against 'the unexampled Outrage offered to the Constitution, and arbitrary behavior towards two of our Members, by an illegal attempt to suspend them in order, by a trick, to gain a Majority.' They added that they considered themselves the legal representatives of the Company, and would act accordingly.

Lord Pigot convened a meeting of the Council[1] on the 23rd, when Floyer, Palmer, Jourdan, and Mackay were suspended. Pigot then placed Sir Robert Fletcher under arrest 'for being concerned in circulating Letters tending to excite and cause Mutiny and Sedition among the Troops,' and offered the chief command to Colonel Stuart.[2] The Majority, apprehending that the President, who by his commission was 'Governor of the Fort and Garrison,' might obtain military support, resolved to anticipate him, and ordered Colonel Stuart to make him a prisoner. The subsequent events are thus recounted by the Majority:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We can never sufficiently approve the Conduct of Colonel Stuart, Who so ably and faithfully discharged his Duty to You and Your legal Representatives upon so trying an occasion. Indeed We are at a loss Which most to admire his generous self denial in not accepting directly the Command of the Army from Lord Pigot,[3] or the very masterly manner in which he executed our determination. The singular Address which he afterwards shewed in conducting his Lordship to Arrest was not only warranted by the occasion, but was absolutely necessary to the Success of the Undertaking on which the Peace of the Colony and the Carnatic so apparently depended. . . . We have directed Colonel Stuart to give Us a faithful Narrative[4] of the manner in which he executed Our Orders. . . .

'The Orders We gave to Colonel Stuart were to the following Effect: That, uncertain to what further excess Lord Pigot might proceed unless timely prevented, We thought it our Duty, if necessary, to Arrest his Person, and in consequence that We empowered him (Colonel Stuart), on whom, during the unhappy Indisposition of Sir Robert Fletcher, We conferred the Command of the Army, as well as of the Garrison of Fort St. George, during the present danger, to take such Measures as to him should appear proper to place the Fort,

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[1] At this meeting Mr. Richard Lathom, Chief of Cuddalore, who was visiting Madras, sat as a member.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lvi., 18th Sept., 1776, and *M. Ord. Bk.*, vol. i., 23rd Aug., 1776.

[3] The offer was made by Lord Pigot on the evening of the 23rd.

[4] The narrative is quoted below.

Garrison and Fort House under our Command, so that the publick tranquility might be restored, and the Business of the Honble Company carried on in the usual manner. That We further ordered and directed him, if he saw necessary, to Arrest the Person of Lord Pigot, or of any other Person Who should obstruct him in the execution of our Orders; and that for these salutary Purposes We directed all Company's Servants, Civil or Military, and all Persons Who lived under the Protection of this Government to give him every aid and assistance in their Power.

'In consequence of these our Orders, Colonel Stuart arrested the Person of Lord Pigot, and delivered him into the Charge of Major Horne, Commanding at St. Thomas's Mount, with positive directions that his Lordship should be treated with every mark of Attention and respect.

'On the report of Colonel Stuart that Lord Pigot was in Arrest at the Mount, and that all the Military Officers in the Fort had declared it to be their Duty and resolution to obey all Orders they might receive from Us, the Majority of the Council, or the Majority for the time being, We immediately repaired to the Council Chamber in the Fort House, and having assembled the Military Officers of the Garrison, read to them our Proclamation[1] on the occasion, when they unanimously confirmed to Us the Report of Colonel Stuart. . . .

'The next Morning likewise all the Companys Servants, Civil and Military, and the Inhabitants, being assembled at the Council Chamber, the Proclamation was read to them, and Copies of it issued to all the Subordinacies and Out Garrisons. . . .

'27th Aug. Having received Information from Colonel Stuart that he had reason to apprehend there was some tampering with the Troops stationed at St. Thomas's Mount by Persons in the Interest of Lord Pigot and his Associates, We could not but be anxious for the consequences which might ensue. Taking therefore into our most serious consideration the many evils that might arise from the violent dispositions manifested by Lord Pigot's Associates since his removal to the Mount, Their indefatigable Pursuits in attempting to sow disaffection, as well in the Civil as in the Military Servants of the Company within the Fort, The Attempt made by Mr. Claud Russell to stir up Sedition amongst the Troops in Garrison, together with the Apprehension expressed by Colonel Stuart, were circumstances which afforded too great cause of suspicion that Lord Pigot and others would persist in the Measure of seducing the Troops at the Mount, and that his Lordship's Residence there might furnish the ready means of creating disturbances; the Fortress of Chingleput, distant about thirty six Miles from Madras, appearing in every respect a More eligible place for Lord Pigot's residence during his being under Arrest, as well in point of the Salubrity of that place as in his being removed at such a distance from the Fort of Madras as to render any attempts that might be made by his Lordship and Friends for disturbing the public tranquility much more difficult than it might be in his residence at the Mount, We were therefore of Opinion that Lord Pigot should, as soon as possible, be removed to Chingleput; and in order that his Lordship might meet with every possible mark of respect and attention, and for his better residence there, We appointed a Field Officer to the Command of that Garrison.

Lieut. Colonel Edingtoun, Adjutant General, was accordingly employed to receive his Lordship from Major Horne at the Mount. His Lordship, however, perem[p]torily refused going, and that in such a manner as will clearly evince to you the violence of his Lordship's disposition. Copies of the Affidavits of Colonel Edington and Serjeant Shaw now wait on you. . . .[1]

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[1] The Proclamation is quoted below.

'We were extremely concerned to find that, in consequence of this resolution, Report should have been propagated by Lord Pigot and his friends that he was to have been moved to Ginjee. We accordingly took the earliest opportunity of assuring him by Letter that on such Idea ever did or ever could occur to Us. We likewise made him an offer of removing to any Settlement upon the Coast that he should give a preference to, where there was a Chief and Council, provided he would pledge his Word of Honor to remain in quietness within the bounds of such Settlement until Your pleasure should be known concerning his Lordship's Conduct and ours respectively. . . . We at the same time thought it necessary to add that, if his Lordship should prefer embarking for Europe in one of the Company's Ships, We would order him every accommodation in our power.

'The Information We had of the declarations made by Lord Pigot to the Military, which added to the very violent and irregular proceedings of Mr. Russell beforementioned, Who, on the day of our resuming the Government, had endeavoured to put the main Guard of the Garrison under Arms, and was by Force brought from thence before the Council, where he publickly denied our authority; knowing moreover, by our experience, the violent temper of Lord Pigot, who, if at liberty, would run every risk to recover the Government; These Circumstances forced Us, contrary to our private feelings, to use an Expression in our Instructions to Major Horne, "As Your last resource in any attempt to rescue Lord Pigot, his Life must answer for it, and this you are to signify to him," which We imagined would deter Lord Pigot's friends and family from encouraging any attempt towards his rescue. . . .

'The Affidavits of Lieut. Colonel Edingtoun and Serjeant Shaw gave us every reason to believe that, if Lord Pigot had it in his Power, he would not only have raised a Mutiny in the Army, but put himself at the head of an armed Party, and march with them to the Fort, tho' he fell in the Attempt. Needed there any other Argument for Persons in our responsible situation to take every means possible, tho' at times with strong expressions, to prevent any attempts, however fruitless, to involve the Settlement in Convulsion and Civil War? . . . GEORGE STRATTON, HENRY BROOKE, ROBERT FLETCHER, CHARLES FLOYER, ARCHDALE PALMER, FRANCIS JOURDAN, GEORGE MACKAY.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 24th Sept., 1776.)

In General Orders of the 25th August the Majority announced[2] the arrest of Pigot, the suspension of Russell, Dalrymple, and Stone,[3] and the assumption of the Government by Stratton. This notification was followed by a Proclamation as under:—

Proclamation by the Majority.

'In the Name of His Majesty and the English Nation, from whom are derived the authorities and Powers of the Honorable East India Company, our Constituents, We, the subscribing Members of this Government of Fort St. George and its dependencies, Composing a Majority of the Members of the said Government, and therefore, by law and the express Orders of the Company, being virtually the Government, Issue the following Proclamation—

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[1] Eidingtoun, whose narrative is quoted below, married Miss Ann Weller in 1771.

[2] *M. Ord. Bk.*, vol. i., 25th Aug., 1776.

[3] Lathom was also suspended.

'Whereas the Right Honorable Lord Pigot, President, and Claud Russell, Alexander Dalrymple and John Maxwell Stone, Esquires, Members of our Council, have by various arbitrary and illegal Acts attempted to supercede in Us the Authority of the Company, and to assume to themselves the Powers of this Government, contrary to Law and the Orders of the Company, which can be demonstrated to every Individual by the following Measures which they have attempted to execute. . . .

[Then follows a detailed impeachment of Lord Pigot and his supporters.]

'For these weighty reasons, no less clear than interesting to every Individual, whither a Servant of the Company or under their Protection, It is hereby enacted and Proclaimed that George Stratton, Esq^{r}., is, according to the Orders of the Company, President of the Council and Governor of Fort St. George, and that the Powers of Lord Pigot and Mess^{rs}. Russell, Dalrymple and Stone stand annulled. It is therefore ordered and Proclaimed by the authority of the aforesaid President and We the Subscribing Members of Council, being the only legal Representatives of the Company on this Coast, that all the Servants, Civil and Military, do obey Our Orders immediately; and every Servant failing in such duty is held answerable by their Commission or Station in the Service of the Company. And it is further Proclaimed that all Servants, Civil and Military, shall be indemnified against any Oppression or disadvantages they may have suffered or may suffer by the Userped authority of the Right Honorable Lord Pigot and his Assistants. GEORGE STRATTON, HENRY BROOKE, ROBERT FLETCHER, CHARLES FLOYER, ARCHDALE PALMER, FRANCIS JOURDAN, GEORGE MACKAY.' (*M. Ord. Bk.*, vol. i., 27th Aug., 1776.)

To the proclamation was annexed the following Standing Order of the Company:—

'Whatever shall be agreed upon by the Majority shall be estimed the Order by which each One is to act, and accordingly every Individual Person, even the Disputers themselves, are to perform their parts in the prosecution, and in doing so they do their Duty, and must not be blamed.'

THE REVOLUTION.

Colonel Stuart, the acting Commander-in-Chief and Commandant of the Garrison, who planned and executed the arrest of Lord Pigot, narrated the circumstances as follows:—

Colonel Stuart's Report.

'As soon as I had an opportunity of being well informed of the General Grounds upon which the late Majority (who now compose the Government), had separated themselves from Lord Pigot and the Gentlemen who adhered to him, some Particulars of which were signified to the Public and to me by the Letter of August 23rd directed to me by the Notary Public, Mr. Bromley, I did not hesitate to conclude it my Duty to obey their Orders; and in this view I had no difficulty in determining what part I was to act at the time when I received from Mr. Stratton the Order contained in their Minute of Consultation of August 23rd. In consequence of the Powers vested in me by that Minute, I forthwith formed the plan of putting this Fortress into the possession of what I considered to be the legal Government with as little danger and confusion as possible. The Principal Officers in the Garrison and Neighbourhood who, as I suppose, had received the same Information from the Protest circulated by the Notary Public, Mr. Bromley, gave a ready concurrence on their part to assist me. It became an Object of great Importance towards the Public Peace of the Settlement to secure the Person of Lord Pigot. My own knowledge of the Man, and what I had heard from others of his violent hasty temper, made his Arrest necessary in my opinion, and I had taken measures to arrest him even in the Fort had it been necessary; but I shall ever think it a fortunate Circumstance that I was not driven to this necessity. After the Fort Adjutant had delivered to me, by Order of Lord Pigot, the General Orders of the 23rd August appointing me to the Command of the Army, I went in the Evening to the Fort Square, at Lord Pigot's desire, to meet him. We had some conversation apart, the Substance of which was That he considered my having received the General Orders without Objection as an acknowledgement of the Authority by which they were published. On my part, without contradicting that position, I told his Lordship that I owed to the Court of Directors the obligation of being next in Command to Sir Robert Fletcher, and I pressed his Lordship to allow me communication of the Records. He gave me no precise answer, but asked me to Supper, as he said, with his Friends, which I promised to do, provided he gave me his word that nothing of business should be talked of. Messrs. Stone, Dalrymple, Lathom and the Sub-Secretary, Mr. Baine, were of the Party. Next Morning, the 24th August, I thought proper to write Lord Pigot a Letter, again requesting communication of the Records before I was called on for any Executive Act as Commander in Chief. This Letter I delivered after breakfasting with him at his Garden House. He read it with seeming attention, did not deny the reasonableness of the request, but objected to the manner, as it looked like making a bargain before I consented to do my Duty. He asked me to dinner. I waited at home from 9 o'clock till one in expectation of being called to Council. I then went to the House called the Admiralty, and again urged my request to be informed from the Records of the grounds that had given rise to the honor conferred upon me in General Orders. I had no answer that gave me any satisfaction.

'After dinner was over Lord Pigot asked me to Sup. I enquired particularly whether he supped in Town or at the Garden House. He told me, In the Country, but that he would see me at Six in the Fort Square. About 5 in the afternoon I received a Note from the Sub-Secretary, Mr. Baine, desiring my attendance on a Council at Six o'Clock. By this time I had entirely compleated my Plan, and had entrusted the Execution of it to Lt. Colonel Eidingtoun the Adjutant General, to Captain Lysaught,[1] then in the Garrison, and to Major Horne, Commanding the Corps of Artillery at the Mount. The first Gentleman

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[1] Lysaght commanded a sepoy battalion. Brother of the first Lord Lisle, he married in 1776 Martha, daughter of Mr. John Pybus, of the civil service (*Marriages at Fort St. George*, annotated by Mrs. Penny).

I ordered to post himself at a certain place on the Road, with a few Sepoys, to stop the Carriage in which he would see Lord Pigot and me, to disperse the Attendants, and to arrest Lord Pigot in the name of Government.

'I ordered Captain Lysaught to be near at hand with a Chaise and an Orderly Serjeant to convey Lord Pigot to Major Horne's at St. Thomas's Mount, and to give him my Orders and Instructions for the Major. I posted another Officer near Lord Pigot's Guard at the Garden House to prevent their getting under Arms in case of an Alarm. Having made this disposition, I went to Council, where Lord Pigot arrived half an hour after six. There were present Mess^{rs}. Russell, Dalrymple, Stone, Lathom, Mr. Secretary Sulivan and Mr. Baine, but they did not seem to be regularly met or setting as a Board. Lord Pigot retired with one or two Gentlemen for some Minutes, and then brought in his hand a Parchment, which he called the Commission of Government, in order to convince me that there was no power in the Council to dismiss or Suspend the Governor. There was much Conversation upon this and other Subjects, which I confess I industriously spun out to gain time 'till it was Dark. The utmost efforts of Lord Pigot and the Gentlemen were used to obtain an avowed acknowledgement of their Authority by some public Act on my part: particularly they desired that I might, as Commander in Chief, direct the Adjutant General to publish in General Orders to the Army the Resolution of Council whereby Sir Robert Fletcher was put in Arrest and I was appointed to the Command. I repeated at full length the hardship of obliging me to take this or any other Step without giving me Communication of the reason of their Proceedings, adding that I considered it as a right peculiar to the Officer Commanding the Forces, who, from his Station, is entitled to a Seat in Council. Mr. Dalrymple and others in answer said it was my Duty to obey. I fought off the best way I could, and a great deal of vague conversation followed, the particulars of which very possibly Mr. Secretary Sulivan may recollect.

'It was now about half an hour after eight, and Lord Pigot had agreed to drive me to the Garden House in his Chaise. The Adjutant General stopped the Chaise according to Orders,[1] and I told Lord Pigot that he must go with Captain Lysaught, who accordingly delivered him over to Major Horne. I then sent the Adjutant General to the House where the seven Members of Council were assembled to acquaint them that every thing was ready for their reception in the Fort Square. I returned myself to the Fort, where I found every thing in the best disposition to acknowledge their Authority. I do not take any Minute Notice here of Mr. Russell's Conduct in attempting to give Orders to the Main Guard in my presence and in the presence of almost all the Officers of the Garrison. I was under the necessity of forcing him from the Parade in order to bring him before Council, where I wished he should remain till he heard what I had to say upon the occasion, the particulars of which will appear upon the Minutes of Consultation of the 24th at Night.

'The Board having information that underhand practices were made use of to draw the Soldiery from their Duty, which they had reason to believe were encouraged by the local residence of Lord Pigot, they empowered me to take such measures as I thought proper to remove his Lordship to Chingleput.

'On the 26th I ordered Major Cooke thither to receive his Lordship and to provide the necessary things for his Lordship's convenience, and on the 27th

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[1] It will be shown later that the arrest took place on the Island midway between the Walajah and Government House bridges.

I also ordered Lt. Colonel Eidingtoun to proceed to St. Thomas' Mount to concert measures with Major Horne that, with the least noise and disturbance to the Ladies of Lord Pigot's Family, he might be conveyed in a Chaise with Lt. Colonel Eidingtoun to Chingleput. As to what passed on this occasion, I refer to Lt. Colonel Eidingtoun and Serjeant Shaw's Affidavits.

'I cannot close this narrative without adding my satisfaction at having had an opportunity, in presence of the Council and of all the Officers of the Garrison assembled on the 24th at night, to declare my Sentiments upon the nature of a free Government under the Auspices of the British Constitution, that it consisted in the due Subordination of the Military to the Civil Power. This declaration I made in the name of all the Officers of the Garrison then present, to which they unanimously assented. Were it necessary to bring additional Proofs of my real Sentiments at this Crisis, I might refer to my Conversation in presence of a large Company assembled at Dinner at the Governor's in the Fort Square, and the public Toast I gave on that Occasion, unanimously approved by the Civil and Military Servants then present. It was, "Justice to the Army while Subordinate to the Civil Power."

'Tho' a Soldier upwards of 29 Years standing, I have never a Moment lost Sight of the blessings of Civil Liberty, and I shall ever esteem it the most honorable and most fortunate Circumstance in my life to have been in any degree the instrument of recovering the legal Authority of the Company's Representatives; and I am ready to risk my all to support and maintain the established Constitution according to my Oath of Fidelity as a Servant of the Honble Company. JAMES STUART.' (*M.C.*, vol. lvi., 26th Aug., 1776.)

In a private letter to his brother, Andrew Stuart, dated the 14th September, 1777, Colonel Stuart described the arrest in these words[1]:—

'When the Adjutant-general stopped the chaise in which I was, along with Lord Pigot, he (Lord Pigot) made a short pause, and was looking about him. We were then in the middle of the road at a very small distance from the Sepoy-guard at his Garden-house, and many servants round the chaise, and many people passing in the road. The moment was critical, not only because the least noise extraordinary would have alarmed, but what is particular, as the reins were in his hands, and the horses very spirited, he might have forced them on in spite of me, and the certain consequence would have been his getting home; and myself, with all the officers or others who, with me, thought it our duty to obey the Majority as the legal government, must have been dismissed the service or tried for our lives. This led me, on observing a kind of hesitation to obey on the part of Lord Pigot, forthwith to seize the reins with one hand, and put my other hand on his arm. To the best of my recollection the precise words I made use of were, *My Lord, you must go out.*'

Lt. Colonel Eidingtoun's Declaration.

(*M.C.*, vol. lvi., 31st Aug., 1776.)

'A Narrative of the particulars that passed on the night of the 27th August, 1776, betwixt the Right Honble George, Lord Pigot, late President of the

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[1] Quoted in *A Letter to the Honourable the Directors from Andrew Stuart, Esq.*, 1778.

Council at Fort St. George in the East Indies, and Lieut. Colonel James Eidingtoun, Adjutant General of the Troops on that Establishment. . . . That on the said Night Lieut. Colonel Eidingtoun arrived at the Mount about half after ten, and, pursuant to his Instructions, sent a Note to Major Horne acquainting him of his arrival, and requesting to know when he should wait upon him, agreable to directions sent Major Horne the same day. Lt. Col. Eidingtoun received the following Answer, "Sir, I have received your Note, and the present is the best time. MATTHEW HORNE."

'Lt. Col. Eidington, on receiving the above answer, immediately drove to Major Horne's, being then a little past eleven, where he found the Major walking in the Feranda (with Lord Pigot and Lieut. Fireworker Gibson of the Artillery, who was then Officer of the Guard), to whom he delivered a Letter from Col. Stuart ordering him to deliver up his Lordship into his Custody. On perusing the said Letter, He (Major Horne) and Lt. Col. Eidingtoun walked up to Lord Pigot, the former acquainting him of the Orders he had received and the Letter; that he had permission to allow him a few Minutes to Select what valuable Articles his Lordship chused to take with him: after which the Colonel informed him that his Lordship must go in the Chaise with him to a place where he was ordered to Escort him, And where he would be treated with every mark of respect. His Lordship then demanded where the Colonel intended to carry him to. But Lt. Col. Eidingtoun, not being permitted to tell him, could only repeat the former Assurances he had given him of his personal safety; on which his Lordship declared that he was very well treated where he was, And was under the Charge of a Brave Man who had four hundred Artillery Men under his Command that wou'd protect him; at the same time declaring, unless he was carried to his Fort at Madras, or on board His Majesty's Ship of War the Salisbury, then lyeing in Madras Roads, That he (Lt. Col. Eidingtoun) should never carry him to any other place alive. Whereon Major Horne and the Colonel told him that the Orders were positive he must go immediately. On this, he threw his Arms about Major Horne, claimed his protection, repeating his former resolution of not stirring alive from thence. He then addressed himself to the Centries and Soldiers to the following purpose: I am your Lawful Governor appointed by the Court of Directors, and none but they have a Power to take from me my Commission. Those who have attempted to do it and all concerned are Rebels, Damned Rascals, who I will hang every one. I have been forty Years in the Company's Service; once taken Prisoner, I defended Madras when laid Siege to by the French, and obliged them to raise it, for which I received the thanks of my King and Country as well as of the Honble Company; at the same time Created a Peer of Ireland;—and a great deal to the above effect, Adding, You are my Soldiers: You are four hundred brave fellows, and I will march at your Head against all the Forces on the Coast;—and concluded with the most opprobrious language against the present Governor (Mr. Stratton) and Council, who, he said, were legally suspended the Company's Service by him and the Majority of the Council. And that Lt. Col. Eidingtoun, pointing to him, was one of the Villains or Rascals Who had made him Prisoner, assisted by that Rascal Stuart, after Accepting of the Command of the Army from him, and giving him his Honor that he would support him in every thing.

'About this time Messrs. Monckton, Dalrymple and Lathom made their appearance, the two former using such gross and abusive expressions, particularly Mr. Monckton, against the Governor (Mr. Stratton) and the other

Gentlemen of the Council, Colonel Stuart, and all who had obey'd their Orders, as Lt. Col. Eidingtoun never heard Gentlemen make use of before. On the arrival of Messrs. Monckton, Dalrymple and Lathom, the Officer fell in his Guard and marched it within a few paces of Major Horne's Feranda, When Lt. Col. Eidingtoun judged it then the proper opportunity to execute his Orders, and addressing the Guard, told them that he came there by the express Orders of the Commanding Officer of the Troops, who was empowered by the Governor (Mr. Stratton) and the rest of the Council; and demanded in a peremptory manner whither or not they would [obey] their Orders vested in him. This he repeated a 2nd time, and the Officer replyed he would obey Major Horne's Orders. Lt. Col. Eidingtoun then took Major Horne aside and asked him if he was certain of the fidelity of his Troops; Who replyed he would answer for them with his Life. Then they (Lt. Col. Eidingtoun and Major Horne) agreed not to proceed further untill they had received fresh Instructions from the Board, provided his Lordship would give his Word of Honor that he would make no attempt to escape, or employ Agents to tamper with the Troops, which, from intercepted Letters and other Circumstances, the Board had reason to Suspect. His Lordship gave his Word of Honor accordingly, and nothing further was done.

'James Eidingtoun.

'Madras, 30th August 1776.

'Sworn to before me,
'John Turing, Mayor.'

The declaration of Serjeant George Shaw, of the 7th Battalion of sepoys, supported that of Colonel Eidingtoun.

Commodore Sir Edward Hughes, commanding the Squadron, visited Lord Pigot at the Mount, and wrote thence as follows:—

Sir Edward Hughes to Government.

'I am to inform you that Lord Pigot has claimed the Protection of the King's Flag, and I am in consequence to require, in his Majesty's Name, that Major Horne be ordered to give his Lordship safe Conduct to my Ship. I find myself under a necessity of remaining with his Lordship untill your Orders shall arrive here, and desire therefore that they be sent to Major Horne with all convenient Dispatch. Edward Hughes.' (*M.C.*, vol. lvi., 28th Aug., 1776.)

Hughes attended a Council meeting on the 4th September, and was asked whether he would be responsible for the tranquillity of the Company's settlements if his request were complied with. After some discussion and correspondence the matter closed with the subjoined letter from the Commodore:—

Sir Edward Hughes to Government.

(*M.C.*, vol. lvi., 9th Sept., 1776.)

'You think you cannot, consistent with the important Trust reposed in You, comply with the Requisition made by me in the Name of His Majesty, a Name deemed by me very high Security, and which I have Power to use in National Concerns of the utmost importance; and as I feel in my Breast that I have done my Duty to His Majesty and to my Country in making the Requisition, I have only to add that You have taken on Yourselves any and all the ill consequences which may arise from the Refusal.

'EDWARD HUGHES.

'Salisbury, in Madras Road,
'the 7th day of Sept^{r}. 1776.'

There was some talk among Pigot's friends of procuring a writ of Habeas Corpus from the Mayor's Court; but Judge Lemaistre of the Calcutta Supreme Court, who happened to be in Madras, and whose opinion was invited, considered that the local Court had not the necessary power.

CHAPTER VII

1776—1777

LORD PIGOT'S NARRATIVE—THE USURPATION—DEATH OF LORD PIGOT

LORD PIGOT'S NARRATIVE.

LORD PIGOT himself, while in confinement at Major Horne's bungalow, wrote a narrative, dated the 11th September, 1776, of the recent transactions at Madras, and sent it to the Directors by the hand of Captain Robert Wood, the Town Major. The account was afterwards published, and the following extracts are taken from a printed copy. They are made few and brief to avoid repetition.

Lord Pigot first describes the restoration of Tanjore to the Rajah, the obstructiveness of Sir Robert Fletcher, the claims of Benfield, and the disputes in Council regarding the instructions to Colonel Stuart. He proceeds:—

'My representations had no weight; the matter had been repeatedly agitated; and although I wished it might be left to the Company's decision, I came prepared for all possible events; and when, in defiance of every thing I could say, my request to leave the matter to the Company, and my particular entreaty to Mr. Brooke not to sign any thing of the kind, Mess^rs^. Stratton and Brooke did sign the order to the Secretary, I desired to see the paper; and it being handed to me, I declared I would stop the business at that stage, and produced a charge against those two gentlemen for an act subversive of the authority of government, and tending to produce anarchy, by ordering the Secretary to send instructions to Colonel Stuart which had not been approved and passed by the *President* and Council.

'The charge being read, and the *standing orders* requiring that when a charge is made against any Member of Council that *such member is not to have a seat*, I recommended to those gentlemen to withdraw; explaining myself that I did not mean leaving the room, but that they should quit their seats at the Council-table. Some debate arising, and a proposal having been made to adjourn, some of my friends concurred in wishing an adjournment with a view to give the gentlemen time to answer the charge; but they declaring that they did not consider it as a charge, and that it did not deserve any answer, I moved that Mess^{rs}. Stratton and Brooke should be suspended the Company's service till their pleasure should be known; which was accordingly resolved in the affirmative by my casting vote.'

Lord Pigot then refers to the public notification issued by the Majority on the 23rd August, and circulated by Mr. Charles Bromley, notary public, which declared that they considered themselves the legal representatives of the Company. Bromley was summoned to Sir Robert Fletcher's house to receive copies for distribution:—

'This act of sedition could not be passed over. Sir Robert Fletcher was ordered into arrest; Colonel Stuart was appointed to the command of the troops; and Mess^{rs}. Floyer, Palmer, Jourdan and Mackay were suspended the Company's service. . . . I sent for Colonel Stuart, who came and supped with me [on the 23rd] in the *fort-house*, as I did not think it prudent, under the circumstances, to go out of the garrison to supper.

'In the morning [of Saturday the 24th] early, Colonel Stuart sent his nephew, Mr. Basil Cochrane, to me to know whether I breakfasted in the fort or at the *garden-house*, that he might wait on me *for my commands*. I replied that I would do either, as was most agreeable to Colonel Stuart. Mr. Cochrane returned with an answer that Colonel Stuart would wait upon me at the *garden-house*, if agreeable. In my way thither I stopt my chaise at Colonel Stuart's door, when he told me he had appointed Colonel Edington to meet him at the drill, and would be at the gardens in about an hour. He accordingly came thither to breakfast, and acquainted me at the breakfast-table that the men were very perfect in their new discipline, and *he hoped soon to be able to shew them to me.* After breakfast he told me, *if I would give him leave, he would dine with me.* . . . Colonel Stuart dined with me, and after dinner I invited him to supper at the Company's *garden-house*, which invitation he accepted. At the same time, acquainting me that he had no conveyance, he requested I would take him with me in my chaise. I appointed him to come to the *fort-house* at six o'clock in the evening. . . .'

Then follows an account of the argument with Stuart at an informal Council meeting. Russell asked him whether he had definitely accepted the command. Stuart replied in the affirmative, and ultimately consented to issue Garrison orders relative to Fletcher's arrest:—

'Between seven and eight o'clock at night [24th August] I went from the fort-house with Colonel Stuart to my chaise. On the island, between the two bridges, I saw Lieutenant Colonel Edington, the Adjutant General, come running across the road from the southern side towards the chaise. Supposing he wanted to speak to us, I reined in the horses; and when Edington got near their heads, he waved his naked sword and cried, *Seapoys*, whereupon a party of Seapoys came from behind the trees on the other side, and Captain Lysaught, with a pistol in his hand, came up to the chaise from that side and said to me "*You are my prisoner*," or words to that effect; and then Colonel Stuart *seized hold of my arm* and said "*Go, Sir*," or "*Go out, Sir*," and an orderly Serjeant drove away the servant who was behind the chaise with my sword. I was then conducted by Captain Lysaught to Mr. Benfield's post-chaise; Captain Lysaught opened the chaise door, and an orderly Serjeant came out of it. I was told to get into it, and Captain Lysaught came in also, keeping the pistol in his hand, and there was an orderly Serjeant behind the chaise. As we passed the Seapoy guard at the Company's garden house, Captain Lysaught said, "*My Lord, you must on no account call out*," or words to that effect. When we had arrived near to the Long Tank, about three miles from town, he told me that he was carrying me to the *Mount* to deliver me into charge of Major Horne, and that he acted under *Colonel Stuart's orders*. About this time he let down the blinds of the chaise. I expressed my fears for the safety of the people in the town, to which Captain Lysaught replied he believed Colonel Stuart had taken every necessary precaution on that head.

'My servants inform me Colonel Stuart returned to town in my chaise; and, I understand, soon after, Mr. Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, &c., went thither; that they proceeded to the Consultation Room, and were *proclaimed* on the parade *as Governor and Council* by Colonel Stuart, who, it is now said, *had before accepted the same appointment from them which he had received from us;* and this seems confirmed by his orders to Major Horne, delivered by Captain Lysaught, which is the only orders Major Horne is permitted to give me a copy of. But I must take notice that in a subsequent order signed by George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Robert Fletcher, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay, is the following paragraph: "*As your last resource in any attempt to rescue Lord Pigot, his life must answer for it, and this you will signify to him.*"

Referring to the instructions given to Horne by Stuart, Lord Pigot remarks:—

'It must be needless to observe that Colonel Stuart *had written, if not delivered, these orders when he made his professions in the consultation room.*'

Lord Pigot then describes the attempt made to remove him to Chingleput, his claim for the protection of the King's flag, and his application to the Mayor's Court. He concludes with arguments bearing on the justice of his own acts, and the illegality of the proceedings of the Majority.

To the narrative are appended some notes by Mr. Dalrymple tending to show that members of the Majority had private motives for hostility: Fletcher, because Lord Pigot declined his attendance at Tanjore; Mackay, because the Governor opposed a proposition to remove the bar which prevented his rising in

Council; Stuart and Jourdan, through their intimacy with Benfield, 'with whom most of the Madrass people's fortunes are involved.'

The Usurpation.

The Government set up by Mr. Stratton received the support of the military officers, who naturally yielded obedience to the acting Commander-in-Chief, but it was not universally accepted by the civil servants at Madras. Messrs. Charles Mordaunt, Robert Duncan Munro, Eyles Irwin, Joseph Revell, and George Wynch, were suspended for absolutely refusing to recognize it.[1] Thirty-eight others, constituting more than half of the unsuspended civilians at Fort St. George,[2] signed a protest against the administration, but offered to continue service in their appointments until the Company's pleasure should be known. Several officials proceeded to England. Mr. John Whitehill, lately Chief of Masulipatam, obtained leave on private affairs; Colonel James Capper was charged with the Government's official report, and Captain Robert Wood was the bearer of Lord Pigot's narrative. Sir Robert Fletcher, who was really ill, was granted leave to the Cape. Hearing of his impending departure, Lord Pigot requested Sir Edward Hughes to hold the Government responsible for Fletcher's removal from military jurisdiction while he was still under arrest. At the same time Pigot filed a complaint against him in the Mayor's Court for false imprisonment, with damages laid at £200,000.[3] Fletcher, however, sailed about the middle of October. His medical certificate was worded as follows:—

Medical Certificate.

'These are to Certify that Brigadier General Sir Robert Fletcher having long laboured under complaints of his breast, with a Cough and feverish Disposition, and being now much reduced and weakened by them, a Change of Situation is become Absolutely necessary.

'The approaching Monsoon, and the tendency his complaints have to consumption, renders it incumbent on him speedily to take the Benefit of a Voyage to sea. He is therefore advised to proceed to the Cape on the first conveyance, as the most probable means to effect a recovery. GILBERT PASLEY, Surgeon.' (*M.C.*, vol. lvi., 4th Oct., 1776.)

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[1] They were reinstated, however, by the Directors. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxi., 4th July, 1777.)

[2] The civil servants on the Madras Establishment numbered 141. Of these 68, besides the 9 suspended members, were at the Presidency town.

[3] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 10th Oct., 1776. He claimed damages also from Colonel Stuart of £200,000, and from Lieutenant-Colonel Eidingtoun and Captain Lysaght of £50,000 each.

Fletcher, however, did not live to reach the Cape: he died at Mauritius on Christmas Eve, 1776.[1]

Sir Edward Hughes, in forwarding, at Lord Pigot's request, an affidavit from one William Randall, considered that an additional reason had been adduced for granting to the deposed Governor the protection of the King's flag:—

Affidavit of William Randall.

'William Randall, Gent, now or late Captain in the Service of the Nabob Mahomed Alli Cawn, and Aid du Camp to his Son, commonly called or known by the name of the Amier ul Omrah, &c., Commanding the Army of the said Nabob, maketh Oath and says that, soon after the arrival of the Right Honourable George Lord Pigot at Madras, he, the said Amier ul Omrah, frequently but with great Privacy proposed to the Deponent that he, the said deponent, should Destroy and take away the life of the said George Lord Pigot. . . . That the Deponent, William Randall, shocked at the iniquity of such a proposal, and knowing the Weakness of the said Amier ul Omrah, seldom made any other reply than ridiculously advising the said Amier ul Omrah to make a present of the large Tyger usually kept in the Bazar at Triplicane to the said Right Honourable George Lord Pigot, and if his Lordship was pleased to be very intimate and familiar with the Tyger, he, the Tyger, might some time or other accomplish the Business so much desired and wished for by the said Amier ul Omrah. That the Deponent, willing to discover if the Amier ul Omrah had ever intrusted any other Person with his diabolical Inclinations, often desired the said Amier to engage some other Person with the Deponent in the proposed Scheme of Distroying the said Right Hon. George Lord Pigot; and upon this request the said Amier ul Omrah declared he had or would engage one Comaro, a Dubash to Paul Benfield, Esq^r., of Madras, to kill the said Right Hon. George Lord Pigot by causing Poison to be put in the Food of the [said] George Lord Pigot. . . . WILLIAM RANDALL.

'Sworn to before me, JOHN TURING, Mayor.' (*M.C.*, vol. lvi., 19th Sept., 1776.)

Randall was an adventurer who came out in the same ship with Sir Robert Fletcher. He entered the Nawab's service, but was afterwards dismissed. His affidavit caused great annoyance to Walajah, and the Government, as may be supposed, entirely discredited his statements.[2]

The events of the revolution were reported to the Governor-

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lix., 29th April, 1777.

[2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 24th Sept., 1776.

General by Stratton's Government and also by Lord Pigot. Warren Hastings and Council replied as follows:—

Fort William to Fort St. George.

'The Rights and powers of the Governor and Council at Fort St. George being by the Original Constitution vested in the Majority of the Members who compose that Body, and the intemperate conduct of Lord Pigot, your late President, in forcibly excluding two of your Members from their Seats at the Board having been the cause of the unhappy seperation of the Majority of your Board from the Minority; in this alarming and dangerous Situation of your Government We think it incumbent on us to declare that We acknowledge the Title and Authority which, we understand, you have been thus compelled to assume. In consequence Whereof we have resolved to support you in the Government by all the means which you may require from us and we have it in our power to grant, in Virtue of our General Instructions to afford our aid and Protection to all the Presidencies of the Company in India. . . .' (*M. Ord. Bk.*, vol. i., 7th Oct., 1776.)

Stratton's Government sought, through the Bengal Council, the opinion of the Supreme Court on their judicial powers. The Court's reply was forwarded to Madras by Hastings on the 21st October:—

Opinion of the Supreme Court.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxvi., 22nd Nov., 1776.)

'The Queries which the Gentlemen who are in possession of the Government at Madrass have desired you to propose to Us necessarily involve the Legality or Illegality of the Acts already done by them, and of the Authority by which they administer the Government. We have not sufficient Materials before Us to form any Judgment; and were we so completely furnished with them, We should think it highly improper in this Case to give any opinion. It ought to have no legal weight; and from the unsettled state of that Presidency, if more weight were given to it than a private Opinion deserves, it might create Mischiefs that we forsee and many that cannot possibly be forseen.

'We therefore hope We shall be excused for declining to say more upon the Subject than that We suppose the Gentlemen there had fully considered the legality of their Conduct in assuming the Government before they executed that Measure; and that, if they have been right in that, the Powers of acting as Judges of Quarter Sessions, Oyer and Terminer and of Goal Delivery, and Judges of the Courts of Appeal and Justices of the peace are incidental to the President and Council, or such of them as, by their Seniority, answer the Description of the Royal Charter according to the respective powers granted by the same.

'E. IMPEY.
'R. CHAMBERS.
'S. C. LEMAISTRE.
'JOHN HYDE.'

'Fort William,
'October 19th 1776.'

The news of the revolution moved the Directors profoundly. The subject was discussed at two General Courts of Proprietors, and in June, 1777, a despatch was sent to Madras addressed to 'the Right Honourable George, Lord Pigot, Our President and Governor of Fort St. George, Thomas Rumbold, Esq^{r}., Major General Hector Munro, John Whitehill, Charles Smith, Samuel Johnson, Peter Perring, Alexander Davidson, John Hollond and James Daniel, Esq^{rs}.'[1] The following are extracts from the despatch:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The late violent Dissentions amongst the Members of our Council of Fort St. George, which have brought on a total Subversion of the legal Government by the Seizure and Imprisonment of the Person of the Right Honourable Lord Pigot, our President and Governor, by a military Force, having been most seriously consider'd by the General Court of Proprietors as well as by Ourselves, We have determined to vest the whole Government in you for a limited time, and We hereby communicate to you Our Resolves and Orders, not doubting your faithfully observing and complying therewith. . . .

'After the most mature consideration of those Transactions . . . We think it of the highest Importance to mark Our Disapprobation, as well to our own Servants as to the Natives of India, of the violent Act by which the Government of our Settlement of Fort St. George at Madras was subverted and Our President imprisoned; and have therefore resolved to restore Lord Pigot to the full Exercise of the Powers vested in him . . . and do hereby direct that on the Arrival of this Letter (if His Lordship shall not have been previously released from his Confinement) He be immediately released, and put in possession of the full Exercise of the said Powers . . . Yet, as his Lordship's Proceedings appear to us in several Instances to be reprehensible, We have resolved . . . and do hereby direct that his Lordship do, within One Week after the Dispatch of the first Ship from Madras for England which shall happen after the Receipt of this Letter and his Lordship's Restoration to the Possession of the said Government, deliver over to Thomas Rumbold, Esq^{r}., appointed by the Commission given you herewith to succeed his Lordship as Governor . . ., or to the senior Civil Counsellor named in that Commission, then at the Presidency, the Charge of our said Government of Fort St. George at Madras:[2] and We do hereby further order and require that His Lordship do return to England. . . .

'We do hereby also order and require that such of them, the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, make your Application to Sir Edward Vernon[1] for Countenance and Support, as We have procured from His Majesty's Ministers authentic Orders to that Gentleman for affording you every proper Assistance. At the same time you are to apply to our Governor General and Council of Bengal, should their Interference be further necessary to carry our Orders into Execution. . . .

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[1] The Government was to be formed of the first seven of the addressees; but as some of them were in England, and others absent from Madras, additional names were inserted. Rumbold, one of the Directors, had been nominated in December, 1776, to succeed Pigot. Munro and Whitehill were also in England, Smith was at Ganjam, Johnson and Perring at Vizagapatam, Davidson at Ingeram, and Daniel at Palamcottah. Hollond held a roving commission.

[2] The intention appears to have been to offer Lord Pigot an inducement not to prolong his stay in Madras beyond the date of sailing of the first ship.

'It is our Pleasure that Colonel James Stuart be suspended the Company's Service for Six Months; that such Suspense do commence on the Day of the Arrival of these our Orders at Fort St. George, and We hereby declare Him so suspended as aforesaid.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxx., 11th June, 1777.)

This despatch, which was signed by George Wombwell and fifteen other Directors, provided also for an inquiry to be held in India on certain questions, such as the nature of Benfield's claims, whether Lord Pigot or any of his Council had accepted gifts from the Nawab or Rajah, and whether the Nawab was instrumental in procuring Pigot's removal. Legal assistance was to be rendered by the Advocate-General of Bengal, Mr. John Day, who was directed to halt at Madras on his way to Calcutta.

A copy of this despatch was entrusted to Mr. Whitehill, who, travelling overland via Suez, accomplished the journey to Madras in record time. Leaving London on the 13th June, he arrived at Fort St. George on the 31st August after an interval of only 79 days.[2] Faced on his arrival with the startling news of Lord Pigot's decease in the preceding May, he found himself the Senior Member of the new Government appointed by the Directors, and the only Councillor present at Madras. Before the measures taken by Mr. Whitehill are described, it is necessary to notice the circumstances attending the death of Lord Pigot.

DEATH OF LORD PIGOT.

Lord Pigot was in good health during his confinement at the Mount until the 5th March, 1777, when he fell ill after exposing himself to the sun while gardening. He was attended by Dr. Pasley. Towards the end of the month he was better, but early in April a relapse occurred. On the 26th Horne informed the Government that Lord Pigot was seriously ill, and it was agreed to offer the ex-Governor the use of the Company's Garden House if Dr. Pasley considered sea air desirable for him. The patient was brought in on the evening of the 28th. On the 10th May, when he was moribund, the guards were withdrawn, and at 10 a.m. on the following day Lord Pigot expired.[1] Mr. Monckton, Pigot's son-in-law,[2] wrote to Horne as follows :—

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[1] Commanding the Squadron in succession to Sir Edward Hughes. Hughes, however, relieved him in 1780.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxi., 4th July, and *P.C.*, vol. cxviii., 31st Aug., 1777.

Mr. Monckton to Colonel Horne.

(*M.C.*, vol. lix., 12th May, 1777.)

'Lord Pigot having died this morning under your Charge and Custody, I now require of you to deliver his Body over to me that his friends may see the same decently interred.

'EDWARD MONCKTON.

'Company's Garden House,
'11 o Clock the 11th Day of May 1777.'

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that, having received a Note on Saturday Morning from Doctor Pasley that he had no hopes whatever of Lord Pigot's Recovery, he had requested of Commodore Sir Edward Hughes to signify to Mr. Monckton that, as the president wished to pay his Lordship every Military Honor, it was his intention, if it would be accepted, to give Orders that a Funeral party, immediately on his Lordship's Decease, should be directed to attend his Corps, Consisting of the European Battalion under the Command of a Colonel; and that all the Sepoys of the three Battalions should form a Street from the Garden house to the Church where he might be buried; and that, on the Corps leaving the Garden House, as many Minute Guns should be fired as he was years of Age. Sir Edward Hughes having made the foregoing Offer to Mr. Monckton in the name of the President, Mr. Monckton acquainted him "that they would not accept of any Military Honors whatever from this Garrison."

'The President further acquaints the Board that on Saturday Evening, with the Concurrence of the Board, he had directed the Secretary to write the Order to Lt. Colonel Horne which is entered in the preceding Diary; and that, as he was determined nothing on his Part should be wanting, he had, altho' Mr. Monckton had refused the Military Honors intend'd for his Lordship's funeral, Caused Minute Guns to be fired both by the Fort and the Company's Ships in the Road during the Procession from the Garden House.' (*M.C.*, vol. lix., 12th May, 1777.)

The interment took place in the Fort,[3] and was the first intramural burial in St. Mary's Church. No inscription marked the spot, but, in the course of excavations made under the chancel in 1874, a vault was found containing a nameless coffin. This was surmised to be Lord Pigot's, and by order of the Duke of

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lix., 26th April to 11th May, 1777.

[2] The Hon. Edward Monckton married Miss Sophy Pigot in March, 1776. Mr. Claud Russell married her sister Leonora in October, 1777.

[3] Vestry Minutes, 21st June, 1777. (*The Church in Madras*, Rev. F. Penny.)

Buckingham, then Governor, a slab was placed over the vault inscribed simply *In Memoriam.*[1]

Stratton's Government wrote as follows to the Directors:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We acquainted you . . . that Lord Pigot departed this Life the 11th May. His Lordship had, some time before, been seized with a violent bilious disorder from which he recovered in great measure; but a Relapse having reduced him again to a very weak state, and a change of air being recommended, We made him an offer, thro' Colonel Horne, of the Company's Garden House, where he might have the benefit of the Sea Air in a greater degree than he could possibly receive it at St. Thomas's Mount. His Lordship accepted the offer, and was removed accordingly. For some days afterwards he apparently grew better, but the disorder was too malignant to be overcome, and he died, as We have before observed, on the 11th May, which was about 14 days after his removal to the Garden House.

'We think it necessary to send your Honors a circumstantial Account of Lord Pigot's Sickness and Death because We apprehend the Rage of Party violence, which has been shewn by his Lordship's Friends against all the Measures of our Administration, will exert itself particularly on this occasion, and that many misrepresentations will go forth concerning it, which, if not discredited by well attested Facts, may possibly give some degree of belief amongst those who are not acquainted with all the Circumstances attending his Lordship's situation before his Death.

'We have therefore . . . judged it proper to call upon Lt. Colonel Horne, Who had the Charge of Lord Pigot at the Mount, to deliver to Us an attested Narrative of Facts relating to the degree of Restraint which his Lordship was under during his Residence at the Mount, and the particular treatment he received there. We have likewise called upon Mr. Pasley, the Company's head Surgeon, Who attended His Lordship during the whole Period of his Disorder, and Who is a Man of strict honor and veracity, to lay before Us a particular Account of the nature and cause of that disorder, and the progress of it in every stage from the time his Lordship was first taken ill until His Death. . . .

'We cannot dismiss this Subject without remarking to your Honors a strong Proof of the disposition of the late Lord Pigot's Friends. Mr. George Andrew Ram, one of the Gentlemen Who stood forth as professed adversaries to our Government in that extraordinary Protest and Remonstrance delivered in immediately after We had assumed the Administration of Your Affairs, held at that time the Office of Coroner. He was soon after appointed to a Subordinate Settlement, and the Office of Coroner becoming vacant thereby, another Gentleman[2] was regularly appointed to perform that Duty, in which he officiated on several occasions without interruption or difficulty. Mr. Ram, indeed, Who had apparently no desire to proceed to the station to which he had been appointed, objected to the Nomination of a new Coroner, declaring that he had no Inclination to quit the Office, and that he could not be removed from it but by a Proof of delinquency. We are sensible of the Notice We ought to have taken of this Doctrine advanced by one of Your own Servants in opposition to our Orders, . . . yet from a Lenity which We now think culpable, We passed over the offence, and permitted Mr. Ram to remain at the Presidency some time longer on a Plea of ill-health. The other Gentleman whom We had appointed Coroner continued to act . . . without Interruption, tho' Mr. Ram was in the Settlement still asserting his Right to the Office; but on the occasion of Lord Pigot's Death, Mr. Ram had the boldness to act in open defiance of our Authority, . . . and by a Proceeding which appears to Us totally unwarrantable and illegal, he summoned an Inquest in the usual Form to examine into the cause of his Lordship's Death. Many Persons, acquainted probably with the Circumstances of Mr. Ram's disqualification, refused Obedience to his Summons. Some however gave their attendance, and others, the declared Advocates of the late Lord Pigot, . . . had, We believe, Malignancy enough in their dispositions to wish for an opportunity of throwing some imputation upon our Characters by a Proceeding apparently formal tho' in reality the most groundless and illegal that can be conceived. These Persons had no scruples in obeying the Summons, and Mr. Ram soon obtained the Number he wanted.

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[1] *Fort St. George, Madras,* Mrs. Penny.

[2] Mr. John Balfour.

'The Inquest so composed hath been sitting since the 11th May. Upon any other occasion We should have immediately taken measures for dissolving an Assembly so formed, but as We had reason to suppose that our Conduct would be the Object of their Scrutiny, and knowing, from the disposition of some of the Members, that the examination would not be at all partial to Us; knowing also that a suppression of any Enquiry in this particular Case . . . would be construed to our disadvantage, We determined to take no Notice of their Proceedings, or of the Conduct of Mr. Ram, until the examinations were finished. We now understand, altho' they have been sitting near two Months, that they cannot agree upon any thing, and that the Enquiry is likely to end to the discredit of those Who have promoted it.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 2nd July, 1777.)

Colonel Horne, in his narrative above referred to, laid stress on the degree of freedom permitted to Lord Pigot. The following is an illustration:—

Extract from Colonel Horne's Narrative.

'We, some time after, talked of forming Partys of Pleasure, and had proposed Covelong, and another to Vandalore, which his Lordship came into; but one day at Dinner, when on that Subject, I proposed taking a ride the next afternoon to a Cave on the side of a Hill about 4 Miles off, and have Tea, &c., there, and engaging Mrs. Monckton and that Family. His Lordship proposed going that afternoon with only the Company present. We went accordingly, he carrying Mrs. Horne in his Chaise. We rambled on the Hills, drank Tea, &c., and were remarkably merry, and returned home about 7 o'clock.' (*M.C.*, vol. lix., 5th July, 1777.)

This, however, was the only drive Lord Pigot had, and the place to which they took him bore the cheerful name of 'The Cave of Despair'!

Mr. Charles Floyer, who was at this time Chief of Masulipatam, alludes to Lord Pigot's death and the state of affairs at Madras in the following private letter to Orme:—

Charles Floyer to Robert Orme.

'When you perceive that this letter is written on my Journey to Madrass in the middle of the hottest land-wind-day I ever felt, and the Thermometer at above 100, I flatter myself you will heave a Sigh for your friend Floyer, and wish the poor Fellow was now sitting at your Fireside in Harley Street, with a mind entirely free from that load of Care which you, like a most tender Friend, have so often participated with him. Yes, my valuable friend, I can never forget the balmy Comforts you poured into my bosom, and can now remember them with the greater pleasure as, Thank God, those Causes of Chagrin no longer exist. . . .

'I have already said I am on my Journey to the Presidency. . . . My Visit is intended to be of two Months. My Errands are two. My own private business; and the principal one is that of fulfilling a promise I made to my friend Mr. Rumbold, when in England, to accompany him and Mrs. Rumbold from the Ship to Terra firma at Madrass. . . . By his acceptance of the Succession to the Government he has, I hope, ensured to himself the bringing a Government Commission in his Pocket, for I deem it a point unquestionable that Lord Pigot can never be reinstated in this Government, nor can he be nominated to any other in India. But, poor Man! Fate has prevented him from learning the Decision of his Employers. He died of a bilious Complaint or a putrid Fever about a Month ago at the Company's Garden House, whither he removed from the Mount by the Advice of Mr. Paseley, who gave him the closest attendance.

'Altho' his Lordship and I opposed each other in our public lines, yet hardly a day passed without our being engaged in social Parties together, 'till within two days of his Suspension, or rather the day of the Secession of the Majority from the Councils of the Minority, and were not the less upon that intimate and pleasing footing which I wished to be with a Man for whom I ever had a personal Esteem, and to whom indeed I professed myself much indebted for his kindness to me in my younger days. . . .

'To shew you how far the spirit of Party is kept up at the Presidency, even since the death of Lord Pigot, I am told Mr. Russell is now styled by the Wrongheads Governor of Madrass, and continues to hold Councils in the manner said to have been practised by Lord P.; and the Council consists of Mr. R., the Governor and President, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Lathom, who I hear has been summoned to the Presidency from Cuddalore (where he was employed in his private Commercial Concerns) on the death of his Lordship, in order to make up a Quorum or Quondam Board. . . .' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. lxxxiii., 28th June, 1777.)

CHAPTER VIII

1777—1778

THE INQUEST—JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS—LATHOM'S EULOGY OF LORD PIGOT

THE INQUEST.

THE inquest[1] was held by the Coroner, Mr. George Andrew Ram, at the Company's Garden House, at 3 p.m., on Sunday the 11th May, 1777, and by adjournment at the house of Mr. George Smith, Foreman of the Jury. The Coroner swore in the following jury of twelve[2]:—

George Smith,
Andrew Ross,
George Baker,
Thomas Powney,
Thomas Pelling,
John De Fries,
Robert Ewing,
George Taswell,
Alexander Cuthbert,[3]
Robert Farquhar,
William Parsons,
John Turing.

Surgeons Pasley and Anderson considered that an autopsy was unnecessary, and as the funeral was to take place in the evening, the inquest was adjourned to the following morning, when the examination of witnesses was begun. A verdict was delivered on the 30th July, but it was not published until the 24th September, when Mr. Whitehill had formed a new Government.

The Hon. Edward Monckton deposed that he had known Lord

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[1] The inquest proceedings were published in England in 1778 under the title of *Original Papers, with an Authentic State of the Proofs and Proceedings before the Coroner's Inquest which was assembled at Madras upon the Death of Lord Pigot.*

[2] Turing was a civil servant, Taswell was Master Attendant, and Smith, Ross, Baker, Powney, Pelling, De Fries, and Cuthbert were free merchants.

[3] Alexander Cuthbert, who was probably a brother of Arthur Cuthbert, married Miss Mary Turing in 1778.

Pigot since 1762,[1] and had married his elder daughter. After the Governor's arrest, witness 'went and resided at the house called General Lawrence's house, at St. Thomas's Mount,'[2] with Lord Pigot's family. He described Eidingtoun's attempt to remove the prisoner to Chingleput, and detailed the circumstances of Lord Pigot's illness and death. Contrasting the deceased's former habits with his mode of life at the Mount, Monckton said:—

> 'It was Lord Pigot's general custom, before breakfast, to come from the Fort to this Informant's house upon Choultry plain (which is about two miles) in an open chaise, and then take up his youngest daughter, and take an airing of two or three miles. When he did not call upon her, he would walk out from the Fort to the Company's Garden-house, which is above a mile. After breakfast Lord Pigot usually walked in the Company's Garden, and gave orders to the workmen till near ten o'clock and sometimes later. After that, his Lordship would go into the Fort generally in his chariot to business and dinner.
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> 'Sometimes, when this Informant has come to the Company's Garden-house of an evening between six and seven o'clock, he has known Lord Pigot lay himself down on a cot for an hour or two, and say that he had been walking on the fortifications of the Fort, from thence out to the Company's Gardens and in the Gardens, ever since dinner, and that his company had broke up from dinner between three and four o'clock. . . . Lord Pigot supped at the Garden-house, and after supper generally returned in his chaise to the Fort where he always slept.
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> 'After Lord Pigot's confinement at the Mount, the exercise which he generally took was walking once or twice a day to and from the house where this Informant and his Lordship's family lived and Major Horne's house,[3] the distance being between three and four hundred yards. When at the house where this Informant lived, he generally employed himself either in the garden, or in giving orders to carpenters and other workmen. . . .
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> 'This Informant has known Lord Pigot go to the top of the Mount five or six times during his confinement; and one afternoon Lord Pigot went out in a chaise, in company with Major Horne and Major Horne's family, to the Quarter Seers (hills about three miles distant from the Mount). This Informant has also known Lord Pigot walk out on the Mount Plain a mile, sometimes more, but seldom so far. At other times Lord Pigot would go to the gentlemen's houses at the Mount, none of them being at a greater distance from Major Horne's than the house in which this Informant resided. Lord Pigot was constantly attended by an officer and one or two artillerymen.
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> 'The only room allotted to Lord Pigot in Major Horne's house appeared to the Informant to be about 32 feet long and 18 feet wide, and was the best room in

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[1] Monckton entered the civil service in that year.

[2] The houses of the European residents lined the Madras road, which ran due east from the foot of Uscan's steps, for a distance of 600 yards. The house formerly belonging to Lawrence was the easternmost on the south side of that road.

[3] It is conjectured that Horne's house, where Lord Pigot was confined, was situated on the road leading from Lawrence's house to the foot of Uscan's steps, but whether on the north or south side of the road is uncertain.

the house. Latterly, while Lord Pigot was sick, this Informant observed that his Lordship's servants made use of a closet adjoining, which, before Lord Pigot's sickness and from the time of his confinement, Major Horne used as a writing room. Lord Pigot has also the use of the hall into which his room opened, in common with Major Horne's family : also the use of the veranda.'

Mr. Claud Russell deposed that he first knew the deceased in 1754,[1] when Lord (then Mr.) Pigot arrived from Vizagapatam to become Governor of Madras. On the 24th August, 1776, after Lord Pigot and Colonel Stuart had left the Fort, deponent, Dalrymple, and Lathom followed on foot. Between the second bridge and the Garden House they met the carriages of Stratton and Mackay going towards the Fort. The incident surprised them, as both those gentlemen were under suspension, and Mackay, moreover, was known to be giving 'an entertainment at his house in the country.' On reaching the Garden House, they heard of the arrest. Witness, as Second of Council, proceeded at once to the Fort. At the main guard, Captain Robert Wood, the Town Major, stated that he himself had been placed in arrest. Russell ordered the officer of the guard, Captain Adair, to put his men under arms. Stuart and Eidingtoun arriving, seized Russell, and, with the aid of orderlies, took him to the Council Room, where Stratton and his followers were assembled. The Seven declared Russell suspended from the service.

Witness then took up residence at the Mount. He stated that Lord Pigot's usual exercise was restricted. The prisoner generally walked over to General Lawrence's house—about a quarter of a mile from Horne's—spent the morning in the garden, attended by an officer and an orderly, and returned to dinner at 1 p.m. In the afternoon he would go over again to Lawrence's house, and walk out with his family. At Horne's bungalow, 'Lord Pigot's bed-chamber opened into the hall, where there was a billiard-table, at which his Lordship amused himself during the first part of his confinement.' Witness added that Lord Pigot was very temperate in eating and drinking.

Mr. John Maxwell Stone[2] had known Lord Pigot for twenty-two years. Witness, who had resided at the Mount since the 4th October, confirmed previous evidence as to the treatment of the prisoner.

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[1] Russell joined the civil service at Madras in 1752.

[2] Stone entered the civil service in 1755.

Joseph Nutting, valet to Lord Pigot, followed his master to the Mount on the 25th August. Lord Pigot 'never went out in any carriage but once, when he accompanied Major Horne to a place a few miles distant from the Mount to drink tea.'

Dr. Gilbert Pasley first knew Lord Pigot in 1756, when witness was an Assistant-Surgeon. Deponent, who had lived in Madras since 1761, attended Lord Pigot in his illness, the nature of which was bilious fever and liver congestion. Lord Pigot was about fifty-eight years of age at the time of his death.

Dr. William Mallet, surgeon to the artillery at the Mount, deposed that 'Lord Pigot during his confinement went out but once in a chaise, which, to the best of this informant's recollection, was to a place called the *Cave of Despair*—distance supposed to be three miles—accompanied by Major Horne and family with some artillery officers.'

Mr. Richard Lathom stated that he first knew Lord Pigot in 1759.[1] On the 24th August, 1776, witness was at the Garden House, when he heard of the Governor's arrest. Accompanied by Dalrymple, he went out at once to the Mount. Dalrymple said to Horne, 'I am sorry to see you concerned in such a business. We served together at Manilla in a friendly manner, and I am concerned now that there is the appearance of our differing so much in our sentiments.' Major Horne replied, 'I was entirely ignorant of Lord Pigot's coming out to the Mount till his chariot stopped at my door.' Mr. Dalrymple and witness then informed Lord Pigot that the Fort was in the possession of the Majority. 'Lord Pigot answered, "I hope nobody is hurt." They said, "None, my Lord, that we have heard." Lord Pigot said, "I am very glad to hear it."'

On the 27th August, between 11 p.m. and midnight, witness and Monckton were 'sitting in the east veranda of General Lawrence's house,' when they heard of the attempt to remove Lord Pigot. They hurried over to Horne's bungalow, and found Dalrymple already there, Benfield's carriage at the door, and a guard of Artillery before the house. Lord Pigot said to Horne, 'My friend, will you not protect me from such violence; you and I have fought together at Madras, and will you not defend me now?' Horne answered, 'I have orders to deliver you up to

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[1] Lathom entered the service in that year.

Colonel Eidingtoun, and I durst not disobey.' Lord Pigot then said, 'I will not be carried away alive.' Eidingtoun and Horne then attempted to lead Lord Pigot to the carriage, but they desisted from using force when Dalrymple and Monckton expostulated with them. Then :—

> 'Lord Pigot turned round to the soldiers, pulled off his hat to them and said, "Soldiers, will you not protect your Governor from violence? I have fought with you in Madras, and will fight with you again if my duty calls me. Do not let me be delivered up to traitors, villains who treacherously seized me almost under the guns of my own Fort. There is that Eidingtoun, that villain, that traitor, stopped me in my chaise" (pointing at Lt. Colonel Eidingtoun). "Believe me soldiers, all those in the Fort are villains and traitors. I will hang them all." Lord Pigot continued talking to the soldiers, telling them, if he had committed any fault (opening the breast of his waistcoat at the same time), they would punish him by putting their bayonets into his breast.'

After consulting with Eidingtoun, Horne said, 'My Lord, as you express so great reluctance to go away, if you pledge me your honour that you will remain quiet in my house till an answer can come from the Fort, I will pledge mine to protect you, though I do it at the hazard of my life.' Lord Pigot was much exhausted after this scene. Between 1.0 and 2.0 a.m. a message was sent to Sir Edward Hughes claiming his protection.

Sir Edward Hughes deposed that he first met Lord Pigot in England in 1764. Witness went to the Mount the day after the arrest, and subsequently applied to Government for a safe-conduct for Lord Pigot to the flagship. The request, however, was refused.

Telesinga stated that he served Lord Pigot as peon during part of his first and the whole of his second government :—

> 'This Informant was present at the Fort-gate when Lord Pigot and Colonel Stuart went into his Lordship's chaise. Lord Pigot gave this Informant his sword and cane as usual, with orders to follow him. This Informant had hold of the chaise and run along with it. Near the furthermost bridge on the Island the chaise was stopped by two officers; the one was Captain Lysaght, and this informant believes the other was Mr. Sydenham.[1] A number of sepoys with fixed bayonets stopped the horses. The officer who was to the right of the chaise requested that Lord Pigot would alight. Lord Pigot asked him by whose orders he was to come down. The officer said, By General Fletcher's orders. . . . Colonel Stuart said to Lord Pigot, You had better go down and speak to that officer. The officer attempted to take Lord Pigot by the wrist, whereupon Lord Pigot sprung out of the chaise. Colonel Stuart also left the chaise. Then the officer that

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[1] The peon mistook Eidingtoun for Sydenham.

was to the left of the chaise came round, and they all moved a little way. Colonel Stuart halted. Then the other two officers and Lord Pigot walked under some trees where there was a chariot. One of the officers opened the door, from whence a serjeant sprung out, who went round and seated himself behind the carriage and wrapped himself up in a cloak. Lord Pigot went into the chariot. This Informant was going to give Lord Pigot his sword and cane, upon which Lord Pigot told this Informant that he might follow. Captain Lysaght went into the chariot with Lord Pigot. This Informant observed that the officers had swords in their hands, but not drawn. Then Captain Lysaght pulled to the door of the chariot, and the chariot drove on, and this Informant followed. There was an European postillion who drove the chariot. Two Musalgee boys[1] accompanied the chariot, and told this Informant that it was Mr. Benfield's chariot. The Musalgees also told him that the man behind the chariot had loaded pistols, and that he was a fool to keep so near the carriage lest any hurt should come to him. Then the Informant quitted the hold which he had of the carriage, and followed it. About the Long Tank this Informant heard the firing of the eight o'clock gun about General Lawrence's house at the Mount. This Informant hurt his foot, and could not follow the carriage so close as before. The carriage drove very hard, and it was with great difficulty that he kept up with it so long. When this Informant arrived at Major Horne's house, he saw Lord Pigot and Captain Lysaght walking in Major Horne's veranda, and he saw Major Horne in the hall, writing. . . . This Informant then went out of the garden. He kept the sword and cane all night, and the next morning delivered them to another of Lord Pigot's Peons, and returned to Madras.'

After hearing other evidence, the Coroner directed the jury's attention to the following points:—Whether Lord Pigot died in confinement; whether his confinement was the cause of his death; whether his death was occasioned by rigorous treatment, and if so, what persons were responsible; whether his confinement was legal or illegal.

The jury found a verdict of Wilful Murder against George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, George Mackay, James Stuart, James Eidingtoun, Arthur Lysaght, and Matthew Horne.

JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS.

On reaching Fort St. George, and finding himself the sole member on the spot of the new Government, Mr. Whitehill summoned Anthony Sadleir and Quintin Craufurd, as the senior civil servants at Madras, administered to them the oaths, and communicated the Court's commands. The Directors' letter was then laid before Stratton's Government, who at once submitted to the orders it contained, as did General Stuart. Whitehill assumed office on the 31st August, and called Smith, Johnson, and Perring to the Presidency.[1]

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[1] *Musalgee*, *mussaulchee*, a link-boy; from Hind. *mash'al*, a torch.

On the 24th September Mr. Ram delivered in the verdict of the Coroner's jury, with warrants for the apprehension of the civilians concerned.[2] Whitehill 'desired these Gentlemen to attend him at the Company's Garden house the following evening, when he committed them to the Charge of the Sheriff by Warrant.'

The case was heard at the Quarter Sessions, the Justices at the opening being Messrs. Whitehill, Sadleir, and Craufurd, and the proceedings occupied two months. The accused were in confinement till about the 5th October, when they were admitted to bail. Their solicitor was Mr. Charles Bromley. The first sitting took place on the 30th September, 1777, and on the following day the Justices resolved to apply for advice to the High Court of Bengal.[3] In the meanwhile they proceeded to take evidence.

Sir Edward Hughes stated that, on the night of Saturday, the 24th August, 1776, when supping at the house of Mr. George Mackay, he heard of the arrest. He went at once to the Garden House, and at daylight the next morning visited Lord Pigot at the Mount. He then returned to his own house at San Thomé.[4]

Question from the Court: 'Did his Lordship, during his confinement, expose himself to the sun, heat or cold, in such manner as to endanger his health?' *Answer:* 'In my conscience I really think he did.'

Mr. Edward L'Epine, secretary to Sir Edward Hughes, deposed that on the 27th or 28th August, Dalrymple, and, he thought, Russell also, came at night to the Commodore's house at San Thomé, reported the attempted removal of Lord Pigot from the Mount, and entreated Sir Edward to intervene. The Commodore rose at once and went to the Fort, which he reached before the gates were open. After seeing Stratton, witness drove with Sir Edward to the Mount, and found Lord Pigot much agitated. Witness carried a letter from the Commodore claiming Pigot's person, and delivered it to the Majority assembled at the Admiralty in the Fort. They assured L'Epine that no further attempt should be made to remove Lord Pigot. Sir Edward Hughes and witness slept at Horne's house the next two nights. In answer to questions by Bromley, L'Epine declared that on several occasions when the sun was so hot as to oblige him to seek the shade, Lord Pigot would stand in Horne's garden, without his hat, talking to the Commodore.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxviii., 31st Aug., 1777, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii.*a*, 19th Sept., 1777.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxviii., 24th Sept., 1777.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxviii., 2nd Oct., 1777, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii.*a*, 3rd Oct., 1777.

[4] Whether Hughes occupied the picturesque riverside residence now called 'Admiralty House,' the property of the Maharajah of Vizianāgram, has not been ascertained.

Captain Benjamin Marlow, of H.M.S. *Coventry*, often visited the prisoner during 1777. Lord Pigot exposed himself much to the sun:—

> 'One time in particular, his Lordship had got some trees either to set or transplant, when Sir Edward Hughes, with this Informant, attended him in the garden in the heat of the day between twelve and two o'clock. This Informant says that he was very unhappy within himself from the heat of the sun, although both Sir Edward Hughes and himself can bear the sun very well, being used to it. Turning about, saw Sir Edward Hughes had gone into the house; upon seeing of which this Informant was very happy, and followed Sir Edward Hughes, leaving his Lordship in the garden with the gardeners.'

By the 8th October, Charles Smith and Peter Perring had arrived, and replaced Sadleir and Craufurd. At the Court's sitting of the 19th November:—

Dr. Gilbert Pasley deposed that 'His Lordship being of an active disposition was seldom unemployed. His usual amusement was working in the garden before noon, and I have heard that he amused himself in repairing tanks and houses.' After recovering from his first illness, he relapsed 'owing to his going abroad too soon, and not using the precautions he was advised to.' Pasley considered that Lord Pigot's illness was due to exposure, and did not arise from his confinement. 'He died of a slow visceral fever, partial suppurations in the substance of his liver, and putrid bile.' After his transfer to the Garden House, Lord Pigot was somewhat better for three or four days, 'but some violent exertions, and exposing himself to cold and fatigue, threw him back again, and brought on severe shivering.'

Stratton and the other members of the Majority handed in a written defence, which gave the following details of Lord Pigot's mode of life during his confinement:—

> 'We even permitted Colonel Horne to indulge him in the free and unlimited range of the whole country, accompanied by himself or the officer of the

guard. He amused himself walking in the neighbourhood of the Mount, or playing at cards or at billiards. He was cheerful and merry at table, and frequently sung after supper with Miss Prime,[1] a young Lady of Colonel Horne's family, particularly a song he taught her himself, and of which he gave her the words. . . . Mr. Ross, Mr. Smith, Mr. Turing, and Mr. Taswell, with their families, often dined with him, and were witnesses of his conduct. Mr. Monckton and the Colonel's family were on the most cordial terms: they dined and supped frequently with his Lordship at each other's houses, and Mrs. Monckton and Miss Pigot drank tea almost constantly with the Ladies of his family. Most evenings his Lordship received visits from near twenty Ladies and Gentlemen. . . .

'There was so little appearance of Lord Pigot's being any way disrespectfully treated that, on the contrary, the Mount became the gayest place on the Coast, and on Christmas and Newyear's-day, as well as on Twelfth-night, the balls given by Mess^{rs}. Monckton, Russel and Stone were uncommonly splendid. . . . As he [Lord Pigot] was fond of amusing himself in building, he adopted a plan of his for a bath. . . . Lord Pigot having drawn this plan himself, seemed particularly desirous of having it built; and, when it was undertaken, he frequently gave as close attention to it as any of the workmen. Thus, in an occupation of his own choice, and in putting the garden in order, an amusement that he also much delighted in, did he employ those moments that were not spent in the company of his family or friends. . . .

'It must be in the recollection of almost every person here that the month of February was remarkably hot. During this month Lord Pigot mostly employed himself in the garden where Mr. Monckton lived.[2] He was generally with the gardeners as soon as breakfast was over, and remained with them till dinner. Sometimes he kept Colonel Horne's family waiting for him until two o'clock; and often, without lying down in the forenoon, returned to them immediately after dinner. The heat of the sun was so intense that the officers accompanying his Lordship could not stand it, but were frequently obliged to leave him and take shelter within doors. This imprudence occasioned a bilious complaint, brought on somewhat sooner perhaps by eating remarkably hearty of a turtle at Mr. Monckton's the Sunday before his illness; a circumstance that was taken notice of by several persons at table, particularly Dr. Mallet, who foretold that his Lordship would have a fit of sickness if he continued to act with so little circumspection. It was the more observable, as his Lordship was in general an exceeding moderate man, and seldom himself eat of rich dishes, though fond of giving directions how to prepare them, and of helping others at table. Miss Pigot, as well as Mr. Monckton, mentioned their surprise to Mrs. Horne and Miss Salmon[3] at his Lordship's having eat so heartily, and Miss Pigot expressed some apprehension lest it should not agree with him. . . .

'The same precautions that were used to prevent noise or disturbance at the Mount were also taken at the Company's Gardens. No drums were permitted to be beat at practice or otherwise on the Island, or any where near the house. . . . No carriages or palanquins were suffered to enter the courtyard, nor any person allowed to go in at any other gate than that next the Fort. Centinels were posted on the St. Thome and Chepauk roads . . . to prevent noise from the passengers. . . .'

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[1] Miss Amelia Prime became the wife of Lieut. William Sydenham in November, 1776.

[2] Lawrence's garden, then the property of the Nawab.

[3] Miss Salmon, sister of Mrs. Horne.

General Stuart submitted a separate defence on behalf of himself and the military officers concerned, representing that he and they merely carried out the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Fletcher.

On the 26th November the decision of the Supreme Court of Bengal[1] was read. Impey, Chambers, Lemaistre, and Hyde recorded the opinion that there was no legally appointed Coroner in Madras, and that, if there had been, the materials of the inquest were insufficient for an indictment for either murder or manslaughter.

The Madras Court accordingly quashed all the proceedings, and released the prisoners.

The revolution at Madras made a great noise in England. Numerous pamphlets were published by adherents of the two contesting parties. In 1779 the House of Commons, on the motion of Admiral Pigot, resolved on an address to the Crown praying for the prosecution of four members of the Majority—Stratton, Brooke, Floyer, and Mackay—who were then in England. These gentlemen were ultimately convicted of misdemeanour, and fined £1,000 each.

When suspending Stuart, the Directors ordered a Court of Inquiry to investigate his conduct and that of Eidingtoun, Horne, and Lysaght. The inquiry was to be followed by court-martial if charges could be framed; but if otherwise, Stuart was to be sent home.[2] Sir Hector Munro, who had become Commander-in-Chief, considered that no military offence had been committed, because, though Lord Pigot as Governor held the chief military command in the Fort, the arrest was made outside. Stuart, anxious to be tried, combated this view, and incidentally indicated the spot where the arrest took place:—

General Stuart to Government.

'It is universally known that I arrested the late Lord Pigot, the Governor and, as such, the Military Commander in Chief of the Forces composing this Garrison, at a place greatly within the Guns of this Fort, and on the Fort side of his own Guard at the Company's Garden-house, which Guard was and is daily relieved from the Garrison. . . .

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxviii., 28th Nov., 1777.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxi., 4th July, 1777.

'One of the two Bridges . . . actually touches the Glacis before the Ravelin of Waulaujau Gate. From that to the other Bridge towards the Governor's Country house is, according to my walking, about 1,400 Paces (1,100 Yards). The Ground betwixt these Bridges seems like a sort of Esplanade, and purposely, for defence, kept clear of all buildings or incumbrances. It is flat ground, and makes part of what is called the Island. It is the exercise ground of the Garrison, and the Barracks of the Sepoys of the Garrison are situated on the Country side beyond this Island; so that the daily relief of the Garrison either crosses the water forming on one side the Island, or from the Barracks opposite the Governor's Country house passes the 2nd. Bridge before mentioned, which is about a Musket shot from the Barracks towards the Fort. The direct road from the Fort to that house is over the two Bridges; and Lord Pigot was arrested half way betwixt them, or about 700 Paces from the Glacis. Even both the Bridges, in a strict Military sense, are part of the public Works depending on the Fort, because they are built upon the Water which serves for immediate inundation, or other purposes of defence or convenience to the Fort.

'To suppose that the late Lord Pigot was not then and there Governor and Military Commander in Chief of all the Troops which Government had appointed for the Garrison of this Fortress, and whose authority is so clearly defin'd both by his Commission as Governor and by the Company's instructions of 1774, would infer, in my humble Opinion, this very extraordinary position, that the Governor of Fort St. George, when he takes an airing, or walks out beyond the Glacis, either for health or duty, loses his right to give Orders to any part of his own Garrison, not even when he thinks fit to inspect their Barracks. It would infer that the Governor, sitting in the Country house alotted by the Company for him, where I believe the greater part of his time is spent, would not then locally act in a Military capacity, as has been universally the practice, as well as, in my idea, the clear right of the Governor. . . . JAMES STUART.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxi., 16th March, 1778.)

LATHOM'S EULOGY OF LORD PIGOT.

Mr. Richard Lathom, Chief at Cuddalore, addressed Whitehill's Government in January, 1778, to explain his motives for supporting Lord Pigot and the Minority in 1776. The letter contains the following eulogy of the late Governor:—

Mr. Lathom to Fort St. George.

'Before I conclude this Letter, in justice to the Memory of Lord Pigot, in justice to his Friends, and in justice to the Company who, by their Judgment of his Services to them, must in part fix his Character, I must do what will be pleasing to every Man of Probity and Honor, and what all of Us cannot but wish would be done for us after our Decease if Calumny should attempt to stain our Memory by imputing to Us Actions of which we had never been guilty,—vindicate his Lordship's Memory aspersed by the Calumnies of his Enemies.

'Some of them have asserted by Words, and others by writing, that Lord Pigot received from the Rajah of Tanjour, or from his Mother, two large Diamonds; that he also had engaged the Rajah to give him Bonds or Notes for a very considerable Sum of Money; and that upon this Consideration, for to serve his own private Interest and not for the Interest of the Company, he was actuated to oppose the Resolution of the Majority in favour of the Nabob and of Mr. Benfield. . . .

'Mr. Russell informed me that at the Mount Lord Pigot had told him that, just as he was getting into his Palanqueen to go to Tanjour for to reinstate the Rajah, one of the Nabob's Family came to him with a Message from the Nabob that, if he would not go to Tanjour nor reinstate the Rajah till the Company's further pleasure should be known, he would make him a Present of ten lack of Pagodas for his Compliance. That, on his declining to comply with the Nabob's Request, the Messenger begged he would only delay setting off for Tanjour till he could communicate to the Nabob his Lordship's Denial, and bring back to him the Nabob's Reply. That he consented so far, when the same Messenger returned to him and told him that the Nabob desired he would tell his Lordship that, if ten Laacks of Pagodas was not sufficient to gain his Compliance, the Nabob would give him fifteen. That then he, Lord Pigot, told the Messenger to tell the Nabob that it concerned him to do anything that was disagreeable to the Nabob, but he must obey his Masters' Orders. . . .

'Lord Pigot bore the Character of a generous, humane, brave and resolute Man. Among many other Instances of Lord Pigot's Generosity to the Company, I shall mention one, the which I heard generally and much spoken of shortly after my Arrival in India. . . .

'This generous Action, so great in its Consequences, was performed in 1758, when Lord Pigot, at that time Mr. Pigot, was Governor of Fort St. George. Early that Year, advice being received by the Governor and Council that a very considerable Body of the French, under the Command of General Lally, would shortly arrive upon the Coast, Mr. Pigot proposed to the Council to strengthen the Fortifications of Fort St. George, which were then very weak and not tenable against a large Force, at the Company's Expence. The Councillors refused to expend the Company's Money on such a Service; when Mr. Pigot, who was convinced of the Necessity to strengthen the Fort, said he would singly serve the Company, for he would expend his whole Fortune upon the Fortifications, and leave the Company to repay him or not. This uncommon Generosity influenced the Council afterwards to strengthen the Fortifications at the Company's Expence. Happy influence! for had not the Fortifications been strengthened, the Fort would not have been defended as it was afterwards defended; and if Fort St. George had not been defended, there would have been no decisive Battle of Wandawash in favor of the English, no taking of Pondicherry, no entirely driving the French off the Coast of Coromandel and off the Coast of Malabar. Had not Fort St. George been defended, it was generally believed that the French would easily have taken Fort William afterwards, tho' commanded by the brave Colonel Clive, as it was exceedingly [weak] in the beginning of the Year 1759; and if the French had taken Fort William, it was likewise generally believed that they would soon after have either taken or greatly distressed the Island of Bombay.

'Can it therefore be believed that this great Man, who was willing to sacrifice his all to save the Company, should betray his trust to the Company for to receive a Present from the Rajah of Tanjour? No, it cannot. We are besides assured, on his unimpeached honor that was never pledged by him to deceive and insnare, that he did not; but that he refused to receive 15 Laacks of Pagodas from the Nabob that he might fulfil his Trust to the Company. So desirous was he of discharging his Duty to the Company, and so much he had their Interest at heart, that he employed almost his very last Moments to serve them; for it was but the very Evening before he died, when his trembling Hand could scarce hold the Pen, that he signed two Copies, I think, of a Letter that he had himself dictated to the Company at different intervals of that and of the preceding Day. . . . RICHARD LATHOM.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxix., — Feb., 1778.)

CHAPTER IX

1776—1778

THE FORTIFICATIONS—LANDS AND BUILDINGS—THE ḲĀZI OF MADRAS—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

THE FORTIFICATIONS.

DURING the troubled period of the revolution the progress of the works was somewhat retarded. Sir Robert Fletcher having drawn attention to the delay, the Chief Engineer explained[1] that he was short of materials and labour. There were only some 3,000 workmen then on the list against upwards of 5,000 in the preceding season. Work appears to have been confined to the west front, where the body of the place was complete, except the gateways, while the two ravelins and their four lunettes were well advanced. Concerning Black Town Wall Colonel Ross wrote:—

Colonel Ross to Government.

'Nothing has been done to the Fortifications of the Black Town for several Years, although it is probable the getting possession of it will be the first object of an Enemy who means to attack Fort St. George, as many advantages may be derived therefrom. It is on that account necessary to put those Works in a state of Defence by completing the Ramps, Parapets and Banquets, and by forming the Embrasures. The part towards the Sea at the North East angle has had nothing permanent done to it, though the securing it is of material Consequence. The temporary Pallisade which constitutes its present defence should be kept in good repair untill the works by which it is to be defended can be built. PATRICK ROSS.' (*M.C.*, vol. lvi., 28th Sept., 1776.)

The Directors had refused to sanction that reform of the east face of Fort St. George which had been recommended by Ross with Clavering's support.[2] At the end of 1776 Colonel Stuart drew attention to the condition of this and other parts of the fortifications. He said:—

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lvi., 28th Sept., 1776.

[2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 24th Sept., 1776.

Memorial of Colonel Stuart.

'What I am concerned about is lest the limitation of the yearly expence to 50,000 Pagodas should leave this important Fortress for any long space of time not only unfinished in the new Works, but with several very Apparent Weak parts in the old; for from the Southwest extremity[1] of the new Work, in the continuation of the old Works towards the St. Thome Bastion, there is evidently something wanted to be done along the South Front, as the Curtain is too narrow to admit Cannon, and the Works before it are liable to be taken in reverse. The South East and North East Angle[s] at the extremity of the Sea line require the most particular Attention, and should be covered with such Works as are capable of rendering the Sea line secure against Surprize along the Beach. Indeed there is an Absolute necessity to Alter those parts, either in the manner proposed by Lieut. Colonel Ross, or by some capacious Work of simple construction that will effectually command and range the Beach, and flank the adjoining works. The Sea line is at present in such a state of ruin as to give a striking picture of bankruptcy and distress to every Stranger that sees it.

'The line of Direction of the black Town Wall seems to me to be drawn with skill to the Angle near the Hospital; but like most of the Works in this Country, it appears to have been begun with order and abruptly left off unfinished. At the part of the Wall here alluded to a Redoubt or Work might be constructed with advantage to keep the Approaches of an Enemy at a Distance; but beyond this place there is a great length of Wall which goes up immediately to the Glacis, and which Ought to be removed, as it would serve for a very good flanking Cover to an Enemy in their Approach's. . . . JAMES STUART.' (*M.C.*, vol. lvii., 16th Dec., 1776.)

A sum of about Pags. 12,000 was paid to Benfield on account of Black Town Wall in January, 1778.[2] Compensation for 33 acres of ground taken up in 1769 for the rampart was given to the occupiers in 1776. Its amount, with compound interest at 8 per cent., was Pags. 18,358.[3]

In January, 1777, Colonel Ross submitted a review at great length of the development of the fortifications[4] since he had been Chief Engineer, and he urged the importance of completing the whole scheme. Colonel Stuart was in favour of beginning the works designed for the protection of the north-east and south-east angles; and the Government, remarking that the expenditure during the last two years had been little more than Pags. 300,000,[5] assented.

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[1] The Nabob's or Walajah Bastion.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxi., 19th Jan., 1778.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. lvi., 15th Aug., 1776.

[4] *M.C.*, vol. lviii., 28th Jan., 1777.

[5] Benfield's bill for the west front was for Pags. 548,000. (*M.C.*, vol. lviii., 10th March, 1777.)

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Delays from the want of Bricks and Chunam . . . prevented the Engineer from finishing the West Front, which from Your Letter it appears you think completed; and from that Idea We suppose You were led to limit our Annual Expences to Pags. 50,000. . . . The Chief Engineer has represented the absolute necessity of constructing the small tho' necessary Works to strengthen the North East and South East Angles of the Fort, and Colonel Stuart being of the same Opinion, We have judged it necessary to order them to be constructed: and as these Works cannot be executed with safety without a Wall to secure them from the Sea, that Wall, so far as may be wanted, must be commenced without delay; but in order to conform as nearly as possible to Your Ideas, excepting the New Works abovementioned and the finishing out of hand the South West Front, nothing further shall be undertaken; and in particular, no part of the body of the Place shall be opened until these are finished. . . .' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 6th Feb., 1777.)

By the end of the year the whole west front was complete, except for some levelling of the glacis. At the south-east angle 300 feet of sea-wall had been built. Ross again represented[1] the urgency of works to protect the north-east and south-east angles, and for the reform of 'as much of the Sea Line as is requisite to establish the Flanks that are to protect the Angles.' He enclosed an estimate of work yet to be done, amounting to about Pags. 252,000. The chief items were the sea-wall and reform of the east front, a counterguard at the north-east angle, the redoubts in the covered way of the north front, the bonnette at the south-east angle, and the improvement of the south curtain and the outworks before it. The Government permitted the Chief Engineer to work at the North-East Counterguard, limiting his expenditure to Pags. 12,000 monthly.

Before leaving for England in 1778, and handing over charge to Major Stevens,[2] Colonel Ross submitted the following review of progress on the fortifications:—

Colonel Ross to Government.

(*M.C.*, vol. lxi., 6th March, 1778.)

'When I had the honor of addressing you last on the subject of the Fortifications of this Place, I had the satisfaction to inform you the Works from the North Ravelin inclusive to the North West, to the Westward, and to the South West as far as the Capital[3] of the Nabob's Bastion were in a perfect good state of defence, and equal to withstand a formidable attack from a European Enemy. I have further the pleasure to inform you that . . . the works to the Southward have been resumed, and that the ground to the North East is clearing away with all deligence, and some of the Masonry in hand for the Counter-guard and works designed to secure that Angle; from which I have every reason to believe that two important parts will certainly be secur'd in the course of this Season; and I shall be happy that the earliest opportunities be taken to complete the wall to the Sea, as the Defence of the East Line must chiefly depend thereon. . . .

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lx., 29th Dec., 1777.

[2] William Stevens joined the Madras Engineers as Ensign in 1764, and attained the rank of Major ten years later.

[3] *Capital*, the centre line.

'When the Parts now in hand are completed, Fort St. George will be an entire new place, except the finished part of the North Front, chiefly executed under Mr. Call; wherefore the expence of the Fortifications properly takes date from the Commencement of the new Works, making some allowance for the Works left standing on the North Front.

'I have hitherto expended on the Works erected a Sum to the amount of about twenty Lacks of Rupees, nor should I even have led to that Expence for the new works had I not unexpectedly met with very bad ground for foundations, which considerably encreased the Revetments both in depth and thickness; also from the necessity of building in the inondation to the North West. Farther, the old Curtains, which I wished to have kept up, proved so defective and superficially built that they could not possibly be preserved. I have likewise been attentive to form spacious Bomb proofs and Magazines to all the out Works, as well as to the body of the Place within the interior linings. . . . There is also formed behind the Counterscarp a Gallery throughout, with Shafts carried through the Covertway under the Crest of the Glacis, at convenient distances, for Mines to branch from. By these means you will have a covered Communication from the Sea at the North East, round the Fort, to the Sea at the South East, with two Ascents therefrom into each of the Places of Arms through the Traverses.

'A perfect new Glacis has been form'd before all the new Works, and that which was before those Works left standing on the North Front raised and improved. . . .

'In a Comparative view with all undertakings of the kind at the Company's other Presidencies, and when you take into your Consideration the greatness of the object, that the Company have in point of strength and convenience a Fortification capable of resisting any force that can possibly be opposed to it in this Country, and that will always rank with the first:—under these Considerations, I hope the propriety of the undertaking and the expence will appear in a manner that will give satisfaction to your Board and to my Hon'ble Employers.

'My former Reports will shew the state of the Works in all other respects, and what I think further necessary to compleat the Place in the most perfect manner, which I leave in charge with Major Stevens, whose Abilities and attention to the Duties of his Station are so well known to your Honor, &c.; and I hope you will do me the justice to believe that, notwithstanding the urgency of my Affairs, I should not have left the conducting of these Works to any one in whose Experience and Deligence I had not the most entire Confidence.

'PATRICK ROSS,
'Lt. Col. and Chief Engineer.'

In July a detailed return was made[1] of the cost of the new fortifications down to the 31st July, 1778. The totals were:—

	Pags.	
West front - - - - - -	681,770	
Black Town Wall - - -	183,192	
		964,971

Three-fourths of this work was executed under Benfield's contracts. The estimates for completion were:—

	Pags.	
West front - - - - - -	27,301	
Black Town Wall, about - -	55,000	
South and east fronts - - -	280,760	
		363,061

A contract for the last item was made with Benfield.

LANDS AND BUILDINGS.

In 1776 Mr. Francis Jourdan, the Land Customer, Rental General and Scavenger, drew up regulations for the prevention of nuisance in Black Town. These the Government ordered to be enforced. They bore on the following amongst other points:—

The Rental General to Government. ✓

'The black Inhabitants keep in the Streets before their Houses, Hackeries,[2] Carts, Horses, Bullocks and Cows, which are a Nuisance to their Neighbours and to Passengers. It will be necessary to prohibit this publickly.

'They frequently erect temporary Buildings of Mud, &c., and afterwards pretend long possession and Right. No Cadjan Hut or temporary Building should be permitted, excepting Pandalls on Weddings.

'Every Inhabitant ought to have a Cess Pool or Receptacle in his Compound to receive the Water used in cleaning the House, &c.; but instead of this, they turn it into the Street to the Nusance of their Neighbours as well as Passengers. This requires amendment, and, with your leave, I mean to fix on some Mode to make it convenient to the Public without distressing Individuals. . . .

'The Sellers of Fish go into the Buzars and occupy a part, to the great Nusance of the Houses in the Neighbourhood. In Mr. Du Pre's Government they were ordered to sell their Fish on the foot of the Esplanade. If this were enforced, and a large place marked out and divided, that the Sellers of Fish may change their Places of sale daily, it would relieve the People who are now troubled with them in their Streets, and by occupying one side of the Place one day, and removing to the oposite the next, it might be kept always clean This is the Custom at Batavia, the Police of which does credit to it.

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxiii., 13th July, 1778.

[2] *Hackery*, a two-wheeled covered vehicle drawn by trotting bullocks.

'It is ancient Custom that no Bramin, Gentoo or Malabar shall sell any House without making an Offer to his next door Neighbours. It is also an ancient Custom that no Bramin, Gentoo or Malabar shall let his House to Rent, in a Street inhabited by Gentoos or Malabars, to any other Casts; and yet they have frequently let them to Portuguese Christians for Punch Houses, to the great inconvenience of their Neighbours. FRANCIS JOURDAN.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxvi., 24th Oct., 1776.)

At Stratton's instance an Overseer of Markets was shortly afterwards appointed:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxvii., 11th March, 1777.)

'The President acquaints the Board that it has been usual from time immemorial for the Governor's head Dubash to superintend the Markets and regulate the Prices of Provisions amongst the Black people. That an Authority so extensive, employed under the Sanction of the Governor's Name, is open to great Abuse, and has, he believes, in many Instances been the Cause of much grievance. That altho' he has a very good opinion of his own Dubash, he does not wish him to possess any influence of this kind; but as it is necessary that someone should be constantly employed in Superintending the Markets, he begs leave to recommend that Vera Permaul, a Man whom he understands to be very well qualified for this Service, be appointed by the Board Overseer of the Markets. . . .

'Agreed that he be appointed Overseer, and that, by way of Distinction, a Palanqueen be given him in the Company's Name, and a Couple of Peons allowed him.

'The following Proposals relative to the Office of Overseer having been delivered to the President by Vera Permaul, the same are now read, and the following orders passed thereon.

Vera Permaul's Proposals.	*Orders of the Board.*
'That the Grand Bazar or Market be before the Esplanade.	'The Grand Bazar must be at the Foot of the Esplanade, but there must be inferior Markets established in Black Town for the convenience of the People.
'That no Gentleman's Servants or Compradors buy fish, &c., more than their Master's Family wants, as these Servants often sell at a considerable profit the superfluity of what they buy, which may be done easily, as the people respect them on their Masters' Account.	'Approved. Any Servant offending in this respect to be punished.

Vera Permaul's Proposals.	*Orders of the Board.*
'That the Palanqueen Boys, &c., wanting much to be regulated, it will be necessary for the Chief Palankeen and Chief of the Pareahs to attend daily at the Choultry Office.	'This appears proper, but it will be necessary to establish some regulations for the Palanqueen Boys.
'That twenty five Sepoys and some of the Polygars Peons attend at the Choultry Office to prevent Riots, secure the quiet of the Bazar and the Streets; and at Night patrole the Streets to pick up disorderly People, or those who can give no proper Account of themselves. . . .	'A Guard and some Polygar's Peons to attend at the Choultry Office for the purpose here mentioned.'

As a member of Council Mr. Jourdan advocated the exercise of State control over Temple funds:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Jourdan enters the following Minute—

'There are annexed to every Pagoda Lands and Privileges which are put under charge of certain Persons under the Denomination of Churchwardens or Trustees for the uses of those Pagodas or other publick Charities. These Churchwardens or Trustees render no account of their Receipts or Disbursements to any, and numberless Abuses may occur from such Practices. It is therefore proposed by Mr. Jourdan that the Church Wardens and others receiving the produce of Lands, of Houses, Fees, Customs, Duties for and on account of any publick Charities, Pagodas, &c., shall be obliged to deliver in an Account of all Receipts and Disbursements to the President and Council, with the present Stock belonging to each.

'Ordered that the Trustees of the several Pagodas within the black Town and the Company's Districts round the Settlement be required to deliver annually, on the 31st December, to the President and Council an Account of their Receipts and Disbursements, with the remaining Stock of each Pagoda, that the Board may see in what manner the Property is applied, and remedy such abuses as may occur.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxvi., 24th Oct., 1776.)

In 1777 Mr. William Ross[1] relieved Jourdan as Land Customer, Rental General, and Scavenger. He reported that about Pags. 16,000, out of Pags. 41,500 due as quit rent for the period 1770 to 1774, was outstanding. He added:—

Mr. William Ross to Government.

'Mr. Jourdan obtained from the late Administration that some Waste and other Grounds belonging to the Company, which lay along the Beech and which people possessed without any right, should be put under his management. Of this Ground he parcelled out a part into Banksals, and let them to different Merchants for the space of three Years at the Raté of half a Pagoda per Month for every piece of Ground containing two thousand four hundred square Feet. . . . According to a Plan in my possession, a considerable Space continues covered with small Huts, which may be cleared away with little loss to the present Inhabitants, and the ground on which they stand laid out in the manner practised by Mr. Jourdan. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxviii., 12th Sept., 1777.)

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[1] William Ross was a civil servant dating from 1770.

A little earlier the Pariahs had submitted a petition respecting the Black Town Parchery:—

Minutes of the Committee of Works.

'Read a Petition from the Pariars, setting forth that, before the Establishment of Fort St. George by the English, their Ancestors inhabited the great Parcharee, and that the same was confirmed to them and their descendants, and exempted from paying the Quit Rent and Scavengers Duty, and has ever since been considered as Ground allotted for the use of the Parriars in general, and not to be appropriated to anything else; and requesting that no part of the said ground may be granted away.

'The Committee find that the Parriars have no Right but that of Suffrage [? Sufferance] to any Ground in the Black Town; that what they call the great Pacharee is quite undefined, as they are continually building new Hutts, and encroaching on the waste Ground belonging to the Company. That the Ground they now claim a part of the Pacharee was measured by order of Mr. Hastings when President of the Committee of Works, and ordered to be given to Narrain in Compensation for Ground which was taken from him for the new Powder Mill. There were at that time some Hutts on it, which the Engineer valued at about one hundred and thirty Pagodas, and the Parriars were forbid to build any more on that Spot: but, notwithstanding, they have continued to encrease their Hutts. . . . The Committee are of opinion that the ground should be given to Narrain, as there is sufficient room for the Parriars in the Pacharee. The Ground taken from Narrain for the Powder Mill . . . is 126,588 Square feet. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. lviii., 17th March, 1777.)

The right of exemption from taxes of the Pariah community and other classes was affirmed in the following year, when orders were passed on the unpaid dues reported by the Rental General and Scavenger, Mr. Thomas Cooper. Government resolved 'that the Pariars in the Parcherry, the Polygar and his Followers, together with the menial Servants and poor Moors, consisting of Peons, Horsekeepers, Masalgies, etc., be excused from paying Quit Rent or Scavenger's Duty. But with respect to the Washermen, Town Pagodas,[1] Europeans, Armenians and others, who evade it by making Objections of various kinds, that the Rental General do proceed to recover it of them.'[1]

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[1] Apparently the attendants of the Town Temple are indicated.

In 1776 Government sanctioned the adaptation of the old Artillery barracks, south of the Sea Gate, as officers' quarters, and the conversion of the Armoury in the south block of the Fort Square into eight sets of public offices.[2]

It has been mentioned that Mr. Eyles Irwin was appointed in 1771 to be Superintendent of the Company's Lands, and was directed to report on the title of occupants. Five years later, the Committee of Works stated[3] that 'Mr. Irwin has made no report of the Grounds belonging to St. Thomé, Chepauckum and the environs, nor fixed Land Marks between the Boundaries of Poonamallee and Madrass.' The Government accordingly abolished his appointment as a Revenue Surveyor.

At this time Captain Alexander Dugood, of the Engineers, was engaged on a topographical survey of the 'home farms,'[4] under the instructions of Mr. Dalrymple. Being ordered to Trichinopoly in January, 1777, Dugood handed in his map, together with a plan of San Thomé Redoubt.[5] He said he had fixed the positions of twelve stations. Among them were the centre of 'the Top of St. Thoma Bangala or Redoubt,' the 'old Portuguese Flag Staff,'[6] the top of Mootia Choultry, the cross of the Little Mount Church, a Moorman's tomb near the Adyar River, the top of Iswara Kovil pagoda by Nungumbaukum village, and certain conspicuous trees in the Luz, Alwarpett, etc. Dugood's field-book of angles and distances is transcribed in the Consultations.[7]

The appointment of Civil Architect[8] dates from this period:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Mr. Philip Stowey being well recommended as an able Architect, Draughtsman and Surveyor, and Mr. Macklin, your late Master Bricklayer, having re-

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxix., 1st May, 1778.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lvii., 14th Oct., 1776.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxvi., 10th Dec., 1776.

[4] The home farms were the suburban villages of Egmore, Nungumbaukum, etc., including San Thomé.

[5] The plan was drawn by Mr. Beatson. Another plan of the Redoubt, belonging to Dalrymple, was also handed in, and a part of the survey of the Jaghire drawn by Mr. Barnard. An engraving of Barnard's survey is preserved by the Royal Geographical Society.

[6] Now called 'the old Dutch Flagstaff.'

[7] An attempt to plot from this copy has proved unsuccessful.

[8] Now designated 'Consulting Architect to Government.'

> signed his Post, We have appointed Mr. Stowey Civil Architect, Surveyor, and Master Bricklayer at your Presidency, for which several Employs He is to have a Salary of 100£ per Annum, to commence upon his arrival at Fort St. George. But you are to permit him to do any Private Business as a Civil Architect provided it does not interfere with his Duty to the Company. He will proceed on One of the Ships of next Season.' (*P. from Eng.*, 4th July, 1777.)

In a subsequent letter the Directors remarked that Mr. Stowey having 'acquired considerable Reputation for his Skill and Talents in his Profession, We have no doubt of your finding him able and useful in the Superintending of such Public or other Buildings as may be committed to his Management in the Character of principal Architect and Surveyor.' It is probably to Stowey's talent that Madras owes the design of some of those handsome and spacious private residences which, situated in park-like compounds, are the envy of Calcutta and Bombay.

The Ḳāzi of Madras.

The office of Ḳāzi of Madras had not hitherto been recognized by Government. The functions of the position had, however, been long exercised, and in 1775 there were two claimants of its rights and privileges, 'Mahomed Ibrahim and Cawzy Mohied Deen Mahomed Aba-bauker.' The former claimed joint, the latter sole possession of the post. They took their differences to the Choultry Court, where an inquiry opened a page of ancient history.

The Court ascertained that the Moslem merchants paid ⅛ to ¼ per cent. of the value of their imported goods to Ḳāzi Abu-Bāḳar for his services in settling disputes, and that this fee was wholly unconnected with the mosque. The complainant, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, relied on a cowle granted to an ancestor in 1694 by the President and Council. The Choultry Court found that the cowle invested the ancestors of both parties with the office of Mullah of the mosque, an office which was still held jointly by the parties themselves. The Court declared that the office of Mullah was distinct from that of Ḳāzi, though the Ḳāzi, who was the superior, might, in person or by deputy, officiate as Mullah. The normal duty of the Mullah was to read the Koran and repeat prayers in the mosque, and assist the Ḳāzi in the performance of marriage and funeral rites. The Court found that the complainant was entitled to serve as Mullah jointly with the defendant, but that he was educationally disqualified from acting as Ḳāzi. In dismissing the case, the Court recommended that Abu-Bāḳar be formally recognized as Ḳāzi.[1]

Mohī-ud-dīn Abu-Bāḳar, in petitioning the Government, stated that his grandfather was, in 1694, appointed joint Mullah of the mosque, at a time when no Ḳāzi of Madras existed. When attestations of *fạrmāns* were required, the services of a deputy of the Ḳāzi of Arcot were obtained. While petitioner was yet a child, Hājī 'Abd-ul-Hadī,[2] a Mogul merchant who was employed by Government in negotiations with the country powers, advised the appointment of a Ḳāzi. The qualifications of petitioner's father being held to be inadequate, petitioner himself was specially trained for five years in the Arabic and Persian languages and in Muhammadan Law:—

Petition of Mohī-ud-dīn Muḥammad Abu-Bāḳar.

'After your Petitioner had finished his Education, he went to Arcott, where he obtained an Order from the Nabob Anwaried Dien Cawn Bahauder to act as Cazy at this Place, Maliapour, and the Districts round them. Your Petitioner also obtained a Sunned from Nasser Jung, the Soubahdar of the Dekan, appointing him Cazy of the above Places. Your Petitioner has accordingly, ever since that time, discharged the Duties of that Office by the permission of the English Government. He has been ready at their call in attending all the Public Courts of Justice in this Settlement to administer Oaths, and give his opinion in Disputes where Mahomdans are concerned, and do every thing required of him in his Capacity of Cazy. Notwithstanding this, your Petitioner has never been invested by your Honor, &c., with any Commission to authorise him to do the Duties of his Office, nor has he received any kind of Salary or Gratification for that purpose. Your Petitioner owes his Chief Maintenance to the grant of a small Village called Coramandellum, alias Shamshapulli, near Pullicat, made him by his Highness the Nabob Wallaujah in the Year 1762. . . . The Mahomedan Merchants trading at this port have also been used [to pay] your Petitioner certain Fees on the produce of the Goods imported by them, . . . and these scarce amount to seventy Pagodas per annum. The Right which your Petitioner has to receive the Fees has been lately proved before the Worshipfull the Choultry Court, who have given a Decree for them in your Petitioner's favor.

'Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays your honor, &c., will be pleased to grant a Sunned or Cowle appointing him and his Heirs after him (if they be found sufficiently qualified) to hold the Office of Cazy at this place and its Dependancies within the Company's Jaghire. . . .'

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[1] Minutes of the Choultry Court for the 23rd July, 1777. (*P.C.* vol. cxviii., 27th Aug., 1777.)

[2] The 'Hodjee Addee,' mentioned about 1743.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board, taking this Subject into Consideration, are of opinion that it is highly expedient that a proper Person should be appointed, under the Sanction of Government, to settle Disputes among the native Inhabitants of this Country, and to execute such other Duties as belong to the Office of Cawzy: and it appearing from the Representation of Mohied Deen Mahomed Ababacker, as well as from the accompanying Extract from the Proceedings of the Choultry Court, that he is unquestionably entitled to that Appointment, It is resolved that he be confirmed in the Office of Cawzy for the Town and Districts of Madraspatnam, and that public Notice thereof be given.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxviii., 27th Aug., 1777.)

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

During the early days of Pigot's brief administration, one of the Fort St. George chaplains was sent home under the following circumstances:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Mr. St. John Browne, whom your Honors were pleased to appoint one of the Chaplains at this Presidency, arrived here in August last in the Ankerwyke. He now returns to England by the same Ship,[1] and as the Cause of his quitting India so soon is particular, we beg leave to relate it, and to describe his Conduct as far as may be proper for your Information:—

'It happen'd one night that, in the Act of punishing his Servants for some Misbehaviour, one of them, endeavouring to escape his Violence, fell from a Terrace upwards of 20 Feet high. It appears Mr. Browne was immediately informed of the Accident; but although it was night, and the Weather remarkable inclement, he made no enquiry after the Man. So far indeed was he from listning to the Natural Calls of Humanity that, when he was told the man had fallen, he utter'd an Expression which betrayed the most Savage Cruelty, "Let him go to H—," or Words to that effect. In the Morning the Man was found nearly expiring from the Consequences of the Fall. The next day he died; and Mr. Browne was brought to his Trial upon an Indictment for Murder. The Jury acquitted him of that Crime, but found him guilty of homicide by Misadventure; in consequence of which he now goes home to sue out his pardon from the Court of Chancery.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii.*a*, 14th Feb., 1776.)

In 1777 the Directors sent out twenty rifles on approval.[2] They were handed to Captain Manoury,[3] the Commissary of

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[1] The Commander, however, refused passage to Mr. Browne.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxx., 7th March, 1777.

[3] Isaac Manoury, of the Artillery, married Miss Frances Butler in 1769. He died in 1781, and two years later his widow became the wife of Lieut. James Caldwell.

Stores, for trial. He reported that the new weapon was shorter and lighter than the musket, and took less than half its charge of powder:—

Captain J. Manoury's Report.

'The Point blank range of both the Pieces are nearly equal (about 200 yards), the small difference being in favour of the musket. The rifled barrel carries much truer than the musket, for at 200 Yards distance we generally struck within a few inches of the mark, but with the musket not within as many feet. . . .

'A body of Men armed with rifles, and properly disciplined, would be of the greatest use in time of Service on various occasions. Most of the Powers on the Continent of Europe are so sensible of their utility that they have Corps of light Infantry armed in this manner constantly in their service.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxii., 22nd April, 1778.)

Sir Hector Munro advised that two or three men in each Company be armed with rifles, and the Government accordingly indented for 1,500 pieces.

The following letter from General Stuart from Tanjore shows that barbarous methods of punishment were in vogue in that State:—

General James Stuart to Government.

'Yesterday I receiv'd notice that some Robbers living in the Rajah's Country near to Paticar had entered the Nabob's Country near to Arialore, and brought off a Number of Cattle from thence. I immediately Ordered half a Company of Sepoys as a reinforcement to the Detachment there on duty. . . . Your Honor, &c., will be pleased to Observe that upon the limits of the Nabob's and the Rajah's Country, wherever there is Cover, there are a set of fellows who live by robbing indiscriminately the Inhabitants of both Countries. Our People have apprehended a good Number of late, and the Rajah Ordered them to be impaled.' (*M.C.*, vol. lix., 19th May, 1777.)

The methods of Malabar were scarcely less barbarous. Writing from Mahé on the 17th September, 1779, Colonel Braithwaite reported:—'Yesterday morning my Peon and Mr. Baker's horse-keeper, mentioned in my letter to the Honble the Select Committee, were landed upon the beach close by here, and brought in in a Shocking condition, each of them having had a foot cut off the evening before in a most inhuman manner by a blacksmith with a Chissel.'

Many references occur at this period to 'the Mound of Earth or Annacutta' regulating the waters of the Cauvery and Coleroon. Lieut. Pringle was sent down to make a plan of the anicut.[1] On the way thither he surveyed the roads and compiled a route-book, for which he was highly commended. He was subsequently placed in charge of 'the Department of Guides and Hircarrahs.'[1]

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[1] *Anicut*, a dam or weir built across a river to raise the water-level for irrigation purposes.

The hospital system is described in the following extract:—

Fort St. George to Bombay.

'The Surgeons in general at this Place have a Contract with the Company for supplying every necessary Article to the Hospital . . . at the Rate of five fanams per Day each man, reckoning 36 fanams per Pagoda. The victualling of the Hospitals is likewise by contract at three fanams and Twenty Cash per day each Man, reckoning 36 fanams per Pagoda, from which is deducted 2 Pagodas per Month, or 2 Fanams 64 Cash per day, out of each Man's Subsistance, paid by the Commanding Officer of each Company to the Contractor at the Rate of 42 fanams per Pagoda.[2]

'Should European Medicines or Instruments be wanting, the Surgeons apply to Us for leave to purchase them. Country Medicines are supplied by the Surgeons, being included in the Contract first mentioned for every necessary Article.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxix., 20th May, 1777.)

The Company's ship *Marquis of Rockingham*, Captain Alexander Hamilton, was lost on the 11th May, 1777, to the northward of the Seven Pagodas. Taswell, the Master Attendant, reported that she lay on a rock four or five miles from the shore. A Committee of Inquiry found that 'the ship was lost from the unknown situation of the Rock on which she struck,' and that no blame was attributable to anyone.

The List of Civil Servants[3] for 1776 affords fresh evidence of the persistence of Madras names from generation to generation. The Directors looked kindly on the younger brothers, sons, and nephews of men who had done them service, and readily granted nominations. Other names we find which are commemorated by the designations of roads and garden houses in Madras. The following are selected from the list:—

James Henry Casamaijor, Senior Merchant and Paymaster at Vellore. He was the son of Noah and Rebecca Casamaijor, and entered the service in September, 1762.

John Turing, Senior Merchant and Contractor for the supply of bricks and chunam to the Company and inhabitants, joined the service in June, 1762. William Turing, Factor, was Assistant Military Paymaster. Both were probably related to Dr. Robert Turing, whose name is mentioned in earlier pages.

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lix., 28th April and 5th Aug., 1777; *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxi., 4th July, 1777; and *M. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 15th Oct., 1777.

[2] The current rate was 42 fanams per pagoda; the rate for account purposes 36 fanams.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxvi., Dec., 1776.

Cotton Bowerbank Dent,[1] Senior Merchant, was Paymaster at Chingleput. He entered the service in June, 1763.

James Taylor, Senior Merchant, Paymaster of Sepoys at Madras, Assistant Assaymaster, and Registrar of the Mayor's Court.

George Westcott, Senior Merchant and Paymaster at Ellore, was the son of Foss Westcott of the civil service.

George Moubray had been appointed from England in 1771, on a special salary, to the office of Accountant, afterwards designated Accountant-General. He was a man of business experience, and ranked as a Senior Merchant.

William Harcourt Torriano, Junior Merchant and Clerk to the Committee of Works, who joined in 1766, was son of George Torriano and grandson of Nathaniel Torriano, both of the Company's service. In the list of 1775 appears the name of Lionel Torriano, who entered as Writer in 1769.

John Hudleston, Junior Merchant and Fifth of Council at Ganjam, dated from 1766.

James Call, Junior Merchant, 'Deputy Superintendent of the Nawab's Accounts, and Agent for providing Sepoy Slops,' who entered the service in 1765, is believed to have been a brother of Colonel John Call. Jewell Call, a Factor employed under the Accountant, who joined in 1771, was probably a member of the same family.

Charles Oakeley, Junior Merchant, Secretary, Solicitor, and Clerk of Appeals, entered the service in 1767, and ultimately became Governor of Madras.

Ernst William Fallofield, Junior Merchant and Fifth of Council at Cuddalore, dated from 1767.

The Hon. Basil Cochrane, Factor and Commissary's Agent for Tanjore, joined the service in 1769.

Thomas Palk, Factor and Assistant at Masulipatam, dated from 1768.[2]

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[1] Dent married in 1772 Miss Mary Pelling, daughter of Mr. Thomas Pelling, free merchant.

[2] Palk married Miss Catherine Pelling in 1777.

David Halliburton, Factor and Assistant Import Warehousekeeper, entered the service in 1770. He was probably connected with John Halliburton, who distinguished himself at the time of the French occupation.

Thomas Oakes,[1] Factor and Paymaster at Ichapur, dated from 1770. His family is still represented in the Indian Army.

Richard Joseph Sulivan, Factor, Secretary in the Military Department, Judge Advocate-General and Translator, joined the service in 1768.

John Balfour, Writer, was Coroner and Clerk to the Justices. He dated from 1772. In 1777 Francis Balfour was granted a sum of Pags. 1,000 towards the publication of his manuscript on 'The Study and Attainment of the Persian Language.'[2]

John Deschamps, who afterwards adopted his uncle's name of Chamier, was employed under the Revenue Secretary.

Alexander Brodie, Writer, was Commissary's Assistant for Vellore.

James Strange, Writer and Under Searcher at the Sea Gate, who dated from 1773, was elder brother of Thomas Strange, afterwards first Chief Justice of Madras. His family is still represented there.

Benjamin Roebuck was a Writer under the Secretary in the Military Department.

The Presidency Surgeons were Gilbert Pasley and James Anderson. The latter, who became famous for his botanical researches, will be referred to in the sequel.

In the List of Inhabitants for 1776, which follows that of Covenanted Servants, we find the familiar names of Dawsonne Drake (arrived 1742), Thomas Powney (1750), Moses De Castro (1766), Charles Darke (1770), Andrew Ross (1752), and George Baker among the free merchants. Thomas Pelling (1768), John De Fries, Frederick Frank (1761), M. de Latore (1760),[3] and others are classed as merchants. The Danish Missionaries are the Rev. John Philip Fabricius and John Christian Breithaupt. The legal profession is represented by John Sykes (1764), Company's Attorney and Notary Public; Charles Bromley (1762), Notary Public and Attorney; Henry Du Puy and Daniel Shaw (both of 1769), Attorneys in the Mayor's Court; and Robert Williamson (1769), late Attorney. Edward Jane (1756) was Deputy Sheriff, and Daniel Johnson 'Goal Keeper.' Uncovenanted servants are George Taswell, Master Attendant; Charles Casimire, Company's Apothecary; Alexander Bonner (1767), and James Stringer, Company's Carpenter and Bricklayer, respectively; and Charles Delone from Pondicherry, Printer to the Company.

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[1] Thomas Oakes married in 1786 Miss Elizabeth Cosby, daughter of Captain Henry Cosby, and secondly Miss Maria Gahagan in 1803.

[2] Francis Balfour married Miss Emilia Balfour in 1776.

[3] In the List of 1780 we find the names of 'Delatour' and 'Joseph Latour.' The former is described as a French merchant who arrived from Pondicherry in 1777, and the latter as a Swiss who came to Madras from England in the same year and acted as steward to Mr. Whitehill. 'Delatour' was probably Francis Lautour, founder of a mercantile firm which received George Arbuthnot in 1803, and so led to the establishment of the house of Arbuthnot and Co. Francis Lautour married Ann Hordle at Government House in 1780.

Among private residents are Samuel Troutback, Lewis Carvalho, William Harrison, who came out with Adlercron's Regiment, Adrian Fourbeck, and John Macpherson, late of the Company's service. Mr. Hornsby (1773) was Schoolmaster; Mr. Deurstedt (1759), organist; Charles Ladd, music master; John Henry Coleman (1760), musician; M. Amines, 'Limner,' and M. Deborie, dancing master.

Trade is represented by Joseph Le Clostre, hairdresser; John Woods, Deputy Undertaker; Oherey (1760, perhaps O'Hara), printer; four jewellers, one goldsmith, two watchmakers, and one mathematical instrument maker, six punch-house keepers, and two cooks. Several of these unnamed persons had migrated from Pondicherry. The *chefs* were M. Berrard, formerly cook to Admiral Harland and afterwards to the Governor, and M. Dorrimond from Pondicherry.

The Nawab had a considerable following. Robert Storey, Job Bulman (1773),[1] and Robert Smith Baird (1775) were among his surgeons; Courville his saddler; eight Europeans his musicians, and four others his coachmen.

Among the seventy-two married women we find Sophia Monckton, Mary Capper, Mary Carvalho, Anne Horne, Rhoda Wynch, Mary Dent, Lydia Torriano, Anne Eidingtoun, and Catherine Powney. The ten widows include Mary Powney, Rebecca Casamaijor, and Mary Turing. The unmarried women number only seven,[1] inclusive of Leonora Pigot, Mary Clara Maule, and Elizabeth Mackay. The children number seventy-four.

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[1] Dr. Bulman married in 1783 Miss Sophia Pelling, daughter of Thomas Pelling.

The appointment of Government Advocate or, as it was first called, 'Standing Counsel' dates from 1778. Mr. Benjamin Sulivan, who came to India with the intention of practising at the Calcutta Bar, halted at Fort St. George, was consulted by Mr. Whitehill on the legal aspects of the verdict of the Coroner's jury on the death of Lord Pigot, and resolved to stay. He offered his services as Standing Counsel, representing that the Government must often need professional assistance in trials at Quarter Sessions and Appeals from decisions of the Mayor's Court.[2] As the only person on the spot who had been 'educated regularly as a Barrister,' Sulivan was appointed Standing Counsel a few months later on a salary of Pags. 250 a month.[3]

The importation of coral into Madras still continued. Every ship brought out a supply of coral beads designed for the purchase of diamonds. The principal London consignors were Baron Ephraim d'Aguilar, Emmanuel and Jacob da Costa, Nathan and Ananias Modigliani, and Moses Montefiore. The chief consignee at Madras was the firm of Moses De Castro, Thomas Pelling, and John De Fries.[4]

Among the carriages sent out we find the following varieties:—'A Vis a Vis, a Phaeton and Two Whiskeys, £170; A Chariot and a Phaeton, £100; A Chariot and a Coach, £200.'

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[1] Two of them were married shortly afterwards. Leonora Pigot became the wife of Mr. Claud Russell, and Mary Clara Maule of Colonel Patrick Ross.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxix., 7th March, 1778.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxx., 5th Oct., 1778.

[4] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxiii., 4th Feb., 1780.

CHAPTER X

1778—1780

GOVERNMENT OF SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD—THE FORTIFICATIONS

GOVERNMENT OF SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD.

THOMAS RUMBOLD, who was born in 1736 of Leicestershire stock, owned a family connexion with India. His father, William Rumbold, of the Company's marine service, became Second of Council at Tellicherry, where he died in 1745. Henry Rumbold, brother of William and uncle of Thomas, has already been mentioned in these pages as an attorney of the Mayor's Court of Madras down to 1729. About 1731 he became first Company's Solicitor at Fort St. George, a post he resigned in 1733[1] on removing to Bengal, where he died ten years later. Thomas Rumbold's elder brothers, William and Henry, died comparatively early, the first, who was in the army, at Fort St. David in 1757, and the latter at sea. Thomas Rumbold himself was appointed to the civil service in 1752. Soon after his arrival in India he was transferred to the army, and in 1753 held the rank of Lieutenant.[2] He served under Lawrence at Trichinopoly, accompanied Clive to Calcutta, and was wounded at Plassey. Reverting to the civil service, he served in Bengal, and sat in Council at Fort William from 1766 to 1769, when he returned to England. He became member of Parliament for East Shoreham, and a Director of the East India Company.

When news reached England of the revolution at Madras, Mr. Rumbold was selected to succeed Lord Pigot. On the 8th February, 1778, the Company's ships *Bessborough* and *Lord North* anchored in the Madras roads. The former brought out no less than twenty-nine passengers, including Mr. Thomas Rumbold, his wife Mrs. Joanna Rumbold, and his children, William, Thomas, and Maria; Mr. Charles Binny, Rumbold's Secretary, Mr. William Petrie, and several Writers, including James Landon and Walter Balfour.[1] The *Lord North* had on board the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hector Munro, Sir John Day, Advocate-General of Bengal, who was to stay at Madras during the inquiry into the causes of the revolution, and Mr. Stephen Popham,[2] the latter's secretary.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxiii., 6th March, 173⅔.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 6th Jan., 1756.

Rumbold assumed charge as Governor on the day of his arrival. His salary was fixed at Pags. 40,000 per annum, and the emoluments of his Council, John Whitehill, Sir Hector Munro, Charles Smith, Samuel Johnson, and Peter Perring, at Pags. 16,000 each. Munro declined an additional field allowance of Pags. 5,000, as insufficient.[3] In July the Select Committee, consisting of the Governor, Whitehill, Munro, and Smith, was re-established to deal with political, naval, and military affairs, and correspond with the Secret Committee at home.

The revenue of the Presidency had risen to nearly thirty lakhs of Pagodas, as follows:—

'*Revenues expected from 1st Nov., 1778 to 1st Nov., 1779.*

(*M.C.*, vol. lxv., 30th Nov., 1778.)

'Payment by Nabob for pay of 10 Carnatic Battalions of Sepoys, and the Expences of his Garrisons	700,000
Payment by Rajah of Tanjore	400,000
Sales of Goods and Stores from Europe	140,000
Fort St. George Farms	80,565
„ „ Sea and Land Customs	60,000
„ „ Poonamallee (rented by Nabob)	44,350
„ „ Jaghire (do.)	324,000
Cuddalore Farms, including Devicotah	40,330
„ Sea and Land Customs	4,270
Masulipatam Farms	124,906
„ Jamabundy for Circars	620,674
„ Havelly Lands	31,300
Vizagapatam Farms	4,000
„ Districts dependent	171,714
Ganjam, Districts dependent	147,000
Nagore	76,000
Pagodas	2,969,109

'GEO. MOUBRAY,
Accountant.'

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxi., 8th July, 1777.

[2] Stephen Popham was probably related to Sir Hume Popham, whose father's name was Stephen.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxix., 20th March, 1778.

An acquisition of territory marked the inauguration of Rumbold's rule. Tuljājī, Rajah of Tanjore, grateful for reinstatement, offered the Company the lands round Devikota.[1] The Governor thought that Nagore, a seaport near Negapatam, was more desirable. He sent Mr. Petrie to sound the Rajah, who readily agreed to the substitution. On the 19th June, 1778, a *sanad* was delivered for the town of Nagore and adjacent territory, estimated to yield a revenue of two and a half lakhs of rupees.[2] Petrie was appointed first Resident.[3]

The great event of Rumbold's administration was the second capture of Pondicherry by the British. War between England and France had been declared in March, 1778, and on the 15th April the Secret Committee directed the Madras Select Committee to attack Pondicherry.[4] Preparations were made with commendable speed, and in less than three weeks from the receipt of the orders from home, a field force under Sir Hector Munro was before the French settlement. Siege operations were begun on the 31st August. Sir Edward Vernon, with the *Ripon*, *Coventry*, *Seahorse*, *Cormorant*, and two Company's ships, co-operated, and drove off a French squadron of superior strength. Major Stevens, as Chief Engineer, completed the parallels and batteries by the middle of September, and fire opened on the 18th.[5] A month later, on the 17th October, 1778, when preparations were being made for assault, the Governor, M. Bellecombe, surrendered the place. Despatches announcing the success were sent home on the 2nd November in H.M. Sloop *Cormorant* by the hand of Mr. William Rumbold, the President's son, who was also 'charged with the French colours taken at Pondicherry to be laid at his Majesty's Feet.'[6] Under the terms of capitulation the prisoners were to be sent to France. Pending arrangements for their passage they were lodged at Madras and Poonamallee, some of the officers being accommodated in Vepery and San Thomé.[7]

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[1] A 'Particular Account of the Tanjour Country' from 1675 will be found in *M.C.*, vol. lxv., 21st Nov., 1778.

[2] The estimate for 1780 was Pags. 76,000.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. lxii., 22nd June, 1778, and *M. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 17th Oct., 1778. In the following year Captain Thomas Dibdin, brother of Charles Dibdin, the dramatist and song-writer, was appointed Master Attendant at Nagore. (*P.C.*, vol. cxxi., 22nd Jan., 1779.)

[4] *M.C.*, vol. lxiv., 21st July, 1778.

[5] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 17th Oct., 1778.

[6] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 2nd Nov., 1778.

[7] *M.C.*, vol. lxvi., 22nd March to 5th April, 1779.

Select Committee Consultation.

'The President informs the Committee that the French Soldiers with their Officers from Pondicherry arrived yesterday at the Mount. That he has ordered part of them to Poonamalee and the Remainder to Madras. That on the Arrival of the latter, the Senior French Officer accompanying them acquainted him that he did not Consider either the Officers or Men to be Prisoners of War, but that they were only to be Accommodated and subsisted here until they could be sent to France, and the Men left under Direction of their own Officer. That he (the President) having referred to the Articles of Capitulation, and conceiving that nothing of the kind could have been intended . . ., he ordered the Men to be lodged in a safe and convenient Place in the Black Town (formerly the Company's Granary)[1] where they will be better accommodated even than our own Soldiers ; and to the Officers he tendered a Paper . . . demanding their Parole before they were set at Liberty. This Parole they positively refused to give, and he was therefore under the necessity of ordering them into Quarters in the Fort and placing Centinels at their Doors. . . .

'The President submits it to the Consideration of the Committee whether it be not at all times proper, and particularly so at this Juncture when there are so many discontented French Prisoners in the place, and when the Measures he is Obliged to pursue may expose him to the Effects of Resentment from Individuals, that he should have a Guard always attending upon him ; and if the Committee agree in that Opinion, he proposes that the Guard consist of 1 Serjeant, 2 Corporals and 12 European Horsemen ; which the Committee approve and order accordingly.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxv., 29th Oct., 1778.)

Fort St. George to Major-General Bellecombe.

'It being stipulated by the 19th Article of Capitulation that all public Papers in Pondicherry should be delivered into our hands, and only such returned as were not found necessary for Government, We request, upon the Faith of that Article, that you will inform Us whether or not there were any public Plans in the Archives of Pondicherry at the time of its Surrender, for upon our searching among the Books and Papers transmitted by Colonel Baillie,[2] We cannot find a single Plan of any kind, nor indeed any recent Papers either of a Military or political Nature. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. lxvi., 5th Jan., 1779.)

Major-General Bellecombe to Fort St. George.

'Mr. Dulac, the Chief Engineer, has delivered to Colonel Baillie the Plan of Pondichery, and I gave to General Munro another of the Garrison and its Environs to the Distance of 800 Toises. Pondichery being the only place belonging to the French which is fortified in India, it is certain that I cannot have any other plans to deliver to you. . . .

'With respect to those [papers] which relate to political Matters, I do not imagine that you would include them among public Papers. After all, Gentlemen, I assure you that I have not any. You will readily believe that, when

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[1] This granary occupied the site of the present Custom House.

[2] The British officer commanding at Pondicherry.

I observed your offensive Preparations against Pondichery, I took Precautions to ensure the Safety of those Papers which I did not chuse should fall into your hands. . . . BELLECOMBE.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxvi., 18th Jan., 1779.)

Minute by the President.

'I have the Pleasure to deliver in to the Committee exact Plans of the Island and Harbour of Mauritius or L'Isle de France, with the regular Soundings, bearings, &c., in which are also delineated the different Forts and Batteries that are erected for the defence of the Harbour, with proper References shewing their Strength, the Number of Cannon and Mortars that are mounted on them, with the different Directions of the Lines of Fire. As I esteem these Plans as a very great acquisition in case any attempt should be hereafter made for the Reduction of the Islands, I was happy to obtain them. They were in the Possession of two Persons, One who had been employed in the Engineer's Office at Pondicherry, and the other a Capuchin. Obtaining Information of these Plans, I sent to have them secured in case they were not delivered up when demanded, but the Possessors very readily surrendered them, and I promised, in consequence of their Behaviour on the Occasion, to make them some Compensation. I therefore beg leave to propose to the Committee that they be presented with 100 Pagodas. It will be proper to deposit the Plans in the Engineers Office, and to have one of the Harbour of the Mauritius taken immediately on a larger Scale. THOMAS RUMBOLD.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxvii., 16th Aug., 1779.)

General Bellecombe, who was wounded during the siege, did not reach Madras until April, 1779. 'On his arrival at this place, he purposely omitted the Compliment of a visit to the Governor, and, by so manifest a disrespect, he precluded himself from those attentions which would otherwise have been shewn him during his stay here.'[1] With his family and a number of officers he sailed for France at the end of May.[2] On the advice of Sir Eyre Coote, who had arrived from England in December, 1778, orders were given to demolish the fortifications of Pondicherry:—

The Select Committee to the Secret Committee.

'We appointed Captain Geils[3] the Field Engineer to superintend the Work, and it is with great Satisfaction We observe that, altho' the Fortifications were near 4 miles in Circuit, such Diligence and activity have been employed that the whole will be most completely demolished by the 31st of this month, the Ditch filled up, and not a Vestige of the Defences remaining. . . . The only public Building within the Town that has been destroyed was the Grand Powder Magazine.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 14th Oct., 1779.)

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[1] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 14th Oct., 1779.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxvii., 28th May, 1779.

[3] Thomas Geils was transferred from the Artillery to the Engineers in 1768. He married Miss Mary Pelling in 1773.

The news of the fall of Pondicherry was received in England with acclamation. A baronetcy was conferred on Rumbold, and Munro was granted the knighthood of the Bath.[1]

An expedition against Mahé, entrusted to Colonel Brathwaite, was next undertaken. It sailed from Anjengo early in March, 1779, and Mahé capitulated on the 19th of the same month. Fort St. George reported to England that 'The French are now totally deprived of every Foot of Ground in India.'[2]

Amid these larger concerns the Governor and Council still found time to attend personally to the sorting of calicoes:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'At the Sorting Godown, Present, The Honble Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart., Governor, President; John Whitehill, Charles Smith, Samuel Johnson, Peter Perring.

'The Board proceed to examine the Companys Investment received from the Subordinacies. *Cuddalore Goods*, Long cloth, Salampores, Succatoons, Beteelas, Soot Roomals; *Vizagapatam Goods*, Long cloth; *Ingeram Goods*, Long cloth, Percaulas; *Maddepollam Goods*, Long cloth.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxiii., 1st Jan., 1780.)

Apart from the successes against the French, Rumbold's administration cannot be regarded as fortunate. The Northern Circars had been granted absolutely to the Company by the Emperor's *farmān* of 1765; but Palk's Government had nevertheless agreed to hold the territory as from the Nizam, and to pay him an annual subsidy. In 1768 it had been further arranged that the Guntoor circar should be reserved to Basālat Jang, the Nizam's brother, during his life. Sir Thomas Rumbold induced Basālat Jang to give up Guntoor, which was thereupon rented to Nawab Walajah; and he proposed to withdraw the Nizam's subsidy on the ground that it should never have been granted. Nizam 'Alī was naturally incensed. Mr. John Hollond, whom Rumbold had appointed Resident at Hyderabad, kept the Calcutta Government informed of his instructions from Madras. Acting on Hollond's reports, Hastings intervened, whereupon Rumbold declared that the Governor-General's action was *ultra vires*, and suspended Hollond.[3]

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxvii., 2nd July, 1779.

[2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 22nd April, 1779.

[3] *M.C.*, vol lxix., 10th May, 1780.

Relations with Hyder Ali[1] had long been far from cordial, and that prince had just cause of complaint against Madras for its breach of the Treaty of 1769. The capture of Mahé, a place which Hyder had declared to be under his protection,[2] strained relations still further. Fearing a rupture, Rumbold resolved to send a secret mission to Mysore, and selected the Rev. C. Swartz as envoy, partly on account of his knowledge of Hindustani, but mainly because the movements of a missionary would not excite notice:—

Minute by the President.

'The President acquaints the Committee that the Critical Situation of our Affairs with Hyder Ali induced him lately to take a Step, in the view of sounding the real Intentions of that Power, which he deemed it incumbent on him even to conceal from the Knowledge of the Committee; and he hopes the Expediency of such a Conduct will be justified by the Nature of the Information he wanted to procure. . . .

'He judged it expedient to send a person privately to Hyder Ally with a letter from himself . . ., desiring an Explicit Declaration of Hyder's real Intentions towards the Company and Carnatic. This Person (Mr. Swarts) went accordingly, and was received with great Civility by Hyder, who, at his Departure, gave him a Letter in answer to the President's . . ., by which he (the President) has too much reason to apprehend that Hyder's Intentions are really such as they have for some time appeared from his Letters, that is, Hostile both against the Company and the Carnatic; and that it is become necessary for the Committee to guard as much as Possible against the Consequences.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxviii., 23rd Oct., 1779.)

A Danish ship having been seized at Calicut by Hyder's orders, the passengers, including Mr. John Hare, an attorney, and eight other British subjects, were carried prisoners to Seringapatam. Mr. George Gray was sent up from Madras to intercede:—

Mr. George Gray to Fort St. George.

'The Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn had of his own accord liberated the Gentlemen whose Enlargement I was directed to Sollicit, so that it only remained for me to return him thanks for the friendly manner in which he had dismissed them and provided for their Journay through his Country. When I had done this, I took occasion at the Same time to express to the Nabob the Sentiments

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[1] The British Museum preserves a good print of Hyder Ali, by I. Maidstone, which is inscribed: 'Drawn in the year 1776 by J. Leister, Esq., of Madras.' This name does not appear in the Fort St. George lists of that year. The print was published in London in 1781.

[2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 13th March, 1779.

> of regard and friendship which the Government of Fort St. George and the English Nation in General entertain'd towards his highness; but I am sorry to say my professions on that Subject did not meet with the reception which I hoped, for they were answered with Reproaches of repeated Breaches of Faith, and the English Nation was taxed with a positive Breach of Treaty. Notwithstanding this unpleasant Manifestation of the Nabob's Sentiments, I continued at Seringapatam in hopes of finding some favorable opportunity of an explanation, but I was completely disappointed, for he never permitted me to visit him again 'till the 19th March, when he sent for me purposely to give me an audience of Leave. . . .
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> 'I have to observe that my Reception at the Court of Seringapatam was neither friendly nor respectfull: a few Instances of Politeness were over-balanced by many more of inattention and Slight, and I will venture to say that the latter had the appearance of being evidently marked.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxix., 1st April, 1780.)

At this juncture, when Fort St. George had quarrelled with Hyder, the Nizam, and the Supreme Government, Sir Thomas Rumbold found that his health demanded his immediate return to Europe. He handed over charge to Mr. Whitehill on the 6th April, 1780,[1] and sailed for England in the *General Barker* on the following day.

The Directors were displeased with the transactions relating to the Circars, and in a belated despatch, of the 11th January, 1781, they ordered the dismissal of Rumbold, Whitehill, and Perring. Charges were brought against the ex-Governor of oppression and corruption, and Parliament proceeded against him by a Bill of Pains and Penalties. He was restrained from leaving the kingdom, and required to make discovery of his property. The bill was eventually talked out, mainly, it was said, through the influence of Richard Rigby, a parliamentary wire-puller. The charges of oppression and corruption were refuted.

The *European Magazine* for May, 1782, contains a portrait of Rumbold, engraved by W. Angus, and a biographical notice from which the following is extracted:—

> 'Sir Thomas Rumbold is a gentleman who, whatever his merits or demerits may be, owes no part of his wealth or consequence in the world to either birth or family connections. He was born about the year 1737 of parents who could afford him but few of the advantages of Education. . . . Report says, and we believe with truth, that he was originally a waiter at White's under another person who has since become a Member of the British Senate:—We mean Mr. Macreth, who now represents the Borough of Castle Rising in the County

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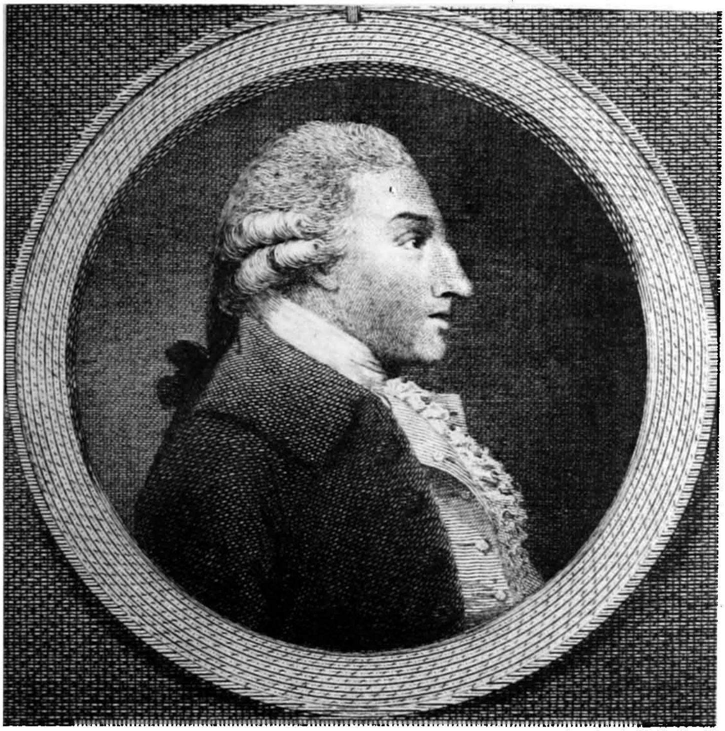
[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxiii., 6th April, 1780.



Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bt.

to completion, and the reform of the east line taken in hand. Major William Stevens, who was acting as Chief Engineer during Colonel Ross's absence in England, reported in April, 1778,[1] that good progress had been made with the bonnette[2] and sea-wall. A furlong of the wall, built on wells, had been finished at the south end, and a somewhat greater length at the north end was in hand. Stevens recommended the inception of the central portion, and sanction was duly accorded.

News of the declaration of war between England and France, which was first received unofficially by way of Cairo, induced preparations both for the attack of Pondicherry and the defence of Madras. Stevens advocated the rapid completion of the counterguard at the north-east angle, and the construction of earthen redoubts in the re-entering places of arms on either flank of the north ravelin. In regard to the removal of obstructions round the Fort he wrote as follows:—

Memorandum by Major Stevens.

'The North Esplanade should be cleared of all buildings and Lumber as far as the Coir Godown.[3]

'The Black Town Wall from the end of the Pettah bridge[4] to the corner of the Hospital wall should be pulled down.

'The buildings on hog hill are only from 230 to 250 Yards, or thereabout, from the foot of the Glacis of the N.W. Works. The houses ought, I think, to be cleared to 400 Yards from the foot of the Glacis, and the ground so far levelled as not to admit of cover.

'The hutts, houses and Horse Stables at the foot of the Island bridge[5] to be removed, and everything on the Island as far back as the burying ground. The play-house and powder platforms should be demolish'd.

'The building on the South beach should be levell'd, and all cover on that Front removed. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. lxiii., 4th July, 1778.)

The Select Committee approved generally of these recommendations, but considered that the construction of earthen redoubts might be deferred until attack became imminent. 'The hutts,

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxii., 29th April, 1778.

[2] This was probably the bonnette before the South-East Counterguard. When the reform of the east front was undertaken, the counterguard was converted into a demi-bastion, and its bonnette became a counterguard. The work which covered the south ravelin is alluded to sometimes as a bonnette, sometimes as a redoubt.

[3] The Coir Godown was situated at the north-east angle of the Esplanade, at the point now called Parry's Corner.

[4] The old Garden House Bridge.

[5] Triplicane Bridge seems to be meant.

Sheds, Horse Stables and Play house may at any time be demolish'd in a day or two. The only Brick buildings which seem necessary to be destroyed are the Powder Platform on the Island, and a Choultry or Mettoo house standing in the Sea Beach midway between the Fort and the Nabob's Gardens.'

Stevens then submitted a further memorandum[1] on the storage of water for the Garrison. The new reservoir projected in connexion with Baker's waterworks had not been begun, and the pipe-water was delivered from cocks at 'The King's Barracks in which the bulk of the Garrison is generally quarter'd, The gorge of the new Bastion where the other part of the Garrison is now lodg'd, and at a place on the South of the Parade near the Town Major's Office.'[2] The only cisterns available were the bomb-proofs under the Nabob's and Charles Bastions, one under the Treasury, and the cisterns belonging to the contractor,[3] the capacity of all of which was only 129,000 gallons, sufficient for 6,000 men for one month. A large cistern under the Mint Bastion was unserviceable, and the bomb-proof in the Nabob's Bastion was leaky. Stevens proposed the construction of two open cisterns along the east face of the Fort Square, one on each side of the Sea Gate Colonnade, but the Select Committee ordered the repair of the existing cisterns to be first attempted.[4]

Major Stevens, who proceeded to Pondicherry to conduct the siege, was killed in the trenches by a cannon shot.[5] He was succeeded as Acting Chief Engineer by Captain George Maule.[6] Sir Hector Munro said of Stevens that 'in him Society have lost an honest Man, and the Company a most valuable and gallant Soldier.'[7]

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxiii., 4th July, 1778.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxii., 4th May, 1778.

[3] Baker had built a cistern near the south-east angle of the Fort Square (*M.C.*, vol. lxix., 18th March, 1780). Charles Bastion appears to have been demolished on the completion of the new cisterns under the east curtain.

[4] Stevens also proposed that 'the foundation of the Nabob's house in the Fort' be converted into a reservoir (*M.C.*, vol. lxiv., 11th Aug., 1778); but, as a permanent measure, he designed a range of cisterns under the new east rampart, as afterwards carried out.

[5] Among the officers killed during the siege was Captain Augustus De Morgan. A monument to the memory of Stevens and De Morgan may be seen, four miles out of Pondicherry, on the high road to the westward.

[6] Maule entered the service in 1770, became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1793, and, like his predecessor, was killed in action before Pondicherry. He married Catherine Clayton in 1779.

[7] *M.C.*, vol. lxv., 29th Oct., 1778.

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We are much concerned to advise you that Major Stevens, the Chief Engineer, is in the number of those who were killed during the Siege. He had conducted the two different Attacks on the Fort with uncommon exertion, and fell only two days before the surrender. He was a man of great ability in his profession, and possessed such Integrity and Zeal as rendered him a most valuable Servant of the Company. His death is consequently felt as a public loss. . . .' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 22nd Oct., 1778.)

Francis Jourdan, his executor, reporting that Stevens's estate amounted to only Pags. 2,000, Government recommended the deceased's family to the consideration of the Company:—

Francis Jourdan to Government.

'After a service of 15 Years, during which he had the sole charge of the erecting of the Fort of Musulipatam, as well as the reforming of Tanjore, and demolition of Vellum, and the Charge of the Madras Works from the departure of Colonel Ross; and I must add, as an Instance of his Conscientious Ideas, that it appears that, having repaired the Fort of Tanjore for the Nabob after the Capture of it in 1773, he received Emoluments to the Amount of about 4,400 Pagodas, which, on the Restoration of Tanjore to the Rajah, he thought himself in Justice obliged to repay, and did accordingly repay to the Nabob, by the hands of the Reverend Mr. Thomas, the Amount of those advantages with Interest to the very day.

'He used to remit a part of his Pay to support his Family, who, being in narrow Circumstances, will of course severely feel his Loss. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. lxv., 17th Dec., 1778.)

In November Captain Maule reported[1] that the outworks on the south front, viz., the ravelin with its caponier and lunettes,[2] the bonnette before the ravelin, the south-east counterguard, and the counterscarp gallery were well advanced, and that little remained to be done on this front except the reform of the old curtain. The sea-wall had been completed except for a length of 200 yards which was in progress, and sea-water had been admitted to the ditch by two sluices. Advance had also been made with the work defending the north-east angle.

In the following month the question of water storage came up again:—

Major Maule to the Select Committee.

'The great Necessity there is for a Reservoir being built in some Part of the Fort, which has now none sufficient to hold Water for five Days Consumption induced your Honor, &c., some Time ago to direct that a Cistern should be made on the South Side of the Fort Square. The late Major Stevens preferred having a Line of Cisterns along the proposed East Curtain under the Casemates there intended; and as I am furnished with his Memorandum and Wishes on the Subject, and think the Utility and Advantages of his Plan very strongly evident, I beg leave to recommend it to your Honor, &c., before the Execution of the Plan for the East Line, which has been already so far Advanced, be Compleated. . . . GEORGE MAULE.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxv., 17th Dec., 1778.)

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxv., 5th Nov., 1778.

[2] The old tenaillon had been converted into ravelin and lunettes.

Early in 1779 the Select Committee approved the plan for the reconstruction of the east front with a range of cisterns beneath it. The new front, which was slightly in advance of the old wall, was to be built with an indented line to permit of flank defence, and it embraced a tenaillon at its centre. Two gates, one in each face of the middle salient[1] of the tenaillon, replaced the old Sea Gate.

Proceedings of the Select Committee.

'The ruinous State of the Fortifications on the Sea line having been frequently represented, and the Committee having always had it in their Intention to put that part of the Fort in a proper State of defence as soon as the N.E. and S.E. Angles were secured, it is now Resolved that the Works planned for the defence of the Sea line be constructed with all possible dispatch, agreeably to the plan proposed by Major Maule in his Letter of the 14th December last, with a line of Cisterns along the East Curtain; and as, for this purpose, it will be necessary to remove some Godowns and Sheds that have been erected by the Inhabitants on the Sea line, the Committee of Works are empowered to take proper Measures accordingly, and to satisfy such Persons as may be obliged to relinquish any part of their Property on this Occasion. THOS. RUMBOLD, JOHN WHITEHILL, CHARLES SMITH.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxvi., 5th April, 1779.)

The Directors took precautions to prevent the details of the new works from becoming publicly known:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'It is our express Command that no European, covenanted Servants of the Company excepted, be henceforth permitted, either in time of Peace or War, to view or inspect any of the Fortifications, Defences, Docks or Arsenals at your Settlement on any account or pretence whatever; nor shall any Person be suffered to make any Drawing or take any Plan of any public Work, Fortification or Dock Yard without License in writing from the Governor for the time being first obtained for that purpose.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxii., 14th April, 1779.)

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[1] Now called the Redan.

Maule obtained permission in August to put in hand the remaining outworks for the north front:—

Proceedings of the Select Committee.

'Read the following Letter from Major Maule:—

'"The Masonry of the Works on the South Front of the Fort being nearly compleated, and as many Workmen on the Sea Line as can be employed, I have to request your Permission to begin on the North Front the proposed Lunette, and Cunette round the Ravelin, a Work intended to have been carried on at the same time with the N.E. Counterguard as essential to the Defence of the latter, had not a want of Materials towards the close of the Season prevented it. This Circumstance considered, the required Expence light, the Advantages the Work must receive in Execution from the Foundations being laid before the Rains, joined to the satisfactory Idea of being employed on the last Work necessary to compleat the Plan of Fort St. George will, I trust, prove Motives sufficient to induce your Honor, &c., to order it to be carried into Execution. GEO. MAULE."

'Agreed that the proposed Works he begun upon agreeable to the Chief Engineer's Recommendation. THOS. RUMBOLD, JOHN WHITEHILL, HECTOR MUNRO, CHARLES SMITH.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxvii., 3rd Aug., 1779.)

Before the end of the year Rumbold entertained 'the pleasing Hope of seeing the Fortifications entirely compleated in the course of six or eight Months':—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'It is certain that, since We took charge of your Government, several New Works have been added to the Fortifications and some old Ones taken down, but it is equally true that these Additions and Alterations became a necessary consequence of the general Plan which had been recommended and in part executed before our Arrival; and had we not followed the Intentions of that Plan, the expence of the Works already finished would have been in a great Measure thrown away. We found the Works from the North Ravelin inclusive to the North West, the Westward, and to the South West as far as the Capital of the Nabob's Bastion completed and in a perfect State of Defence; but the rest of the Fort was weak and deficient. The N.E. and S.E. Angles were represented as extremely insecure, and the East or Sea Line in a ruinous and defenceless Condition. To have stopt the Works therefore when so much had been done and so little remained to be done would, in our opinion, have been a very ill-timed Œconomy on the eve of a national War, in which We had reason to expect great Exertions might be made against Us. . . .

'As the Chief Engineer assures Us that the Fortifications will be entirely completed in 6 Months after the Monsoon, We trust You will not for many Years after that Period be put to any further Expences on this Account. What necessity there might have been originally for executing such great and expensive Works as We have seen built since the year 1773 We will not pretend to say; but We may, upon the Authority of three successive Engineers, pronounce that there will be no necessity for altering any of the present Fortifications when the Works now in hand (which are raised much above their Foundations and are in great Forwardness) shall be finished, as the whole will then be complete, that is to say equally strong in every part, and capable of resisting any Force that can be brought before it. . . .

'The Bomb-proof Cisterns intended for containing Water sufficient to serve this Garrison in case of a Siege have, at the Recommendation of the late Major Stevens and the present Engineer, been made under the Works of the East Line.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 14th Oct., 1779.)

When penning this despatch the Government had before them a report by Major Maule of the 11th October, from which the following extract is made:—

Major Maule to the Select Committee.

'We have compleated the S.E. Bonnet, the advanced Redoubt, South Ravelin and Reform of the Lunettes on the South Front. We have . . . raised the late St. Thome Counterguard, now become a Demi Bastion of the Fort, to the level of the new South Curtain. The Wet Ditches before the Several Works of this Front are entirely excavated, and are of a Depth that renders them equally respectable in Point of Defence with those on the West Front.

'What remained to be done of the Wall against the Sea was compleated early in the Season, as was the Work at the N.E. Angle.

'The Tenaillon on the Center of the East line has been entirely raised from its foundation to the level of the Floor of its Bumbproofs; the collateral Curtains and Flanks, with their Ramps and Magazines, extending Northward to the Saliant Angle of the N.E. Bastion, and Southward to the Saliant Angle of the late St. Thome Counterguard, forming the entire East line and closing that Face of the Fort, have been laid from their Foundations. . . .

'A Gallery of Communication parallel to the Curtains and extending the length of the Cisterns, with Descents thereto under the several Ramps of the Line, is brought up to within a Foot of its intended Heigth.

'The Redoubt advanced before the Southern Flank of the East line, with its Magazine and Bumbproof, has been laid from its Foundation and Compleated. . . .

'We have laid the Foundation of the N.E. Lunette,[1] and of the Gallery and Glacis Wall before it.

'I flatter myself your Honor, &c., are convinced that no exertions have been wanting in the Prosecution of the Works during this Season, and that, considering the great Labour of removing so heavy a Part of the Old Works, and excavating for so deep and broad Foundations as were necessary for the Security of the Cisterns, the East Line has been brought to its present State with all possible Dispatch. The heavy Work is now got over, and I can venture to assure you that Six Months of the ensuing Season will entirely compleat what remains to be done.

'This is accompanied by a Plan[2] of the Fort, on which are particularly shewn the Works finished from the Departure of Colonel Ross to this time, which have been during their Progress reported to you. . . . GEO MAULE.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxviii., 18th Oct., 1779.)

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[1] On the east side of the North Ravelin.

[2] Not preserved.

Names for the new works were authorized by the Select Committee in accordance with the following proposals of the Chief Engineer :—

Major Maule to the Select Committee.

'Sir Eyre Coote having, before his Departure for Bengal, expressed a Wish to have his name given to one of the new Works of Fort St. George, I shall be happy in obtaining your Permission to bestow it on the Work at the South East Angle, which was called a Bonnet from the Nature of the Works it covered. The Saint Thomé Bastion being removed, the Work which was before called the St. Thomé Counterguard now becomes a Demi Bastion of the Fort, and the Bonnet, to which I propose giving General Coote's name, its Counterguard. I beg leave on this Occasion to express my Wish that you will permit the Work at the North East Angle to be called Rumbold's Counterguard, the South Ravelin Munro's, and the Redoubt before it Major Stevens', to whose Memory I design, with your Approbation, placing an Inscription in the Reverse of the Work. . . . GEO. MAULE.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxviii., 15th Nov., 1779.)

After surviving upwards of a century, the outworks on the south front were levelled to provide a site for a military hospital. All the outworks, excepting the ravelins, on the remaining fronts were demolished about the same time for no sufficiently obvious reason. The masonry of these structures was then proved to be of so solid a character as to justify the encomium which had been passed by Government on Paul Benfield when that civil servant, engineer, contractor, and financier sailed for England in 1778. Writing to the Directors, they said:—'Mr. Paul Benfield has resigned your Service, and proceeded to England in the Valentine. In justice to his conduct as Contractor for the Fortifications, We think it proper to mention that all the Works executed by him, as far as We can judge ourselves, or learn from the report of others, are finished in a masterly and durable manner.'[1]

On his arrival in England Benfield demanded an investigation of his conduct in regard to his loans to the Nawab. Being ultimately restored to the service, he returned to Madras, and remained there until he finally left India in 1788. He established

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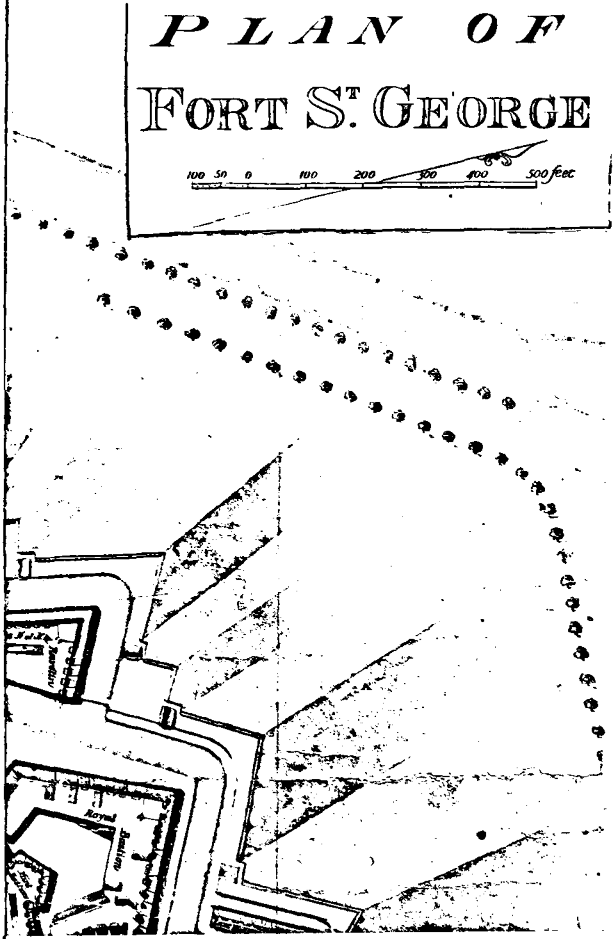
[1] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 22nd Oct., 1778.



PLAN OF FORT S^T. GEORGE

100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500 feet
Pavilion
Royal
Bastion

the London mercantile firm of Boyd, Benfield & Co., lost his fortune by speculation, and died in Paris in straitened circumstances in 1810. Obloquy, not all deserved, was cast on him by Edmund Burke in his speech of 1785 on the Carnatic revenues and the Nawab's debts. Benfield's name is commemorated in Madras by the designation of one of the Esplanade roads, and the west front of the Fort is a standing monument of the soundness of his work as a contractor.

CHAPTER XI

1778—1780

BLACK TOWN DEVELOPMENT—BUILDINGS—ARMY AFFAIRS

BLACK TOWN DEVELOPMENT.

MR. WILLIAM ROSS, Registrar of the Choultry Court, drew attention in 1778 to the gradual absorption of the Company's land in Black Town:—

Mr. William Ross to Government.

'All the Ground within the Black Town Wall originally belonged to the Company, and may now be distinguished under the following Heads, Vizt. such as the Company have either sold or given a Claim to; such as the People, from long Possession, have considered as their Inheritance; and such as Individuals daily encroach upon under various Pretences to the prejudice of the Company. One of the Frauds practiced for this purpose is as follows:—A Man gives his Name to a Piece of Ground; he makes a real or fictitious Mortgage of it to another; the Mortgagee finds means to complain to the Mayor's Court that the Mortgage Bond is not paid; the Court passes a Decree in favor of the Complainant; the Premises are sold for his Use, and a Bill of Sale is made out in his Name. If the Mortgage is fictitious, this Bill of Sale can be made over to the Mortgager, or he has an Opportunity of purchasing the Premises at the Sale, and they are assigned directly over to him. . . .

'If your Honor, &c., sees the Necessity of stopping this Practice, and will be pleased to make use of my Services, I doubt not but I shall be able to mark out Ground, belonging to the Company within the Walls of the Black Town, worth a very considerable Sum. To effect this, it will be necessary to have the Assistance of a Head Bricklayer, a Conicoply and a Peon, to be paid at the Company's Expence. I am willing that my own labor shall be rewarded according to my Success when the Plan is accomplished. WILLIAM ROSS.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxx., 19th June, 1778.)

Government deferred consideration of this matter, and a year later the Committee of Works advised[1] the sale by public auction of the Company's waste land in the town. The total area was some 664 'Lots.'[1] More than half of it was in 'Uttapollam,' the low-lying region situate between the two pettahs.[2] Most of the remainder was along the seaside by 'the Rope Godown,'[3] the 'Nabob's House,'[4] the 'Vodocaul or Water Channel,'[5] and the 'Paddy Godown.'[6] There were, besides, smaller areas at 'the Salt Pit Gate,'[7] and in 'John Pareira's Garden.' The Committee excluded from their list a piece of paddy-land in Muthialpetta, as a private claim to it had been preferred, but they believed that it was Company's property.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxi., 13th July, 1779.

For the Attapollam ground Mr. Stephen Popham had made an offer, but the Committee advised sale by public auction. The Government, however, accepted Popham's proposal, which is detailed below. The ground on the beach was to be sold, excepting a length of 300 yards, which was to be reserved to the Sea Customer for the landing of grain when high surf rendered the Sea Gate difficult of access. The Committee further proposed the grant to 'Narrain Kistnama Naik' and another of 75 Lots of land in Peddanaikpetta in compensation for a similar area which had been taken from them for the Powder Mills and the enclosure of Baker's wells.

Stephen Popham, who had been trained as a solicitor, came out in the capacity of secretary to Sir John Day, Advocate-General of Bengal.[8] Quarrelling with his patron, he established himself at Madras, where he became a notable character:—

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[1] A *Lot* measured 60 feet by 40 feet, or 2,400 square feet. It was afterwards called a *Ground*.

[2] The description in the records shows that Attapollam extended southward to China Bazar.

[3] The *Rope Godown* or *Coir Godown* was at Parry's Corner, at the northern limit of the Esplanade. It was built in 1760. (*P.C.*, vol. cxxiv., 19th July, 1780.)

[4] The *Nabob's House* is believed to have been occupied by 'Umdat-ul-Umarā, Walajah's eldest son.

[5] This channel, now obliterated, ran eastward to the sea. The name is preserved in Odacal Street, which connects Moor Street with Jehangir Street at the north end of the present General Post Office.

[6] There were two Paddy Godowns, 500 yards apart—one north and the other south of the Water Channel. The former, on the site of the present Custom House, was used for the confinement of French prisoners after Munro's capture of Pondicherry.

[7] Probably on the west side of Black Town Wall, near the site of the present Salt Cotaurs.

[8] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxi., 4th July, 1777. Popham, formerly a member of the Irish Parliament, is said to have been appointed by Whitehill to be his Private

Mr. Stephen Popham to Government.

'I shall not trouble you with a long History of the Injuries Sir John Day has wished to do me in return for a Conduct on my part friendly in the extreme, and uniformly respectful and forbearing in the midst of undeserved ill-usage. His own words are stronger than any I can make use of :—" That he will not lose Sight of me 'till he has laid my Fortunes as prostrate here as they are in England; 'till he strips me of the Rags of Character I had filched from the Humanity of the Settlement and their Ignorance of my true Complexion"; and both, he says, may be followed by a corporal Punishment.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxix., 20th March, 1778.)

In September, 1778, Popham announced that his house was situated opposite to a piece of marshy and unprofitable land which had long been a public nuisance. Having in vain tried to put a stop to its improper use, he offered to purchase the ground. In the following March he twice addressed the Committee of Works, repeating his offer, and proposing a scheme of reclamation and development :—

Mr. Stephen Popham to the Committee of Works.

'I had the honor of addressing the Committee of Works on the 7 September last with a proposal to purchase some waste Ground opposite to my House, and which Ground has continued Time out of mind an unwholesome Nuisance to the Neighbourhood.

'Understanding, however, since then that it is not your Wish, unless on a very particular Situation, to part with any Ground except to the Natives or others in return for such Ground as the Company has been obliged to take from them, I have conferred with Narrain, to whom a large Quantity of Ground is due, and he has agreed to assign his Claim for a valuable consideration.

'Under these circumstances I should hope the Committee will not object to my receiving the Ground in Question, the more so as it will else continue as it is, an unprofitable and a very disagreeable Spot.

'Should it be urged that the Ground exceeds the Quantity due to Narrain, I have only to say that, after the Canal and Road which I propose to make

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Secretary (*Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, 29th July, 1780). Popham's wife, Ann, died at Madras in 1787, and nine years afterwards Mr. John Goldingham, the Company's Astronomer, married her daughter, Louisa Maria. Mrs. Fay, who was entertained by the Pophams on her first visit to Madras in 1780, wrote :—'We are at present with Mr. and Mrs. Popham, from whom we have received every possible civility. He is a brother lawyer and a countryman of my husband, and she is a lively woman. . . . Mr. Popham is one of the most eccentric of beings I have ever met with. Poor man! He is a perpetual projector, a race whose exertions have frequently benefited society, but seldom, I believe, been productive of much advantage to themselves or their families. He is at present laying plans for building what is called the Black Town to a great extent, and confidently expects to realise an immense fortune.' (*Original Letters from India*, Fay.)

(and without which the Ground cannot be used) be cut off, the remainder will very little exceed Narrain's Claim, and that Excess will be but a very bare Recompence for the Expences which, according to the Enclosed Estimate, I must be at before I can turn the remaining Ground to any use.

'If, however, the Gentlemen of the Committee would choose to keep the Reversion of the Ground, with the Eventual Improvements, to the Company, and would therefore prefer to grant a Lease for a Term of 99 Years, as was done by Mr. Wynch in November 1774 in favor of the late Captain De Morgan, in consideration of Improvements made by him on a Spot of Ground, and by which Lease the Ground is subject to a small Quit Rent, I shall be happy to be Lessee of the Ground in Question on a moderate Quit Rent, and will bind myself to perform the particulars set forth in the Estimate, or to perform such other matters as the Committee may think it right to propose. STEPHEN POPHAM.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxi., 13th July, 1779.)

The estimate of preliminary expenses, amounting to Pags. 5,831, provided for digging a channel the full length of the ground, 1,700 feet long and 30 feet wide, building four accommodation bridges across it, raising the ground-level, and constructing cross drains. The ground is judged to have included a length of the old drainage channel which is shown in Thomas Pitt's map and the map of 1755, along the bank of which lay the highway from the site of Tom Clarke's Gate. This channel had become choked, for Popham mentions in a third letter that, during the dry season, some of the land is submerged 3 feet, the water surface being 4 feet below the roadway. 'Other parts . . . have been but just freed from the remains of the last Monsoon, and are even now [in March] more like a Black Bog than reclaimable Ground.'

The Government accepted[1] Popham's offer of purchase on his paying Pags. 3,000, provided he carried out his plan of reclamation. Popham next applied for a further strip of land extending from the southern limit of the original block to the boundary of the Esplanade. The area is not mentioned, but judging from the price paid, it must have been more than double that of the first piece :—

Mr. Stephen Popham to Government.

'Having learnt that the Committee of Works have advertised for Sale that Spot of Ground which lies to the Southward of the Waste Piece sold to me, and which extends to the Esplanade, I cannot, in Justice to myself and to the Honble Board, delay to represent to your Honor, &c., the inconveniences which must follow if the Ground be sold before such arrangements are made with me as may enable me to fulfill my Engagements to the Company.

'In the first place, Major Maule has not decided in what Line the Water

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxi., 13th July, 1779.

Course is to be made, and tho I believe he may be inclined to approve of that which I have taken the Liberty to suggest, namely on the East Side of the Ground, and so to continue it to the Lower Bridge[1] at the Foot of the Glacis, as being the most commodious for the whole Ground . . ., yet Major Maule considers it of too much consequence to be determined on in haste, and, till it is settled, I hope the Honble Board will be pleased to postpone the Sale of the Ground in Question.

'In the next place, I beg leave to observe that, unless the Spot on which the Water Course is to be continued as far as the Esplanade is to be under my inspection, I shall not be able to answer for the Water course thro' the Ground being kept clean and in thorough Repair. . . .

'To prevent all these inconveniences, I take the liberty to propose myself as the purchaser of the whole Spot on the following Terms—

'In the first place, I will pay to the Company any sum at which any European Servant of the Company may value the Ground, deducting therefrom the Expence of making a Water Course; . . . deducting also the Expence of the two Bridges, one to be where the road passes by Mr. De Souza's House, the other to be built on the edge of the Esplanade in lieu of the one now fronting Mr. Bell's House; deducting also . . . the Expence of the continuation of that Water course through the Esplanade to the Bridge in question at the Foot of the Glacis.

'On my part I will promise . . . that, in the whole course of the plan, I shall have in view that disposition of the Ground, and of the Houses to be built on it, which will appear to be the most adapted to the convenience of the Companys Civil and Military Servants, or the other Residents in Madras who have Rooms in the Fort.

'I will covenant to keep a clear, clean and wholesome Water Course for the Passage of the Monsoon without prejudice to any Inhabitant in the Black Town[2] or the Mahratta Town,[3] and that the Streets, Passages and Avenues of every sort shall be kept clean and wholesome; nor shall I ever lose sight of the Public Utility and Ornament in the Execution of the whole Business, being more ambitious of the Approbation of this Honble Board than sollicitous to promote any interested Ideas in my own Favor. STEPHEN POPHAM.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 13th Aug., 1779.)

The sale of the ground was sanctioned for Pags. 7,550, with the proviso that no upper-roomed houses should be built to overlook the Fort. Grants for both areas were made out, on payment of Pags. 10,550, in favour of Stephen Popham, Benjamin Roebuck, and James Strange,[4] but the two latter gentlemen ultimately transferred their interest to Popham.[5]

Applications relating to the Attapollam ground were also preferred by Philip Stowey, the Civil Architect, and James Stringer, the Company's Bricklayer. Stowey offered to develop the land on behalf of the Company, or to purchase it himself. Stringer, whose name is still borne by a street opening into China Bazar on the west side of Popham's ground, wrote as follows:—

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[1] The Walajah Bridge.

[2] *The Black Town*, Peddanaikpetta.

[3] *The Mahratta Town*, Muthialpetta. It was probably so called from the 'Moratta Ground,' or clearing round Old Black Town, the most important part of which bounded Muthialpetta on its south side.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 20th Aug., 1779. Strange was a Factor, Roebuck a Writer, in the Company's service.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. cxxiii., 28th April, 1780.

Petition of James Stringer.

'Sheweth That the Ground now called Uttapollam is to be sold, adjoining to which your Petitioner has some houses constructed in such a manner that, if the above Ground is built upon without leaving an Alley in the Rear of them, it will render them almost untenantable: therefore your Petitioner humbly begs the Honble Board will be pleased to give him a grant of one and a half or two Grounds,[1] for which your Petitioner will pay, with thanks, whatever may be thought reasonable.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 13th Aug., 1779.)

Stringer was informed that the land was already sold. Writing to the Secretary to Government, Major Maule gave his opinion on the limiting height of the houses to be built on Popham's ground:—

Major Maule to Mr. Stephen Sullivan.

'I am favoured with yours containing the Honble Boards Orders respecting Mr. Popham's Ground. . . . I think all the buildings thereon intended to have upper Rooms should be kept as far retired as possible from the Esplanade. The Terrasses of houses already erected in front of the Esplanade, though consisting only of a Ground Floor, are higher than could be wished, their vicinity to the Fort considered. That now inhabited by Mr. Barret[2] at the Corner of Stringers Street being about two Feet above the Level of the Cordon, and that by Mr. Bell somewhat less.

'At the distance of 45 Yards only from the Line of the Esplanade is an upper Room House belonging to Mr. Rylands,[3] and another belonging to Mr. Bodkin[4] at 55 Yards. Certainly no upper Room Buildings should be suffered to be erected nearer the Fort than these are, and I could wish that none were allowed to be nearer than 100 Yards from the present Boundary of the Esplanade, and even such Buildings as may be there carried up should be kept at a moderate heighth. GEO. MAULE.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 15th Sept., 1779.)

The records are silent as to Popham's progress in developing his land. The level was raised with earth from Hoghill, and the area was gradually built over. The main north and south street which traverses it is known as Popham's Broadway. The central canal was afterwards covered in, but the paved open channel across the Esplanade may still be seen.

The Company's land on the sea-front of Black Town, most of which the Government resolved to sell, consisted of a strip upwards of half a mile in length and about 100 yards in width. The Committee of Works reported[1] that it was occupied as follows:—

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[1] A *Ground* was a Lot of 2,400 square feet.

[2] Cottrell Barrett, victualler, who came to Madras in 1760.

[3] Edward Rylands or Rylance, a free merchant.

[4] Peter Bodkin, free merchant.

Between the Coir Godown on the Esplanade boundary and the South Paddy Godown, a distance of 330 yards, the Nawab's house and two banksalls were private property, and the remaining land, which belonged to the Company, was occupied by merchants' banksalls. This portion was to be reserved for the Sea Customer.

From the South Paddy Godown to the 'Wadacaul,' or water channel, a length of 190 yards, the ground was occupied by merchants' banksalls with huts in rear.

The portion between the water channel and the North Paddy Godown, 340 yards, was devoted to banksalls, huts, and a garden.

Beyond this Paddy Godown, for a length of 66 yards, there were more huts and banksalls.

The whole of the banksalls were held by thirty-three merchants, among whom were Messrs. Moubray, Jourdan, Ross, Carlisle, Brodie, Oakeley, Forster, Roebuck, and Pelling & De Fries. The remainder were in the hands of natives. The merchants protested against the sale of the land, on the ground that the purchaser might refuse to let it, save at prohibitive rates.

Mr. John Balfour, a Factor, and Accountant-General of the Mayor's Court, came forward with an offer of Pags. 22,750, pointing out that, after deduction for a Beach road, his offer was equivalent to Pags. 140 per Lot. Mr. John Douglas, a free merchant, offered Pags. 24,000, promising to erect tiled godowns and to let them at a reasonable rate. Mr. Benjamin Sulivan, the Government Advocate, volunteered Pags. 25,000 for the 'Piece of Ground in the Maratta Town called the Banksalls, extending from the Grain Store house to the Powder Mills.'[2] This last application came too late, for the Government had already accepted Douglas's proposition.[3] This gentleman's subsequent disposal of the area north of the water-channel at Pags. 350 per Lot called forth another remonstrance from the merchants. This time the Government listened, resumed possession, refunded the purchase money, and granted Douglas a solatium of Pags. 8,000.[4] The southern section, between the Coir Godown and the South Paddy Godown, was allotted to the Sea Customer, who received instructions 'to parcel out the Ground lying to the Northward of the North Paddy Godown (or French Prison) . . . for the present Convenience of Merchants.'[1]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 13th Aug., 1779.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 21st Sept., 1779. Sulivan seems to have given an erroneous description, for the Powder Mills were far removed from the sea.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 27th Aug., 1779.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 5th May, 1780.

The compensation ground awarded to Narrain included a small area in the Parchery. The inhabitants, ever jealous of encroachment on their individual rights, though ready enough to encroach on those of others, petitioned as follows:—

'*The humble Petition of all the Pariar Cast residing in Madras.*

'Humbly Sheweth That, from time immemorial and from the establishment of the British nation on this Coast, certain Grounds were allotted unto your Petitioners Ancestors at the great Parcherry, and upon which they built Houses according to their respective circumstances, and enjoy the same to this day, and, as menial Servants, were and are exempted and indulged from paying any quit rent.

'That, at different times and in three different Governments, commencing in Governor Du Pre's Administration, one Gongapetta Narrain sought means to dispossess your Petitioners of part of the said Ground by applying for the same in lieu of a desolate Ground which he had bought some years before for a trifling Sum, which the Honble Company was under the necessity of taking as a convenience to their Magazine near the said Bound Edge. . . .

'That, on the 4th of this month December, certain Lascars and Cooleys, said to be by Order of the Engineer in Chief, came to demolish, and accordingly did demolish, part of your Petitioners Houses, and to dispossess your Petitioners of the Ground upon which the ruins now stand, supposed to be for and on account of the said Gongapetta Narrain. . . .

'That Your Petitioners are but menial Servants to the Gentlemen and Ladies of this Settlement, such as Butlers, Butlers Mates, Cooks, Cooks Mates, Roundell Boys, Coachmen, Palanqueen Boys, Horse Keepers, Grass Cutters, Dry and wet Nurses, Water Wenches, Scavengers, Cart Drivers, Totys, Women Sweepers, and Lamp Lighters, &c., and their pay is very small and insufficient to maintain themselves and Family; and, further, your Petitioners are of the meanest Cast, and in case of troubles from any Country Powers, your Petitioners Cast will be entirely exposed to the Mercy of the Enemy if your Petitioners should be dispossessed of their Houses and the said Ground, as no other Cast will entertain them in their Houses within the bound Edge, which is not the case with the said Gongapetta Narrain. . . .

'Your Petitioners therefore most humbly implore your Honor, &c., will graciously vouchsafe to order your Petitioners the quiet and peaceable possession of the said Ground and Buildings situated not far from within the Bound Hedge,[2] and other Ground be allotted the said Gongapetta Narrain adjoining to his own House beyond the Bound Hedge. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 31st Dec., 1779.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 26th Jan., 1780.

[2] An alley near Clive Battery bore, until lately, the name of 'Boundage Lane.'

BUILDINGS.

Since the time of Mr. Du Pré the Admiralty House in Charles Street had been used as the Governor's town residence in place of the Fort House. Rumbold found, on his arrival, that the Admiralty needed restoration, and that the Garden House was too small for the accommodation of his family and suite. Major Stevens prepared an estimate of the cost of repair and enlargement, and Rumbold delivered the following Minute:—

Minute by the President.

'The very bad condition of the Government Houses, both in Town and at the Gardens, induced me to request that they might be put in proper repair, and be fitted up conveniently for my residence. The Garden house in particular is so small and exceedingly inconvenient that I wished an addition might be made of two or three rooms to it, as the great encrease to the Settlement, and the company I am, as Governor, under the necessity of entertaining, cannot be accommodated in either of the houses allotted to the Governor, and with difficulty hold his Family; but considering the Estimate given in by Major Stevens of upwards of sixteen thousand Pagodas, of which sum fourteen thousand will be requir'd for the additional rooms, I do not think myself authoriz'd to desire the expenditure of so large a Sum of the Company's Money without their permission; and however I may be distress'd for accommodation, I shall wait their directions, and shall at present only request the Board will make a proper representation in our next general letter to the Company of the necessity of some addition being made to the Houses for the accommodation of the Governor, and that they will direct the Admiralty and Gardens to be put in repair, agreable to the estimate, without the additional rooms, and also direct to order payment of such sums as may have been laid out for necessary Plate and Furniture, an account of which I shall lay before them.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxii., 11th May, 1778.)

Two years later Mr. Edward Garrow,[1] the contractor, submitted bills for work done on the 'Company's Garden house, the two Ranges of wings, and in the out Offices,' Pags. 5,701, as well as on the 'new Government House in the Fort,'[2] Pags. 23,628, including 'both Fronts, Atteck Windows, Friezes, Ornaments to Capitals of Columns, the Great Hall, the side rooms,' etc.[3]

Attention was drawn by the Vestry to the dangerously ruinous condition of the Charity School house, the property of the Company.[4] As no other building could be made available, the

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[1] Edward Garrow, a civil servant dating from 1769. Joseph Garrow, probably a brother, was ten years junior to him in the service.

[2] The Admiralty House.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxxiii., 25th March, 1780.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 3rd Dec., 1779.

Vestry offered to meet the cost of repair from the Church Fund, provided a lease of the school house, rent free, were granted them for 99 years. This offer was accepted.[1]

The Portuguese Square and part of the Fort Square were in use at this period as quarters for civil servants, including both Junior and Senior Merchants.[2] For the convenience of the troops, a bazar was established near the Sea Gate on the eastern side of the Fort Square. The picturesque range of shops erected against the face of the square is depicted in Daniell's view of about 1791, which also shows part of the Sea Gate Colonnade:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that the necessity of having a regular Buzar within the Fort for supplying the Troops with those articles which they would be obliged to go for to the Black Town, and under that plea frequently commit irregularities, has induced him to give permission for the building of thirty Boutiques, in the room of those taken away when the Sea Gate was pulled down, against the east face of the Fort Square, and on a plan formed by the Chief Engineer, which will render their appearance ornamental.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxiii., 25th March, 1780.)

The Officer's quarters at the Mount, which had been built by Colonel Horne as a speculation, were acquired by Government. They consisted of two blocks, one 290 feet and the other 120 feet in length, containing accommodation for fourteen officers, and carrying an annual rental of Pags. 1,680. Horne offered them at four years' purchase, and his own house, sometime Lord Pigot's place of confinement, for Pags. 5,000:—

Colonel Horne to the Select Committee.

'When the Corps of Artillery was first Cantoned at the Mount, the Officers were obliged to live in Tents, there being no Houses or Quarters to be got for them. The Board made each Officer an Allowance of Ten Pagodas a Month in Lieu of quarters. The Tents wearing out very fast, and in the Land Winds it being also very disagreeable to live in Tents, I made an Offer to the Board to Build quarters, and to let them to the Officers. This offer they approved and accepted of, and I built quarters for fourteen Officers with Godown, Cookrooms and Stabling, and let them to the Officers. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. lxv., 16th Dec., 1778.)

On Maule's recommendation, Government paid Pags. 6,000 for the quarters, but declined Horne's proposal regarding his house.[3]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxiii., 3rd March, 1780.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxi., 23rd June, 1779.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. lxvi., 4th Jan., 1779.

Nine more sets of officers' quarters at Poonamallee were sanctioned for the use of Lord Macleod's Regiment,[1] but the accommodation at Madras was very restricted. Many officers living in Black Town complained that rents were high, and that their house-allowance of Pags. 5 per month was inadequate. A memorial, signed by forty-seven of them, represented that 'with the strictest Oconomy Your memorialists can scarcely Live and decently support their Rank in their different Stations when doing Duty in this Garrison.'[2]

ARMY AFFAIRS.

Synchronous with the arrival of Mr. Thomas Rumbold was that of the new Commander-in-Chief of Madras, Major-General Hector Munro, and in the course of the same year Sir Eyre Coote was again appointed Commander-in-Chief in India, with succession to the late Sir John Clavering as a Member of the Supreme Council, on a salary of £10,000 a year. Accompanied by Lady Coote, a secretary, an aide-de-camp,[3] a physician and nine European servants, he embarked in the *Stafford*,[4] reached Fort St. George at the end of December, 1778, and took his seat as Second Member of the Select Committee. He proceeded later to Fort William, but no long time elapsed before he was urgently summoned to the Southern Presidency to take the field against Hyder Ali.

Hector Munro was no stranger to India. Son of Hugh Munro of Novar, he was born in 1726, and in due course joined Loudon's Highlanders. He went to India in 1761 as Major of the 89th Foot, and three years later, when in command of the troops at Patna, fought and won the decisive battle of Buxar. The succeeding years were spent in England until he was appointed to the chief command in Madras, where the capture of Pondicherry added lustre to his reputation. During Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic, however, Munro's inertia led to the annihilation of Baillie's force, and although he afterwards supported Eyre Coote at Porto Novo, and was successful in capturing Negapatam in 1781, he was removed by the Company from his command. He retired to England, and for a long period sat in Parliament for Inverness burghs. He died at Novar in 1805. He is described as a man of fine person, a firm but humane disciplinarian, and a brave soldier.[1]

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxvii., 16th Aug., 1779.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxvii., 28th May, 1779.

[3] Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Owen.

[4] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxi., 7th May, 1778.

In 1779 a King's regiment was once more despatched to Madras. The corps selected was 'the 73rd Regiment of Foot commanded by John Mackenzie, Esquire, commonly called Lord Macleod.'[2] It had been trained in the use of field-guns, and the Directors ordered that ten brass 3-pounders should be supplied to the regiment at Madras.[3] The Highlanders arrived in January, 1780, after a twelve months' voyage, in fourteen Company's ships, escorted by a squadron under Sir Edward Hughes, who relieved Admiral Vernon. There was some trouble with the detachment carried by the Company's ship *Granby*, and Captain George Mackenzie complained of the conduct of the vessel's commander. Besides a detachment of the 73rd, the ship carried a number of Company's recruits, without officers, and the relations between the two services were far from harmonious. Mackenzie said that his Highlanders were ill-treated and their officers insulted on many occasions, especially when they refused to take part in the ceremonies customary on crossing the Line. The commander of the ship replied as follows:—

Captain John Johnson to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxiii., 3rd Feb., 1780.)

'When the King's troops embarked on board the Granby at Spithead on the 25th January 1779 at the unexpected hour of 9 o Clock at Night, they were received and accommodated as well as the situation of the ship would admitt. Sails were spread for them to lay on, as it was too late to hang up their Hammocks . . ., and as no provisions had been provided, all the Seamen in the ship brought what they had and gave it to them. . . . Every man had a clear 15 Inches, which is one Inch more than what is allowed on board his Majesty's Ships, to hang up his Hammock. . . .'

Some of the 73rd became mutinous, and were deprived of their arms by the ship's company. The recruits were abused by both officers and men as 'Irish Scoundrels and Rascals.' At Madeira, where they stayed three weeks, sentries of the 73rd were posted to prevent liquor being brought on board, but they failed in their duty, and much intoxication ensued. This and other cases of indiscipline went unpunished by the military officers. Johnson drew up regulations for the troops, which Mackenzie read to his men 'in English and in Erse.' The commander continues:—

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[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxii., 23rd Dec., 1778.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxii., 20th Jan., 1779.

'Upon crossing the Line, the usual Custom of the Service is to muster the Ship's Company to see who has and who has not been to the Southward of it before, and those who have not either are ducked or pay the Customary fine. As there was no military Officer on board belonging to the Honble Company, I agreed to pay for all the Recruits. But the officers of the 73rd Regiment neither consented to pay for themselves or their Men. However, I ordered Punch to be served to all hands without exception, and gave Liberty to my own people to amuse themselves with their Neptune and Tridents as they liked, so they did not become troublesome and riotous. A serjeant of the 73rd Regiment somehow interfered in their amusements, and one of my Quarter Masters rubbed his face with some of the blacking from the top of the Binnacle, which had been oversett by the Kings Troops. This gave great offence to the Kings Officers. . . .

'After the ship had been at Table Bay about 17 or 18 days, the Highlanders, from their Gluttony, Filth and Laziness, and from their Officers neglecting to keep them on deck, were many of them seized with an Epidemic Fever. I acquainted Sir Edward Hughes of it before one of their Majors, and the next day the Surgeon of the Regiment was sent on board to enquire into the state of their disease. . . .

'A few days after this my Boatswain applied to the Chief Mate, desiring to have a place to put the Rigging in below, as we were stripping of the ship to lay her up till the squadron would be ready to sail, which we had reason to expect would be in less than two Months, and as we were laying in a wild Roadstead subject to many severe Gales of wind, I ordered that the ship should be made as snug as possible. . . .'

Instructions were given to stow some bales of regimental clothing in the hold. An officer of the 73rd objected, but the Chief Mate carried out his orders.

'Upon this, Lieut. John Lindsay called out to the Soldiers of the 73rd Regiment to Arm, and upon the Chief Mate persisting in the execution of his orders, the Lieutenant, John Lindsay, called out, Soldiers, Advance! upon which several of them came up to Mr. John Bevan, Chief Mate, with their drawn Bayonets, and one in particular (by name Barber) pointed his Bayonet to Mr. Bevan's breast. An alarm of Mutiny immediately echoed all over the ship. The Officers who were on deck and in their Cabins flew to their Arms, and went immediately down to the lower deck. When they appeared the Kings Troops retreated. . . .'

The Chief Mate reported the state of affairs to Johnson, who was ashore. The latter informed the Colonel that, unless the men were disarmed, they would be sent off the ship.

'The Colonel sent Captain M^cKenzie on board at 11 o Clock at night, with orders to repel Force by Force, an Order which, in the face of an Enemy, might do credit to a commanding Officer, But on his Majesty's Loyal subjects no Humane Man could think of. . . .'

Ultimately Sir Edward Hughes intervened, and the troops were disarmed. Thereafter trouble ceased.

The Madras Government declined to deal with the dispute, and referred the matter to England. Lord Macleod and his officers were accommodated in a house in the Fort which had been purchased from Mr. Cotsford for Pags. 15,922 'from the date of Sir Eyre Coote's arrival here, at which time it was occupied by him during his Residence at this Presidency, and has since been made use of on the Company's Account.'[1] The regiment was soon afterwards quartered at Poonamallee.[2]

One of the officers of the 73rd Highlanders, Captain Innes Munro, wrote as follows regarding the Company's native troops[3]:—

> 'The Company's officers have acquired just praise by their steady adherence to the duties of their profession, which the excellent order of their sepoys clearly confirms. It is hardly credible, though true, that few troops in Europe cut a better appearance upon the parade; and I have been told by some veterans here that, when led on by European officers, they behave in the field with astonishing conduct and intrepidity.
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> 'Their uniforms have a very military appearance, consisting of a red light-infantry jacket, a white waistcoat, and a blue turban placed in a soldier-like manner upon the head, edged round with tape of the same colour with the facings, and having a tassel at the lower corner. The sepoy has a long blue sash lightly girded round his loins, the end of which, passing between his legs, is fastened behind. He wears a pair of white drawers, tightly fitted, which only come half down his thigh, and, being coloured at the lower end with a blue dye, appear as if scolloped all round: a pair of sandals upon his feet, white cross belts, a firelock and bayonet, complete the sepoy's dress.
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> 'These black corps have attached to them a full complement of native as well as European officers. The former rise according to their merit from private sepoys; and, before the most of them arrive at the rank of *subidars* or captains (for higher they do not go), they become quite bald and grey in the service; and their hoary beards and whiskers cut a most venerable appearance at the head of a regiment. . . . The dress of the black officers is much the same as described above; with this difference only, that their coats are made of scarlet cloth, with tinsel epaulets, light drawers all the way down to their ankles, and a large crooked scimitar by their sides. All words of command are given in English; and each battalion has a good corps of drums and fifes.'

The creation by Munro in 1778[4] of the office of Quartermaster-General led to developments in connexion with communications and intelligence. Thus, Major Robert Kelly[1] proposed a military survey of Southern India :—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxiii., 3rd Feb., 1780.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxx., 5th June, 1780.

[3] *Narrative of the Military Operations against Hyder Ally Cawn, 1780-1784*, Innes Munro, 1789.

[4] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 17th Oct., 1778.

Major Robert Kelly to the Honble. Mr. Thomas Rumbold.

'In the course of above ten Years Service in this Country I could not help observing a variety of Distresses and Difficulties which Armies and Detachments had been led into either by the Ignorance or Villany of Hircarras, [and] the vast Opportunities which were lost by want of knowledge of the face of the Country even two Miles of our Camp or of the Field of Battle. . . . I therefore determined, in the Year 1770, to put together the few Observations I had already made, and to Continue Surveying every Road I should have occasion to march in future. . . .

'By the time I had Collected a Number of Observations and thrown them into some form, the Utility and importance of the Work struck me in so Forceable a light that I could not resist the impulse I felt of making it a matter of Public Concern. I consequently wrote a Letter to Mr. Du Pré, then Governor of this Presidency, enclosing him a few rough Sketches of the Roads I had Surveyed, and requested to know whether I should continue the Work under the Auspices of Government. . . .

'First I propose a General Map of the Decan and Carnatick, chiefly laid down from actual Surveys, Corrected by Astronomical Observations, and divided into Squares, or rather Parallelograms, each containing One Degree of Latitude and Longitude, amounting in all to Sixty four, Each of which will be illustrated by a particular Sketch on a large Scale. . . . And to render this Work the more useful, an Alphabetical List of all the Towns and Forts contained in the General Map will be printed in a Seperate Book, with their Latitudes and Longitudes, the Number of the Square they are contained in, and the particular Book and page in which each may be found among the Enlarged Sketches.

'To this will be added a Book of Surveys of all the great Roads on a Scale of two Inches to a Mile, or Eight times the Size of the Sketches. In this will be minutely delineated all the Topes, Tanks, Wells, Rivers, Water Courses, Morasses, Hills, Rocks, Passes, Woods, &c., &c., which it may anywise concern an Officer to know. . . .

'The whole Work to be Illustrated by a Geographical and Military View of each Province, Its natural and Artificial Strength, with the best Account that can be Obtained of the Military Force, Connections and Resources of the several Chiefs or Potentates under whose Dominion they are at present, With Plans of all their Capital and other strong Forts, and as much of their Environs as may be Sufficient to project Lines of approach on for their Reduction.

'For the Compilation of this Work I have many Materials already in my hands not yet reduced to form ; Many more are to be Collected from the Engineer's Office, And the rest I hope to obtain with your permission and Assistance in the Course of a Year. ROBERT KELLY.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxv., 22nd Dec., 1778.)

In the following year Kelly asked to be appointed Geographer to the Company on the Coast with an establishment of two Sub-

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[1] Kelly joined the army as Ensign in 1760. (*M.C.*, vol. lxviii., Dec., 1778.)

Directors, two assistant surveyors, four draughtsmen, thirty native non-commissioned officers and men, and fifty lascars and coolies, together with an adequate supply of telescopes, quadrants, sextants, theodolites, plane tables, and other surveying instruments:—

Proceedings of the Select Committee.

'The Committee are sensible of the utility of a proper Survey of the Carnatic. It is a measure which has often been proposed, but never carried into Execution by reason of the Obstacles that have arisen on the Part of the Nabob. With respect to Major Kelly's Plan (tho' it should appear on Examination to be eligible), Yet the expence of it would be such that the Committee could not think of undertaking it without the Company's Permission. It is agreed to Write on this Subject to the Honble Court of Directors by the first Dispatch, and wait their Orders in Consequence.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxvii., 16th Aug., 1779.)

In 1780 Sir Hector Munro proposed 'that a Corps of Seapoy Hircarahs or Guides be form'd, which, including the present Captain of Guides,[1] shall be composed of 1 Subedar, 2 Jemedars, 2 Drummers, 1 Puckaly and 63 Seapoys, being three from each of the Carnatic Battalions.'[2] Ten of the sepoys were to be promoted to the ranks of havildar and naigue.[3]

Lieutenant Moorhouse,[4] Commissary of Stores, brought forward a scheme for raising two native companies of Pioneers to replace the 'Momaty Men.'[5] 'The Pioneers to be cloathed in blue Jackets, and to be armed, 50 of each Company with light Pistols, and 50 with Pikes six feet long.' Moorhouse's proposal was sanctioned by the Select Committee.

The Lascar establishment was reorganized in 1779 so as to consist of 2 Commandants, 24 Syrangs, 72 Tindals, and 1,200 Lascars. The corps was divided into twenty-four companies, of which eight were stationed at Madras, eight posted to the Artillery, and the remainder distributed among the out-stations.[6]

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[1] Captain John Pringle.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxix., 18th March, 1780. *Subedar*, subadar, or native captain; *Jemedar*, jemadar, or native lieutenant; *Puckaly*, a water-carrier, from Hind. *pakhālī*, a man who supplies the troops with water from skins borne by bullocks.

[3] *Havildar*, a native sergeant; *Naigue*, a native corporal.

[4] Joseph Moorhouse married Miss Augusta Boisdaune in 1785. He was killed at the storming of Bangalore on the 7th March, 1791.

[5] *M.C.*, vol. lxxi., 28th Sept., 1780. *Momaty*, mamoty, a tool, half spade, half shovel; from Tam. *mavetti*, a digging implement resembling a carpenter's adze of great size with short handle.

[6] *M.C.*, vol. lxvii., 3rd July, 1779.

Rumbold not only resuscitated the Governor's Body Guard, as already mentioned, but formed a Garrison Band, which still exists under a different name. Like Du Pré, he appears to have employed the Town Major as his aide-de-camp:—

Proceedings of the Select Committee.

(*M.C.*, vol. lxvi., 1st March, etc., 1779.)

'The President submits to the Consideration of the Committee, and recommends, that a Band of Musick be established and kept up for the use of this Garrison, the Expences of which, he finds, will not amount to more than 67 Pagodas per month, vizt.

'To the Person appointed to teach and form the Band	15 P.
To the Master or Chief of the Band	10 „
To each of the others 6 Pagodas: in all 7	42 „
	67 „

'The Committee approving of the President's Proposal and recommendation, Resolved that a Band of Musick be formed on the above Establishment.

'*19th April* 1779. The President informs the Committee that he has frequent occasion to employ an Aid de Camp, and as Mr. Sydenham, the Town Major, has for some time served in that Capacity, he wishes that he may be appointed his Aid de Camp with the usual Pay; which is approved accordingly.'

Colonel James Capper and Captain Robert Wood, returning to India in 1779, found their appointments as Commissary-General and Town Major, respectively, in the possession of Mr. Alexander Brodie and Captain Sydenham. Wood had the Company's sanction to resume his post, but Rumbold remarked that 'the appointment to the Office of Town Major was, by the Military Instructions of 29th March 1774, expressly vested in the Governor,' and that he himself was satisfied with Sydenham. Wood produced a minute by Du Pré to show that he himself was appointed by the Governor in the first instance:—

Minute by Governor Du Pré of January, 1773.

'I have already observed that the Town Major never has been charged with the precise duties that are strictly agreeable to Town Majors in Garrison Towns in Europe. His Duty here is of a mixed and undefined nature, and, as Occasion requires, he executes in some respects the Offices of Town Major, Brigade Major, Adjutant General, Military Secretary and Aid du Camp. The Particular Duty of Parading the Guards has been generally executed by the Fort Adjutant, and, provided it be done properly, it appears to me not very essential whether it be done by the Town Major or Fort Adjutant. I well

> remember when the Office of Town Major was first introduced in this Garrison by Mr. Pigot in favor of Captain Ridge.[1] The Court of Directors ordered it to be abolished: necessity restored it, for it is impossible that the Governor himself can personally execute every Duty; and as desire in my predecessors as well as in me to prevent the increase of military Expences by multiplying Offices has been the Cause that such various Duties have been united at times in the Town Major, I must inform the Board that I am perfectly satisfied with the Conduct of Captain Wood. . . .'[2] (*M.C.*, vol. lxx., 12th June, 1780.)

General Stuart remained under suspension during the whole period of Rumbold's administration. The Government were doubtful whether a charge could be framed against him, and points of difficulty were referred backward and forward between India and England. In November, 1780, Sir Eyre Coote directed that a court-martial should be held, and Stuart was tried for 'having begun, excited, caused and joined in Mutiny in seizing and causing to be seized and arrested, and in imprisoning and causing to be imprisoned by a Military force, on the 24th of August, 1776, the Person of George, Lord Pigot, then President and Governor of Fort St. George, and Commander in Chief of the Garrison of Fort St. George.' The finding of the Court delivered by the President, Lord Macleod, was:—'After the most mature consideration of what has appeared for and against the Prisoner, Brigadier General James Stuart, the Court are of Opinion that he is not guilty of Mutiny as exhibited in the charge against him by the Honble the East India Company, and they do therefore Honorably acquit him.' Stuart was accordingly restored to his office as Second in Command, with succession to Munro as Commander-in-Chief.[3]

Horne, Eidingtoun, and Lysaght had been permitted to return to duty. The last was posted to Aska as Paymaster. There he quarrelled with Mr. Thomas Oakes, a civil servant stationed at Rambha. The latter, according to Mr. Robert Hughes of Ganjam, 'by his haughty and supercilious Carriage was at times disgusting and insufferable to all about him.' The quarrel culminated in a duel fought at Aska, but it appears that neither combatant sustained serious injury.[4]

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[1] Captain Timothy Bridge.

[2] Wood also submitted a private testimonial from Mr. Du Pré, dated Wilton Park, 9th November, 1778.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. lxxii., Dec., 1780, and *M. to Eng.*, vol. xv., 9th Jan., 1781.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 1st Oct., 1779.

CHAPTER XII

1778—1780

MEDICINE AND OTHER SCIENCES—THE EURASIAN PROBLEM —THE TOWN CONICOPLY—NAWAB WALAJAH

MEDICINE AND OTHER SCIENCES.

WE first hear of the appointment of a Surgeon Major[1] on the occasion of the expedition against Mahé. The following application made by Dr. Pasley, as Senior Surgeon at the Presidency, on behalf of Dr. Colley Lucas[2] was acceded to:—

Surgeon Pasley to the Select Committee.

'As troops are at this time embodying for an expedition to Mahé, and reflecting on the inconveniences the Surgical department, as well as the Service, sustained at the Siege of Pondichery in charges exhibited by every Surgeon there and even by Assistant Surgeons, I think it incumbent on me on this Occasion to represent to your Honor, &c., the Necessity there seems to be for an Appointment of a Surgeon Major, that a regular and a *single* Channel might be furnished thro' which all field charges should come. Mr. Lucas, from his Seniority in the List of field Surgeons, from his abilities as a field Surgeon, and from the length of his Services here, is the proper Person for this Appointment, if your Honor, &c., approve of it, with the Allowance of a Major annexed to the Appointment. GILBERT PASLEY.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxvi., 14th Jan., 1779.)

Colonel Matthew Horne obtained sick-leave to England on submitting the following medical certificate:—

Certificate by Surgeon Pasley.

'This is to certify that Lieut. Colonel Horne, from uninterrupted duty during the course of twenty years in the field and in Garrison, is become subject to Stifnesses of his Joints, Rheumatick complaints, and a Scorbutick Disposition of his Juices, all which will encrease; and as they may be effectually removed by a course of Bath Waters, he is advised to proceed to Europe for that purpose. GILBERT PASLEY.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxvi., 11th Jan., 1779.)

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[1] The functions of the Surgeon Major were analogous to those of the Surgeon General, who, in the person of Dr. Briggs, was appointed to the Army in 1760.

[2] Dr. Colley Lucas married Miss Martha Lee in 1776.

In 1780 Pasley was appointed Surgeon General at Madras.[1] The Council heartily endorsed the following proposal by the Governor:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President desires to propose, and doubts not it will meet with the unanimous concurrence of the Board, that Mr. Gilbert Pasley be appointed Surgeon General of this Settlement with a salary of one hundred and fifty Pagodas per month, in consideration of his long and eminent Services, his indefatigable attendance in his profession, and the singular benefit derived to Individuals and the Community in general from his able Assistance.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxiii., 25th March, 1780.)

Pasley's health had for some time been impaired, and he now obtained leave to recruit it by a sea voyage:—

Surgeon General Pasley to Government.

'I was called in the year 1761 from the Army to reside at the Presidency. Since that time I have not had a single Day I chose to call my own. My hands have never been otherwise than full of Business, but my Health kept uniformly good, and no employment was a trouble to me. In the month of August last, by means of Fatigue, Anxiety of Mind, and other professional Circumstances, my health became so much impaired that ever since it has been with the greatest difficulty that I have been able to attend the Duties of my Station. . . . I wish, with the Permission of the Honble Board, for the sake of Leisure and Change of Situation, to avail myself of the Cruize one of his Majesty's Ships is to make, in the Course of two or three days, to the Southward. GILBERT PASLEY.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxiv., 23rd June, 1780.)

The Surgeon General did not long survive.[2] His death is thus recorded in a Madras letter of the 28th September, 1781, to a Calcutta newspaper[3]:—

'*Death.* Gilbert Paisley, Esq., Surgeon General on the Coast, whose services at Madras had rendred him greatly respected, having been resident there upwards of 25 years. He came out Originally in the Artillery as Lieut. F.W.,[1] but soon exchanged the Sword, Spunge, worm and Ramrod for the Lancet, Gold Headed Cane and Snuff box.'

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[1] The appointment, being a personal one, was not designed 'to go in a regular succession' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 4th April, 1780).

[2] Gilbert Pasley died on the 23rd September, 1781, at the age of forty-eight, and was buried in the Island Cemetery. He was brother of Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, Bart., and of Margaret, mother of Sir John Malcolm. Gilbert Pasley married Miss Hannah Dashwood in 1778. Within a year of her husband's death the widow became the wife of Mr. Thomas Ogilvie. The Ogilvies received Malcolm at Vellore, when the latter first came to India as a cadet in 1783.

[3] *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, 20th to 27th Oct., 1781.

Prior to Pasley's death, the merit of the second surgeon, James Anderson, was acknowledged by his appointment as 'Surgeon Major of this Presidency with a salary of 100 Pagodas per Month.'[2]

In 1778 Dr. Johann Gerhardt Koenig[3] applied to the Madras Government for appointment as 'the Honble Company's Natural Historian.' He represented that he had been employed by the King of Denmark in Indian research, but had left Tranquebar through want of encouragement. He proposed to 'compile a Natural History of the Country according to Lenne's instructio Peregrinatorum.' The Council passed the following order:—'As We hope from the good Character of Mr. Konig, and the Knowledge he is said to possess in Natural History, that his Researches in that Branch of Science may be productive of general Utility, it is Agreed that he be paid an Allowance of forty (40) Pagodas a Month to enable him to prosecute them in the manner he has represented.'[4] Returning from a voyage to Malacca in 1780, Dr. Koenig reported that he had made discoveries in botany and mineralogy, especially in regard to tin ore. He proposed to communicate them to Dr. Banks, President of the Royal Society, and to his 'learned Friend and Fellow disciple, Doctor Solander.'[5] The Government then increased his stipend to Pags. 60.[6]

In the meantime the Directors had desired Fort St. George to render assistance to Dr. James Lind, surgeon of the ship *Atlas*, who was recommended by the President of the Royal Society as a skilled astronomer and naturalist, and as having been supplied with scientific instruments by the Company to enable him, during his voyage, to make 'Improvement in Science as well by Experiment as Observation.'[7]

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[1] *Lieut. F. W.*, Lieutenant Fire Worker.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxxii., 29th Nov., 1780.

[3] In the List of European Inhabitants for 1778 'Doctor Koning' is described as 'Botanist in the Nabob's service, arrived from Copenhagen in 1775, and now residing with Mr. [Andrew] Ross in the Fort.'

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxx., 17th July, 1778.

[5] Drs. Banks and Solander accompanied Captain Cook on his first voyage round the world.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. cxxiii., 25th March, 1780.

[7] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxii., 23rd Dec., 1778.

THE EURASIAN PROBLEM.

To Richard Wilson, surgeon of Trichinopoly, belongs the credit of first inviting public attention to the condition of the poor Eurasian, and devising means for his social elevation. Although Dr. Wilson drew his illustrations from his experience at Trichinopoly, his principles and arguments were equally applicable to Madras and other British Indian settlements having European garrisons:—

Surgeon Richard Wilson to Governor Rumbold and Council.

'The distressed and forlorn Condition of the numerous male Issue of European Soldiery in India hath long attracted my Attention, employed my Thoughts, and powerfully moved my Compassion. I have often reflected that surely there could be no great Difficulty in this Land of Generosity to lay down some national Scheme by which those Orphans might be converted into a Protestant Colony of usefull Subjects and industrious Members of Society. Flattered by the Encouragements of my Friends, fully confident of the vast Advantages which might occur from a judicious Plan effecting such Purposes, and well acquainted with the Candor of the Honble Board, I have ventured humbly to submit my Thoughts on this Subject to their Consideration.

'Plain and well-known Facts form the Basis of the Reasonings I shall make use of to convince the Honble Board of the great Benefits that might arise from carrying something of this nature into Execution.

'It shall be my first Endeavour to prove that this Class of People is sufficiently numerous to merit the Attention of Government, than which no better Arguments, I think, can be advanced to evince the Necessity of converting them into Servants of the Publick. I shall then attempt a just Picture of their present Mode of Education and manner of Life, their private Misery, the actual Hurt and Detriment they are at this time to Government, and the real Advantages they prove to our Enemies, which, altho' now adverted to by few, may in the end be most severely felt by the Honble Company throughout their extensive Possessions; and lastly proceed to point in general the Methods by which this vagrant Race may be formed into an active, bold and usefull Body of People, strengthening the Hands of Dominion with a Colony of Subjects attached to the British Nation by Consanguinity, Religion, Gratitude, Language and Manners.

'To proceed in calculating the number of Children, my Observations have been pretty much confined to the Garrison of Trichinopoly, where I have been stationed above two Years. Here, however, I have met with the principal Advantages, the material Assistance of my most worthy and learned Friend The Rev^{d}. Mr. Swartz, and the inspection of His Book of Christenings, the only one kept on the Coast out of the Town of Madras.

'After a very strict Enquiry, I find this Day, actually resident in this Garrison, Sixty four Boys having *European Fathers* and under the age of fourteen. . . . Every one of these Children I have seen, yet, notwithstanding my Assiduity in the Research, it is very probable in so large a City several may still remain undiscovered or have been overlooked. In the Year 1775 a Battalion of Infantry and Company of Artillery were stationed here, and the Rev^{d}. Mr. Swartz within the twelve Months baptized fifty of their Children; but the same Gentleman assures me that in a particular Month of the said Year, he knew sixteen Infants were born, and that only two of that number were brought to his Church, all the others being carried by their Mothers to a Roman Catholick Priest settled in a Village near this Place called Aour. Allow the above Garrison to be the fourth part of the whole Army,[1] and the number of Troops on the Coast during the last Ten Years nearly equal, there have been born during that time two Thousand Souls whose Parents were desirous they might be baptized Protestants. But from the recited Observation of Mr. Swartz in 1775, since confirmed by a number of undeniable Proofs, it is absolutely certain that, at the very lowest Calculation, more than four times that number have been sent to the Romish Chapel. Hence it follows we have gained in Ten Years ten thousand Subjects,[2] of whom at this Instant not a twentieth part can be found in our Territories, and that poor Remnant overwhelmed with Misery and Want. What shall we say, on reflecting that, since our Arrival in this Country, now near two Hundred Years,[3] there have been born under our Dominion so numerous a Nation; that from them, had we followed proper Methods, we might at this Day have been enabled to draw an Army equal to the large Body of Troops now in our Pay; yet, however incredible, it is a Truth that not a single Man of this immense Multitude ever rose in the Army above the Station of a Fifer, nor Man nor Woman of the whole ever contributed in the smallest degree to the carrying on of our Manufactures or the Cultivation of our Lands. But let not the Reader's Astonishment cease here: this numerous People, as I have mentioned, are lost and in a manner annihilated to Us; but, what is more, they are at this time peopling and enriching the Possessions of our Rivals owing to our unpardonable Inattention, and the more wise Policy of these our ambitious Neighbours.

'As a further Confirmation of the first part of this Observation, and as a proof of the latter, I shall subjoin the following Testimonies:—

'Upon a careful Examination, I find that of all this Class of People, Roman Catholicks and Protestants, born since we held Trichinopoly, now about twenty Years, there remains not this Day ten Males above Fourteen Years of Age within the Walls of the Town.

'Mr. Swartz during his Mission hath baptized more than One Thousand Children born to English Soldiers. The same Gentleman hath been authentically informed there are not less than seven hundred Sons of Englishmen now Inhabitants of Pondicherry. After the taking of Pondicherry in the Year 1761, thirty Thousand of this Class of People fled from thence, and took refuge within the Danish Bounds of Tranquebar, where they remained a seperate and distinct Tribe, impatiently and anxiously wishing for the restoration of the power of France. This was no sooner partially effected by the giving up of Pondicherry than that whole Mass of People to a man returned with joyful Hearts to their former Habitations. The Missionaries and every other European Gentleman then residing at Tranquebar are ready to confirm the Truth of these Particulars.

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[1] The European section of the Army is meant.

[2] No allowance seems to be made for infant mortality.

[3] Dr. Wilson is perhaps reckoning from the Company's foundation.

'Having reviewed their Numbers, let Us now examine their Mode of Education and manner of life.

'The Mother of the Infant is generally of the lowest Class of the People of India, and that in every sense of the word; . . . neither knowing nor practising the Rules of Morality and Honesty, but wholly delivered over to Vice and Infamy. So strong however is the maternal Affection whilst absolutely necessary for the preservation of the Species, that, during that period She pays sufficient Attention to her Offspring; and so healthful is the Climate that the Child commonly lives and thrives till capable of running about. Whatever may be the Cast of the Woman, nay if of none, still She wishes her Progeny may have a Name, and be of some Religion from which in future he may claim Protection or Assistance. . . .

'The Boy from his Infancy until the Age of thirteen or fourteen passes the whole of his time amongst the very Dregs of the People, from whom so deep a Tincture of Wickedness and Meanness is imbibed, and so strong an Inclination to Idleness grafted on the Mind, that the best Advice and Instruction proves of no avail. We need not wonder that a Complication of such Causes so radically injure the Constitution that their weakened Bodies never arrive at that Strength and Stature which might be expected from the Offspring of an European only one degree degenerated. At fourteen Years of age, speaking English and understanding most of the Languages of India, fully acquainted with the Manners of the People and Customs of the Country, they appear in every respect fitted for the most useful and intelligent Servants an English Gentleman can entertain; but alas! heretofore nursed in Sloth, their Morals already debased, and consequently their Frames enervated, they have ever been found totally incapable of filling the Station of a trusty and active Servant. . . . They take the first Opportunity of flying to a Foreign Settlement, where they meet with sufficient Encouragement to prevent their ever returning to the Place of their Nativity. . . .

'I shall now point out in general such Methods as may tend to remedy this great and national Evil.

'Every one must be sensible that the present confined Charities of Madras and Trichinopoly are totally inadequate to the producing either lasting or considerable Effects, and this principally owing to two Causes. First, the Scantiness of the Funds, and of consequence the small Number of Children maintained; Secondly, the want of some certain point of View held up to those unhappy Orphans which might conduct them into the Path of Publick Utility and Service. . . .

'It is proposed to gather into one Establishment as many of these Orphans as can be collected under the Age of Six Years, before which period it hardly possible their minds can be tainted with Vice or false Religion, or their Bodies softened by Idleness or Intemperance; To feed, cloath and maintain them in every respect until the Sixteenth Year; To educate them in the Protestant Religion, and to teach them Reading, Writing and a few Rules of Arithmetic during the first Eight Years. The last two Years to be employed in training them up to a Military Life and Discipline, which completed, they are to be led into the Field or Garrison for Service. . . .

'Teach them whilst Infants to love and respect Us, to speak our Language, to know no other Religion and to despise all others but the pure and untainted Tenets of the Church of England, and as far as can be to adopt our Ideas of Courage, Honor and Magnanimity. Thus happily principled and properly educated, Virtue fix'd in their Minds by Precept, their Constitutions improved by Temperance, and their Bodies robust by Exercise, they will no longer remain an obscure, vagrant and miserable Race; they will assume a Name; they will become a People bound to Us by the strong Ties of Religion and Gratitude, ever willing and able to fight the Battles of their Fathers, and defend the Possessions of the British Nation throughout Hindostan.

'It hath long been a severe and unanswerable Reproach from the Natives of this Country that Britons, above all other Nations, have neglected and despised this their Progeny, and perhaps we never appeared with more Disadvantage in the Eyes of Foreigners than when considered in this Light.

'In short it is to be hoped that three grand national Advantages may be drawn from the Establishment; The more effectual and extensive Propagation of the Protestant Religion in India, The seeds of a powerful Colony sown, and a very considerable and valuable Addition to our Army obtained independent of our present Resources. . . .

'Accompanying these are a Set of Proposals for the founding a Seminary for the Maintenance and Education of these Children, and as a necessary Illustration of the Scheme, I likewise send a Plan and Elevation of a Building intended for these Purposes, with a drawing of the Habit of one of the Orphans as mentioned in the Proposals, executed by my ingenious Friend Captain Ward[1] of this Place. . . . RICHARD WILSON.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxx., 12th June, 1778.)

Basing his estimate on the cost of the forty children maintained from the Church Fund in the Charity School, Dr. Wilson calculated that 110 more might be brought in with the aid of interest at ten per cent. from a capital sum of Pags. 44,000 to be raised by subscription. If the scheme proved successful, it might be extended to girls, who would be brought up in a separate establishment. 'Lodgings should be prepared for Officers' Children, who should have their Education, Books and Paper gratis, but should either diet themselves, or be on board at the School at some reasonable rate.'

Government ordered that the papers should lie on the Table for consideration. No further mention, however, is made of them, and Wilson's philanthropic scheme seems to have been permanently shelved.

THE TOWN CONICOPLY.

It has been related on an earlier page that the office of Town Conicoply of Madras was conferred by the Naik of Poonamallee in 1638 on one Rāgava Paṭṭan, the grant being confirmed two years later by Andrew Cogan and Francis Day. The office, like those of the Peddanaigue and the Town Broker, was hereditary and devoid of fixed salary, but the incumbent was entitled to collect a small duty on all Madras imports and exports. In Agent Gyfford's time the fees were attached on account of the indebtedness of Ottai Lingam, son of Rāgava Paṭṭan, and in 1692 the Courts decided that the fees were at the Company's disposal. On the death of Ottai Lingam in 1702 a fixed allowance was made to his son, and the balance of the income from dues was at first devoted to the Corporation, but afterwards absorbed by Government.

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[1] Francis Swain Ward, soldier and artist.

In Rumbold's time the office of Town Conicoply was occupied by Periya Aiyan, fourth in descent from Rāgava Paṭṭan. Claiming all arrears of the duties collected from 1695 down to 1778, Periya Aiyan submitted the following petition, and appended a copy of the Admiralty Court's Judgment of 1694:—

'*The Humble Petition of Pariah Eyah, Town Conicoply of Madras Patnam.*

'Humbly Sheweth That in 1640 your Petitioners Great Grand Father[1] Ragova Butten procured a Cowle from Iyapah Naig in favour of the Honble English East India Company for erecting a Fort now called Fort St. George, in recompence for which signal Service the Company were pleased to grant your Petitioners Family a Fee of 10 Cash per Pagoda on all Goods Imported and Exported by Sea or Land from this Port, which was enjoyed by the said Ragova Butten and his Son Wottalinga. But Wottalinga having been sued in Court for a Debt due from him to a Woman called Maudamah, it was decreed that the Revenues of this Office be witheld from Wottalinga untill Maudamah was satisfied for her Demand. From this Decree Wottalinga appealed to the Court of Admiralty, which was pleased to reverse it, and to order that, if Maudamah had received any part of these Revenues, she should refund the same to Wottalinga. During the time that this Cause was carrying on, the Honble Company received the Fees of this Office, and only allowed 100 Pagodas per Annum to pay the Servants of Wottalinga which performed the Duties of this Office. The Annual Amount of the Fees was regularly brought forward in the Honble Companys Books to the Town Conicoply's Credit, and has been continued to this Day in same manner. Wootalinga died in Prison whilst your Petitioners Grandfather was a Child and, from his tender Age, not qualified to execute this Office. The Relations, availing themselves of this Circumstance, laid Claims to the Money in the Company's Possession, pretending that the Estate of Wootalinga ought to be divided amongst them. During my Fathers Life time this Dispute was continued, and even after I succeeded to the Office, when, by the Decease of all, I was entirely released from these unjust Claims, and became the undisputed Heir to the Ballance due from the Honble

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[1] Apparently an error for great-great-grandfather. The cowle was granted by Aiyappa Naik in 1638, not 1640.

Company for the Fees received by them on account of this Office, which your Petitioner fully represented to Governors Du Pre and Wynch, who both promised to do him justice. The troubles which subsisted during Lord Pigots Government prevented him from renewing his representation.

'Your Petitioner most humbly requests that your Honor, &c., will be graciously pleased to refer to the Honble Companys Books for a Statement of this Account in order that some Resolution may be formed thereon for the Relief of your Petitioner, who has involved himself in great Distress by becoming answerable for the Debts of his Family, which were incurred by the small Annual Sum allowed being inadequate even to paying the Servants employed in the Execution of this Office. His deplorable Situation and the Justice of his Claim he is fully satisfied will operate with the Board to order speedily the necessary means to be taken for his Relief, and he, as in Duty bound, Will ever Pray.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxi., 29th May, 1779.)

[*Enclosure.*]

'*In the Court of Admiralty*, 29*th August*, 1694.

' *Wootalinga Plaintiffe Against Maudema Defendant.*

'Upon several hearings of this Cause it doth appear to this Court that the Defendant, in the Year 1686, March 13th, did obtain a Judgement in the Superior Court of this Place, held by the President and Council, for Pagodas seven thousand one hundred and fourteen, and that, some time after, the Defendant[1] was taken in execution for the same, and also his Office of Town Conicoply sequestered, and the Revenue thereof extended towards the Satisfaction of the Judgement; of which Sequestration there is no Entry in the Register, and is only proved to be granted by the Evidence of two Persons that was then in Court. The Judge doth now deliver his Opinion that the Office of Town Conicoply is purely ministerial, that the Revenue belonging to it is purely to the Office and not to the Officer, and therefore cannot in Law be extended or sequestered to any of his Debts; and if it so happen that such Officer be at any time imprisoned, or at any time incapacitated from the due Execution and Attendance of his Employment, and doth not appoint a Lawfull Deputy to take care of the same if he have power so to do, the Judge is of opinion that, during such incapacity, the Revenue of such Office is only payable in this place to the Rt. Honble Company, who are to take care that the Want of his Attendance be duly supplied by other. Upon the whole the Judge doth declare as his judgement and opinion that, during the time Wootalinga the Plaintiffe was in prison, the Revenue belonging to the Office of town Conicoply doth of right belong to the Hon'ble Company, and that, after his Releasement, so long as the Sequestration continues, the Deffendant ought to refund to him whatever she has received out of the Profits of the said Office, he being in a Capacity to execute the same, although prevented by a Sequestration erroneous in itself, of which there is no record that it was ever issued out by any lawfull Authority. But the Justice Assistant doubting in his opinion relating to this Cause, the Court cannot make no Authentick Judgement or Decree in it: therefore this Cause is dismissed.

'Vera Copia—Ed. Tredcroft, Register.

'Registered in my Office 6th March 1773—John Sykes, Notary Public.'

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[1] Defendant in the original case.

Permission was granted to Periya Aiyan to examine the accounts under the supervision of the Secretary. In a second petition the claimant states that, excepting for nine years, the record is complete from 1695. Adding an average rate for the hiatus, and deducting the allowances paid, the balance due amounts to Pags. 27,852-38-54.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board having taken into Consideration the above Petition, together with the Papers enclosed, Resolved that the Contents of the same be transmitted home to the Court of Directors, that the Town Conicoplys Case be stated to them for their opinion, and that it be recommended to make such Provision for him as they shall see proper. In the mean time the Board agree to allow him 10 Pagodas per Month as a present Subsistence till the pleasure of the Court of Directors be known. THOS. RUMBOLD, JOHN WHITEHILL, HECTOR MUNRO, CHARLES SMITH, SAML. JOHNSON, P. PERRING.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxi., 29th May, 1779.)

After an interval of four years the Court of Directors ordered[1] an investigation of Periya Aiyan's claims to be made, with the following result:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Repeated Applications having been made to the Board by the Town Conicoply, Periah Eyah, praying them to enter into the Consideration of the Balance which he claims to be due to him from the Company, amounting to near 27,000 Pags., and the Honble the Court of Directors having ordered that his Case shall be particularly enquired into, the Board have had the Records carefully searched to trace the Foundations of those Claims, and the following is the Result of that Investigation.

'*Memorandum relating to Town Conicoply Duty and Claims of Periah Eyah.* The 25th June 1640 Andrew Cogan and Francis Day, who sign themselves Agent and Council for the India Company at that Time, confirm a Grant of the broken places[2] of the Town of Madraspatam to Raga Button, which grant had been previously made to him by Japah Naigue. Cogan and Day by the same paper confirm Raga Button for Broker, to receive *such Duties as are due to a man so qualified.*

'In consultation the 27th July 1693 the Judge reports that he had tried the Validity of the Town Conicoply's Cowle[s] and had given Judgement that they were not void, but voidable at the Pleasure of the Company. The Cowles are ordered to be laid aside or suspended until they can be further considered. The Duties to be collected in the mean Time by the Company's Officers, and a seperate account of them kept til[l] the Government shall determine how to dispose of them.

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[1] In their Despatch of the 15th January, 1783.

[2] Probably an error for *broker's place.*

'By a Decree of the Court of Admiralty 29th August 1694, it appears that Wattalingum, the son of Raga Button, had a cause decreed against him in 1685 [*sic*] in favor of a Woman named Maudemah, and that the Fees of his Office of Town Conicoply were retained from him until Maudemah was satisfied. The Court of Admiralty, by the undermentioned Decree, reversed this Judgement, declaring the profits of the Office to be purely ministerial, annexed to the Office and not to the Officer; therefore not to be sequestered in Discharge of his personal Debts. The Judge is of Opinion the Company should collect the Duty whilst the Officer is incapacitated, as in the Case of Wattalingum being in prison.

'In August 1695 an Allowance of 80 Pagodas per month was made to Wattalingum for his immediate support until the Pleasure of the Company should be known.

'Nothing more appears on Record 'til Paria Eyah petitions the Board in 1779 for the Balance of the Collections of the Town Conicoply's Duty of 10 Cash for every Pagoda, amounting to Pags. 27,000 from the Time Wattalingum['s] Collections were stopped.

'Paria Eyah is proved to be the Heir of Raga Button upon the Attestations of the Heads of his Cast.

'The foundation of his Claim appears to be the service his Ancestor Raga Button was of to the Company in the Foundation of the Settlement of Fort St. George in 1638, and to be rated on the Cowle from the Agent and Council in 1640 to collect the Town Conicoplies Duties in consideration of those Services.

'*Remarks of the Board.* The Claim of Paria Eyah to the Rights of the Town Conicoply appears to the Board to be obsolete, nor does he by any means seem entitled to the Balance arising from the Collection of that Duty by the Company for upwards of a hundred Years back. It is therefore Agreed that his former Allowance of 10 Pagodas per month be doubled, as resolved on in Consultation the 3rd January last, and that he be informed this is the final Decision of the Board on the subject of his Representations. Ordered that Paria Eyah be furnished with a Copy of this above Resolution.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxii., 30th March, 1784.)

In reporting their action to the Directors, the Government remarked that their consent to increase the allowance to Periya Aiyan was given 'on Condition that he relinquishes all future Pretensions to the Collection of that Duty or to the Balance he has stated to be due to him from the Company.'[1] Periya Aiyan, however, refused the concession offered, and in 1788 made a last effort to enlist the sympathy of the Court of Directors.[2] He urged that, by paying him a monthly allowance and proposing to double it, Government recognize in principle the justice of his claims; and he remarked that the Town Conicoply's fee of ten cash in the pagoda is not the property of the Company at all, being collected from native merchants who pay it voluntarily among other dues, 'such as for the Pagoda, the Watering Charity, and other Divine uses.' Having heard that Governor Rumbold sent home copies of only two of the ancient documents on which he relies, he now forwards a complete set.[1] Among them is a certificate from the principal Moodellys, Naiks, and Chettys of Madras, dated 1st March, 1784, regarding his descent from Rāgava Pattan. From this and other papers the following pedigree has been framed:—

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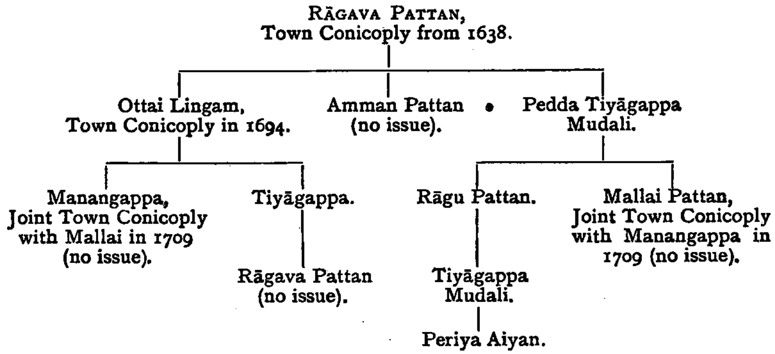
[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 5th June, 1784.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cl., 23rd July, 1788, extracts from which are quoted in an earlier chapter.


Rāgava Pattan,
Town Conicoply from 1638.
Ottai Lingam,
Town Conicoply in 1694.
Amman Pattan
(no issue).
Pedda Tiyāgappa
Mudali.
Manangappa,
Joint Town Conicoply
with Mallai in 1709
(no issue).
Tiyāgappa.
Rāgava Pattan
(no issue).
Rāgu Pattan.
Tiyāgappa
Mudali.
Periya Aiyan.
Mallai Pattan,
Joint Town Conicoply
with Manangappa in
1709 (no issue).

Fort St. George to the Company.

'In your Address to us of the 12th April 1786 you approve of the decision of this Government on the Claims of Periah Eyah; but having desired to be informed whether he has accepted of the proffered allowance on condition of his relinquishing all future pretensions, we beg leave to acquaint you that he has declined receiving the additional monthly pay which was determined upon in Consultation the 30th March 1784. The Claims Appear to us, as they did to the late Government, to be obsolete, and that Pariah Eyah is not entitled to the payment of the balance which he applies for. No duty has been performed by the Claimant or his Ancestors as Town Conicoply for about a Century past; but if, from any Services rendered by Raggava Button when employed to Obtain the Ground on which Fort St. George was erected, he should be thought to have a further claim on your bounty, we can only take upon ourselves to suggest to your consideration the granting of a small addition to the monthly allowance already offered him.

'Since writing the foregoing, Pariah Eyah has sent to us a representation, with Another addressed to your Honors, and several documents in support of his Claim, which are forwarded herewith.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 4th Aug., 1788.)

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[1] The most important of these papers have been already transcribed.

At the end of 1790 Periya Aiyan decided to accept the monthly allowance which had been offered him by Lord Macartney's Government on the 30th March, 1784, and asked that it might be paid from that date.[1] This chapter of ancient history is thus closed, but the office of Town Conicoply terminated only with the century.

NAWAB WALAJAH.

The resources of the Nawab were at this period severely strained. Not only had he to pay seven lakhs of pagodas annually towards the maintenance of the Company's troops, and upwards of three and a half lakhs as rent for the Jaghire[2] and Poonamallee, but he was overwhelmed with private debt. Rumbold, on his arrival, was aghast at its volume:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'In your Commands by the Besborough . . . You have been pleased to interest Yourselves warmly in behalf of the Nabob's private Creditors, whose Interest Bonds were, by Your Orders of 1766, reduced to 10 per Cent. We have written to the Nabob pressingly on this Subject, and transmitted him a Letter which We received from the said Creditors resident here. The Nabob did in December make a Dividend of 18 per Cent, and We hope he may be induced by our Representations to discharge a further part of this Debt; but as you have been before advised, the Nabob, since the Liquidation of that concern, has contracted fresh debts to a very large amount, which are likely for some Years to be a further burthen upon the Revenues and Resources of the Carnatic. . . .

'How so large a debt can have been contracted in so short a Period will be the object of future consideration. In the mean time We have thought it our Duty, upon a Motion made by the President, to resolve That the Debt lately consolidated by his Highness the Nabob is not in any respect whatever under the Auspices or Protection of this Government. . . .' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 14th March, 1778.)

The private debts were grouped under three heads:—the consolidated debt of 1767, for which John Pybus, John Call, and James Bourchier were trustees, stood originally at 22 lakhs of pagodas, but it had in part been paid off; the cavalry loan of 1769 consisted of 4 lakhs advanced by James Taylor,[3] Andrew Majendie,[4] and James Call[1] for the satisfaction of arrears of pay of the Nawab's troops; and the consolidated debt of 1777, which Rumbold placed at 63 lakhs, though it was afterwards stated to be only 35 lakhs of pagodas.[2]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clxvi., 30th Nov., 1790.

[2] The Jaghire was nearly conterminous with the present Chingleput district.

[3] James Taylor, a civil servant of 1764, married Ann Phillips in 1769. From 1774 to 1776 he held the offices of Paymaster of Sepoys and Registrar of the Mayor's Court.

[4] Andrew Majendie, who joined the service in 1766, was ten years later Agent for Victualling the Troops and Clerk of the Treasury.

Edmund Burke, in his speech of the 28th February, 1785, surmised that the debt of 1777 was piled up in the following manner:—The Nawab, ever in arrear with his dues to the Company, is pressed for payment. He applies for money to a financier like Benfield. Notes of hand are given him, which are accepted at the Treasury. The Nawab grants the lender a *tanka* or assignment of the revenue of a specified district, and until the revenue comes in, pays two to three per cent. *per month* for the accommodation. By the connivance of the Governor as Cashkeeper, the lender's notes are not presented until the revenue payment is made. By this plan the lender receives usurious interest on a capital sum which he never disbursed. It may be asked why the Nawab did not avoid the grant of interest by deferring his payments to the Company until his revenue was realized. The answer is that a large indebtedness favoured his ambitious schemes, since it prompted the Company to aid him in the conquest of fresh territory, like Tanjore, providing additional revenue. He was prepared, however, to embark on warlike schemes on his own account:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'You will acquaint the Nabob that we are extremely concerned on finding that His Highness applied to the Danes for Arms and Military Stores to supply the Fort of Tanjore, and for his increased Military Establishment, and more especially so as he thought proper to conceal this circumstance from the knowledge of our Governor and Council. The affection we bear to His Highness and family, and our attachment to his Interest will ever engage us to furnish the means of protection to his Country. We therefore repeat our declaration that we cannot but regret exceedingly his having applied to any persons whatever for implements of War without consulting his best Friends and Allies, the English East India Company. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxii., 23rd Dec., 1778.)

The Nawab appears to have aimed at the conquest of Mysore, and to have even contemplated sovereignty over the whole of India!

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[1] James Call, a civil servant of 1765, was in 1776 Deputy Superintendent of the Nawab's Accounts and Agent for providing Sepoy Slops.

[2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 13th March, 1779.

In 1779 a collision occurred between the Sheriff and the Nawab's guards. An action was brought in the Mayor's Court against Amīr-ul-Umarā for debt. The defendant not appearing, his house was sold to Captain Nathaniel Bacon, but the Sheriff, on attempting to take possession, was obstructed and assaulted[1]:—

Minutes of the Mayor's Court, 21st Sept., 1779.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 1st Oct., 1779.)

'Present. George Proctor, Esq^{r}., Mayor; John Turing, James Call, E. J. Holland, B. Roebuck, Edward Garrow, Edward Saunders, William Webb, Aldermen.[2]

'John Allison *vers.* Ommeer Ul Omrah Bahadur.

'The Court observe with extreme astonishment and concern the narrative and Proofs of the most flagrant Acts of violence committed upon the person of the Sheriff and his Officers in the Execution of their public Duty, whereby the authority of the King's Court has been grossly insulted, and the Law of the Land opposed. Resolved therefore that the Sheriff be directed to proceed immediately in the Execution of his Duty, and that the Register be directed to wait on the Governor and Council with a Copy of this Resolution and Copies of the Informations and Sheriff's Letter to the Register delivered into Court this Day. . . .

'James Taylor,
'Register.

'*The Information of Thomas Ives, Sheriff's Officer.*

'On Monday the thirteenth day of September . . . William Jackson, Esq^{r}., Sheriff of the town of Madraspatnam, went, accompanied by his Deputy, John Fairney, his Bailiffs, Thomas Clifford and Thomas Ives, a Dubash belonging to Captain Nathaniel Bacon, and the Sheriff's Dubash as his Interpreter, to give lawful possession of a House in Trivitation Pettah, commonly called the Ommeer's, to Captain Nathaniel Bacon, who had purchased the same at public Sale.

'About 10 minutes past 12 o'Clock of the forenoon of the same Day, the Sheriff, with the aforementioned Persons, arrived at the Gate of the Ommeer's House, when, getting out of the Palanquin with his Sword on and his Wand in his hand, he found himself surrounded by a number of Sepoy Officers and Sepoys. The Sheriff asked who they were, and in whose Service. They replied that they were in the Nabobs Service. He then told them that he wanted to go into the house, when they assembled in his way, and the Black Officer put his hands to the Sheriffs breast and told the Sheriff that he should not enter into the house, for they had Orders not to let him in. The Sheriff then demanded Entrance several times in the King's name, when the Subidar who said he belonged to the Nabob replied that he must have the King's Order first, or he, the Sheriff, should not go in unless he, the Sheriff, killed him. . . .

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxviii., 18th Sept., 1779.

[2] All these were civil servants, as were the Registrar and Sheriff.

'*The Narrative of William Jackson, Sheriff.*

'Finding I could not enter into the aforesaid house, I called upon the Posse Comitatus to assist me in the Execution of my Duty, and ordered my Interpreter to explain this to the people standing near us, but did not receive the least Assistance. At this instant I saw a man come out of the aforesaid house who by his Uniform had the Appearance of a Havildar of Sepoys: he whispered the aforesaid Subidar, and instantly I, my Deputy and Officers, Interpreter and Palanquin Boys, were immediately attacked by the Subidar and about Forty Sepoys. Finding it would be in vain for me and my people to oppose so large a Body of Soldiers, some being armed with Swords and others with Musquets I ran away, and was pursued by the said Subidar and several Sepoys for some hundred Yards, in the course of which pursuit I lost my Wand; but being at last quite exhausted with running so far in the heat of the Sun, I threw myself into a Bötique or Shop, and repeatedly called out for the Assistance of a Posse Comitatus, but in vain. In about a minute afterwards the aforesaid Subidar and two or three Sepoys seized me and began beating me in a violent manner as I lay in the Shop. At last they dragged me out and repeated their Blows, insomuch that I was put in fear of my Life. A little time afterwards a Sepoy pulled away my Sword and Stole my Hat, and he, with the Assistance of another Sepoy and the said Subidar, dragged me by main force towards the aforesaid House; and when they had brought me near the House, I saw a man who had the appearance of a Dubash come out from the aforesaid house in a violent hurry, and saying something which I did not understand to the Subidar and Seapoys who were dragging me along, they immediately let me go and told me repeatedly to *Jow*,[1] throwing my Hat and Sword on the Ground, which I took up, called for my Palanquin and returned to the Fort. . . . W. JACKSON, Sheriff.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 1st Oct., 1779.)

Shortly afterwards the Nawab requested exemption from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court:—

'*From the Nabob to the Governor, 9th Oct.*, 1779.

'Some of my Family having lately experienced some trouble from the Orders of the Mayor's Court, which gave me much uneasiness, as I have already acquainted you, I should be deficient to myself and to the high Station in which the Almighty has been pleased to place me if I did not complain of it as an infringement of the rights of an independent Prince in strict alliance with their own Sovereign, who has quitted his Capital for many Years with a view of strengthening and establishing his Friendship and connection with the English Nation by residing amongst them.

'As the rights and Privileges of an independent Prince residing within the Territory of another Power with his Consent and Approbation cannot be unknown to you, I shall forbear to mention them, but I trust you will give your Court of Justice the necessary information on this Subject. . . . What can I say more?' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxii., 26th Oct., 1779.)

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[1] *Jow*, *jão*—*i.e.*, 'Be off!'

Appended was a list of the family and servants of the Nawab, including:—

> ' Nusseer ud Dowlah Bahaudur, the Nabobs Brother
> Omdat ul Omrah Bahaudur, the Nabobs Son
> Ameer Ul Omrah Bahaudur do.
> Seif Ul Mulk Bahaudur do.
> Idessam ul Mulk Bahaudur do.
> Nusseer ul Mulk Bahaudur do.'

Then followed the names of 107 'Cawns,' 42 Hindu officials, 3 Commandants of Sepoys, and 17 Subadars. Government forwarded the letter to the Mayor's Court, but the records are silent as to any subsequent action.

CHAPTER XIII

1780—1781

PROVISIONAL GOVERNORS — SADLEIR'S INDICTMENT — BRITISH REVERSE—SIR HECTOR MUNRO'S ACCOUNT

PROVISIONAL GOVERNORS.

PENDING the nomination of a successor to Sir Thomas Rumbold, Mr. John Whitehill, as senior Member of Council, became for the second time provisional Governor. The first matter to engage his attention was a dispute between two sects of Brahmans regarding the service of the Triplicane Temple:—

'*The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Madras, Triplicane and St. Thomé.*

'Your Petitioners most humbly beg to represent unto your Honor, &c., that since the Pagoda of Triplicane was built there was but one form of prayer, called Streeshylasha Dyapautrum,[1] used in the said Pagoda by Tingalah and Vadagalah Braminees, but the latter, Vadagalah Braminees, composed a new form of prayer, called Ramanjaloo Dyapautrum,[2] designed to introduce in the said Pagoda; but their efforts proved abortive. While Admiral Boscowen was in this place, a dispute having arisen between Tingalah and Vadagalah Bramanies, w[h]en they complained the same to Admiral Boscowen, who enquired into the affair, made peace between the two Parties, and caused them to read the old prayer as usual. . . .

'Lord Pigot . . . caused the Vadagalah Braminies to read their new invented prayer in the said Pagoda by sending the Town Major with a party of Sepoys, also the Company's and Polligar Peons to assist and proceed forcibly in reading the said new prayer. Accordingly the Town Major and the party of Sepoys, &c., went and executed their orders in a most violent manner for about 10 days. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxiii., 25th March, 1780.)

The Government decided somewhat hastily in favour of the petitioners, who were evidently of the Tenkalai sect. The result was a counter-petition from the Vaḍakalai Brahmans, asking for determination as to which form of prayer had been longest in use. Mr. Sadleir, a lately appointed member of the Council, expressed his views as follows:—

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[1] *Streeshylasha Dyapautrum*, Srī Sailesa Dayā Pātram.

[2] *Ramanjaloo Dyapautrum*, Rāmānuja Dayā Pātram.

Minute by Mr. Anthony Sadleir.

'It is said, about 50 or 60 years before Mr. Saunders came to the Government, similar disputes then existed, which rose to such height the Braminys were some times obliged to suspend their Ceremonys. This was the case during the Government of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Benyon and Mr. Morse. When Madras was restored, Admiral Biscawen's Dubash took part with the Tangala Braminys and supported them against their Competitors, who complained to Mr. Saunders of the Outrage offered to them. Mr. Saunders, I am informed, made a long and strict enquiry into the nature of the dispute, and finding there were two Principal Pagodas at Triplicane, ordered that each Sect should have a different place of Worship, To Wit, The Pagoda whose Gate fronted to the East should be used by the Tangala Braminys, and the one whose gate fronted to the West to be used by the Wadagala Braminys.

'To accommodate the present differences and to establish that order and peace so much to be wished in the religious worship of the Natives, I am clearly of Opinion that the judgement of the Board of date 2nd September 1754 and 23rd May 1766 do stand confirmed, or that neither of the Prayers named Streesyla Diapatrom or Ramanja Diapatrom be allowed to be said in future.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxiii., 19th May, 1780.)

The Government then resolved to suspend the use of the 'Streelysapaty Dapatrum' until they could ascertain which was the original form of prayer.

The investigation was delayed, however, by an event of transcending importance. This was the sudden irruption of Hyder Ali into the Carnatic. With fire and sword he devastated the country for fifty miles round Madras and fifteen about Vellore. Though his attitude had long been a threatening one, the actual invasion found the Government wholly unprepared. The Company's troops were scattered over the Presidency, and there was no compact force to oppose the enemy. Whitehill, who had, prior to Rumbold's arrival, displayed resource and discretion in a difficult situation, now seemed paralysed. At length, after Hyder's cavalry had raided the suburbs of Madras, Sir Hector Munro took the field. A force under Colonel Baillie, which was marching from Guntoor to join Munro at Conjeveram, was intercepted by Hyder when on the point of junction, and was annihilated. Munro was compelled to retreat to Madras. An urgent appeal for help was made to Calcutta; Sir Eyre Coote was promptly sent down, and Whitehill was suspended:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Your ship the Duke of Kingston with Lieut. General Sir Eyre Coote, K.B., Commander in Chief in India, on board, arrived here from Bengal on the 5th Instant. By her We received a Letter from the Honble the Governor General, &c. Council, suspending John Whitehill, Esq^{r}. from his station of President and Governor of Fort St. George. . . .

'At a Consultation held in consequence on the 7th Instant Mr. Whitehill delivered in a Minute disavowing the Authority of the Governor General and Council in this Instance, and protesting against the Measure being put in Effect.

'This Matter was agitated in Council all that Day and the next, when the Result of our Deliberations was to confirm the Act of Suspension passed on John Whitehill, Esq^{r}., by the Honble the Governor General and Council in Conformity to their Regulations; and accordingly Charles Smith, Esq^{r}., your next Senior Servant on this Establishment, took Charge of the Station of President and Governor of this Settlement from that time. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 26th Nov., 1780.)

Whitehill sailed for England in due course. The latest intelligence we have of him is contained in the following extract from a Calcutta newspaper, the *India Gazette* of the 13th July, 1782:—'*Europe Intelligence viâ Bussorah.* Mr. Whitehill has been obliged to fly to France in order, it is said, to save his life; there appearing strong proofs of his being the owner of the Elizabeth, the ship that took the Osterley, Indiaman.'

Mr. Charles Smith was a civil servant of twenty-seven years standing, who, prior to Rumbold's arrival, had spent a considerable period as Chief at Ganjam.[1] His brief term of office as provisional Governor was devoted to military preparations and protection against impending famine. Whitehill had raised for the defence of Madras a force consisting of Fort Militia, Black Town European Militia, and Portuguese Militia.[2] Governor Smith added a Marine corps. To cope with the prevailing scarcity he imported food-stuffs from Bengal and suspended the collection of import duty on grain.

[1] Mr. Charles Smith married first Miss Elizabeth Carvalho in 1762, and secondly, in 1772, Miss Frances Law.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxxi., 2nd Oct., 1780, and *P.C.*, vol. cxxv., 31st March, 1781. The first and last were commanded by Charles Smith and Simon da Fonseca respectively. The Black Town European Militia was placed under George Taswell. (*Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, 21st to 28th Oct., 1780.)

It was not until the middle of January, 1781, that Eyre Coote was able to open a campaign. Taking Carangooly, he marched to the help of Captain Flint, who was brilliantly defending Wandewash, and relieved the place on the anniversary of his own victory there twenty-one years before. A French fleet having appeared on the coast, Coote moved to Cuddalore, where, owing to want of transport and supplies, he was compelled to remain inactive until the middle of June.

On the 22nd of that month Lord Macartney landed at Madras and took charge of the Government from Mr. Smith.

SADLEIR'S INDICTMENT.

Anthony Sadleir had entered the civil service in 1760. He was a man of decided views and vigorous action, and his relations with his colleagues were not invariably harmonious. When Resident of Ingeram in 1776 he was suspended for alleged irregularities. One of the charges preferred against him was of severity and cruelty towards the weavers. George Mackay remarked during the investigation that 'Mr. Sadleir is pleased to treat in a ludicrous manner the Case of the Head Weaver, who languished a long time of a Kick he received of him in the Belly and not in the Breach.' After some discussion the Government restored Sadleir to duty.[1] On Rumbold's departure, he became a member of the Fort St. George Council. Hyder entered the Carnatic on the 21st July, and within eight days Sadleir delivered the following Minute, charging the Select Committee with inaction and urging the adoption of adequate measures of resistance:—

Mr. Anthony Sadleir's Minute.

'Our Affairs have long been approaching to that unhappy State at which they are now arrived. Private Mismanagement and not public Calamity has brought us to the Brink of Destruction. We are now in Danger of loosing all our Possessions which have been conquered by the Company at such an Expense of Blood and Treasure. But this is no time for Retrospection : it is our Duty now to take a view of the impending Danger and the Rescources which are still left us, and to make the most of the means in our hands to avert our Ruin before the Opportunity is lost and even Exertion becomes fruitless.

'Hyder Ally has long treated our Government with neglect and Insult, and a Government which bears Insult unavenged will naturally be supposed to bear Injustice without Resistance; and Hyder is too good a Politician not to draw this Conclusion and avail himself of our Weakness.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxvii., 27th Jan., 1777.

'For some Months past he has been assembling a large Army upon our Frontier, while his Vakeel was allowed to remain at Madras and give him daily intelligence of the Effect his Motions had upon the Government. Still We remained inactive: We neither had Resolution to question him about the Cause of his intentions or to provide against the Danger.

'Instead of demanding a Categorical Answer from Hyder which would have determined the Line of our Conduct; instead of assembling such Part of our Army as was capable of making some head against his Force, and putting our Garrison in a State of Defence and providing the means by which an Army might be supported, our unhappy Inactivity prevailed over every Duty which We owed to our own Character, to our Employers, or to the miserable Inhabitants of a Country now suffering from Fire and Sword, which depend upon us for Protection. We allowed the Enemy quietly to assemble their Troops upon our Frontier; We allowed our own Troops to remain scattered in different parts of the Carnatic without Stores or Guns, by the Assistance of which they might either defend themselves or act offensively; We took no pains to replenish an empty Treasury with Money, which is the Sinew of War. Destitute of means, but more so of the Abilities to exert them, We stood the stupid Spectators of our own Ruin. We would hardly believe it when it was come; and now our Inactivity and Want of Exertion is equal to our Temerity, our Blindness, and want of timely Precaution.

'Hyder Ally has poured in his Cavalry, and has alarmed the whole Country, He himself has followed with his choice Troops, and is now in force in the Body of the Carnatic. Our Troops, scattered in small Detachments without Guns or Stores, may be unable to form a Junction, and possibly may be cut off one after another without the least Resistance. Our principal Garrisons neglected, without Ammunition, Stores or Provisions to enable them to bear a Siege, may become an easy Sacrifice. A number of small Forts in the Carnatick, such as Wandewash, Carangooly, Arnee, and many others, the Possession of which have cost us so much Blood and Treasure, are either left defenceless or are garrisoned by a few Companys of Nabobs Sepoys, who have not been paid for 18 Months, and who, starving, may thro Hunger or Revenge be glad to change their Master. The Fort of Arcot, the Capital of the Province, is before this time perhaps in the Possession of Hyder Ally, and all the Stores and Arms which have been hoarded there will fall a Sacrifice to our Enemys and strengthen their hands against us. The Fort of Vellore, so far from being able to send any Relief to Arcot, cannot spare a man from its own Defence while the Villages are burning around it. The last intelligence of Hyder informs us he was upon the Plains between Arcot and Pondicherry. The Defences of this latter place being destroyed, it is now as open as a fishing Town, with three Battalions of Sepoys in it who have but two Guns to defend them and but a few Invalid Artillery Men to work these Guns, tho they may have occasion not only to combat with Hyder's Troops from without, but from the disaffected French, our natural Enemys, within the Place, who have been fed at our Expence when we hardly had Money enough for our own occasions. These three Battalions are now in the most eminent Danger, and may be cutt off by a part of Hyder's Army while the rest of it, without Opposition, may possess itself of Arcot. The whole of the Country extending from the River Coleroon to the South to the Country of Nellore to the Northward, excepting the Garrisons of Trichinopoly, Vellore, and perhaps Ambore, may be in the Possession of Hyder in a month; and these Garrisons, being cut off from Provision and a Communication with the Presidency, with the Country in Hyder's hands, may be starved into a Capitulation.

'The Enemy have even got Possession of Porto Novo, a Sea Port which opens to them a Communication to the Islands: they have plundered Conjeveram, a Place within 50 Miles of the Presidency. The News of this last Event arrived on the 23rd, and, till it arrived, not one of those who assumed to themselves the entire Management of the Company's Affairs would believe that there either was an Enemy in the Country or that it was likely to be invaded. This is only the 28th, and within the short space of 8 days we see the Country overrun, and left, it would seem, a devoted Sacrifice to a powerful and barbarous Enemy.

'But deplorable as this Prospect may appear, the worst is yet to come. The Capital is in danger, and no effectual means have yet been taken to provide for its Safety, or for the Safety of thousands who have fled to it for Protection.

'Let us take a View of things as they stood at the Moment this Alarm was given at Conjeveram, and the Measures which have since been pursued.

'We had at Madras a Regiment of Europeans and two Battallions of Sepoys. The King's Regiment was at Pondamallee, and the Artillery at the Mount. Three Battallions of Sepoys were stationed at Pondicherry, and the Battallions under the Command of Colonel Baillie to the Northward. The rest of the Troops were disersed in the different Garrisons. With regard to the Nabob's Troops, they are all many months in Arrears: his Infantry, through want of Pay and want of Discipline, could add no Strength to our Army: Part of six Regiments of Cavalry formed by him a few Years ago have deserted to Hyder because they were not paid, and the three Regiments now remaining, which includes all the Cavalry in the Carnatic, from the same Cause are ready to follow the same Course.

'Our Treasury was empty; the Nabob declared he had no money; the Rajah of Tanjore made the same Declaration. The Masulipatam Districts of the Northward Circars are so far from being able to furnish Supplys that the Arrears of Tribute now amount to 17 Lacks of Pagodas. . . .

'Notwithstanding this bad State of our Revenues, Money might be raised, and enough of it too, had Government acted with Spirit or Resolution; but I am sorry to say that both were wanting when both were most required. . . .

'It was our Duty to have been in the Field on the first Alarm, and to have been ready to attack instead of waiting to be attacked; but instead of that, when the Danger had approached within 50 Miles of us, we were lost in Confusion, and found ourselves without Rescource. The Horse that plundered Conjeveram might, under an active and vigilant Officer, have penetrated into the Black Town of Madras, and set it on fire about our Ears. Every one saw how much their Lives and their Property were in danger. Such as had Habitations in the Fort crouded into them for Safety: such as could not come into the Fort crouded into the Black Town. The wealthy Armenians and others, not thinking themselves in safety within the Black Town Walls, have lodged their Women and Effects in the Fort Godowns. The Streets of the Black Town are filled with People who cannot get a Lodging, and many hundreds must soon meet with that Death they fly from, by the Increase of Dirt, and the Famine which their Numbers must occasion.

'The Nabobs Property, his Money and Jewels, and almost all other Property on which We can depend for our Defence is lodged within the Walls of the Black Town instead of being carried into a State of greater Safety in the Fort. The Nabob's own Person is left in Danger; he is almost deserted by those who ought to protect him, and I am told that he is sunk in a State of Despondency without Hope, and may consider himself a Victim devoted to destruction.

'Instead of taking the most vigorous means to avert the Calamity already at our Doors, to remove the Fears of the People, to inspire Confidence in our Government, and to defend our Lives, our Property and our honor, every Act tends to increase the general Idea of our Weakness.

'It would have been proper to have recalled the Regiment from Pondamallee, the Artillery from the Mount, to have reinforced them with the two Battallions of Sepoys from the Fort, and to have encamped them on Egmore Plain for the Security of the Black Town. The Squadron now lying idle in Madras Road should have been required for transporting three Battallions under the command of Colonel Braithwaite, and Pondicherry should have been evacuated. And there being no Enemy in force Northward, Colonel Baillie should have been ordered to proceed, with his Division of the Army, towards Madras with all possible Expedition; and thus an Army should have been formed which by degrees would have become formidable, and would be able not only to defend the Presidency but to march to the Relief of any Place which was besieged. The Commander in Chief should put himself at the Head of this Army on its first forming.

'Instead of this Mode of Conduct, what has been done during these 8 days that the Alarm is spread? Why, nothing that is not expressive of the utmost Distraction and Weakness. Instead of forming a Camp from which Detachments might be sent, the two Battallions here are harrassed to Death, and sent out in small Detachments which can make little or no Resistance. The Artillery has hitherto been allowed to remain at the Mount, and may be cut off at their Guns for Want of Infantry to Support them. The Kings Regiment is left at Pondamallee, a Place at the distance of 15 Miles, where it may be cut of[f] from the possibility of protecting the Black Town or joining the Artillery. A Body of Hyder's Horse may come to the Black Town by any Route they think fit: they will find nothing but these Battallions of Sepoys, in weak and scattered Bodys, ready to oppose their Progress. They may set the Black Town in Flames, and not only prevent us from being able to form an Army, but take away every Rescourse which We have got for maintaining one.

'Instead of putting this Garrison in a State of Defence, instead of assembling a Militia for its Protection, and instead of preventing any thing from being admitted which is not valuable, the Fort Gates are open untill the usual hours. Every thing is admitted: the Fort is become a thorough Fare for thousands of Straglers: the Gates are even opened in the middle of the night when an Alarm makes it convenient for a Family to leave their Garden, and, in case of any real Alarm, the Concourse of People might be so great that it would be impossible to shut them, and the Enemy might Pell Mell follow our own People in.

'Such Weakness has already been discovered that nothing is impossible, and the Idea of this Weakness will spread to the Officers and the Troops, and will strike a general Panic, which will hasten our Ruin.

'Instead of forming an Army near the Presidency, I am told that the Mad

Idea is entertained of assembling it by small Detachments from Trichinopoly, &c., upon the Plains of Arnee and Wandewash, in the midst of a Country now in the Possession of an Enemy who has an Army equal at least to our whole Force when assembled, and that, instead of defending the Black Town, which has not yet been plundered, a Detachment of Sepoys are ordered away to Conjeveram, which has already been plundered, and consequently can sustain no further Damage.

'In short, were the Measures taken intended for our Destruction and not for our Defence, they could not be more effectual. My duty to myself and to the Company, my Love for the Community, and my Station, all impell and give me a Right to speak in a Language my Feeling and my Honor dictate to me. And I hope at least, if my Sentiments are not adopted, that my Character will be exempted from the Shame and Disgrace to which our Conduct has already and will hereafter expose us to in the Eyes of the World. . . . ANTHONY SADLEIR.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxiv., 29th July, 1780.)

Minute by the President and Sir Hector Munro.

'Mr. Sadleir, at the last Consultation, having assumed to himself a Censorial Authority over the Proceedings of the Committee of which he is not a Member, and having, without the necessary Aid of Information, not only conveyed the most pointed Censure but likewise the most illiberal Reflections on the Conduct and Measures of Government, the President and Commander in Chief deem it a Duty incumbent on them to reply to such Parts of that Inflammatory Declaration as are in the least worthy of their Regard, and Summarily to draw into one Point of View a State of the real Situation of Affairs, happily not so distorted as that produced by Mr. Sadleir. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxiv., 1st Aug., 1780.)

Their statement is long and unconvincing.[1] A motion for Sadleir's suspension was then put by the President and carried, Whitehill, Munro, and Davidson[2] voting for the motion, and Smith and Johnson against it.

BRITISH REVERSE.

Sadleir's apprehensions of the vulnerability of Madras were confirmed within a fortnight, for on the 10th August, 1780, Hyder's cavalry raided the suburbs. Exactly a month later Colonel Baillie's force was cut to pieces near Conjeveram:—

Minute by Messrs. Smith and Johnson.

(*M.C.*, vol. lxx., 11th Aug., 1780.)

'As the carnage made yesterday by the Enemy's horse at St. Thomé, Triplicane, and several garden houses on Choultry Plain has greatly terrified the Inhabitants of the Black Town and Villages adjacent, Mess^{rs}. Smith and Johnson propose, for alleviating their apprehensions, to have small Redoubts thrown up in such situations as shall best serve to protect the bounds of Choultry-plain and the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages.

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[1] It was published in *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* of the 23rd to 30th Sept., 1780.

[2] Alexander Davidson had joined the Council *vice* Peter Perring gone to England.

'As Ameer ul Omrah has a number of horse Men unemployed at Triplicane, it is submitted to the consideration of the Committee whether application should not be made to him for stationing Vedettes from these at such distances as shall best serve for the purposes of Alarm-Posts. CHARLES SMITH, SAMUEL JOHNSON.'

Reply by Sir Hector Munro.

'I have not time to set down to answer Minutes, but as . . . I differ in opinion with these Gentlemen, I will now beg leave in a few words to give my reasons why I do so:—

'1st. Because it would require a number of large Redoubts, and not small Ones, to answer the purposes of these Gentlemen, and would at the same time require a number of Men to Defend them, who are not at present to be found for that Service.

'2^{d}. Throwing up such temporary works would cost some money and some labour without answering any good purpose. . . .

'I will take the liberty of telling the Gentlemen what will answer much better, And that is Imbodying a Militia of horse and foot as soon as possible, and completing the two Battalions of Sepoys now raising for the protection of the Black Town without delay, and stopping up the cross Roads.

'The Ameer sends out Videts every Night in consequence of an application from the Governor and myself several days ago, but it is impossible for him to do so throughout the Day, having but a body Guard of Cavalry. HECTOR MUNRO.'

Minute by Messrs. Smith and Johnson.

(*M.C.*, vol. lxxi., 16th and 17th Aug., 1780.)

'As such numbers of the Inhabitants have deserted the Black Town from apprehensions of Danger, some means ought to be devised for inducing them to return, and for evincing that the Government are taking every precaution to guard their lives and property.

'Mess^{rs}. Smith and Johnson therefore propose that a steady and experienced Captain be immediately appointed to the Command of the Black Town, and to discipline the Seapoys already raised, with two Subalterns. When the Battalions are completed, it is probable that it may be found necessary to appoint more Officers, that there may be one to command each Face. Captain Wood we conceive to be an Officer qualified in all respects of this Service. . . . CHARLES SMITH, SAMUEL JOHNSON.'

Reply by the President.

'As the Minute of Mess^{rs}. Smith and Johnson seems to imply that every Method has not been taken to give security to the black Town, and to inspire Confidence in the minds of the People, I shall beg Leave to shew in a few Words what has been done and what is now doing to answer these necessary Purposes.

'A sufficient Number of Guns have been mounted on the Black Town Wall. The Ditch in some parts is cleared, and in a few Days, by Means of the

People now employed, this necessary Work will be finished, and such other Measures taken as will put the Black Town in a respectable State of Defence. There are about 600 Sepoys inlisted for the use of the Black Town, and, by the Reports that have been made to me, I understand they are already considerably advanced in their Discipline, and very capable of doing the Duty which is required of them. Besides this, all the Troops belonging to the Garrison are in readiness to march to the Black Town, if necessary. It will certainly be proper to have Officers appointed to the new-raised Sepoys, but the first consideration with us is to complete all the Corps for the Field. Whatever Officers are appointed for the new Corps must go from this Garrison. One of them is now constantly in the Black Town, and I mean to send another there immediately.

'Upon the whole, Nothing has been omitted that I can think of for the Security of the Black Town. I see no reasonable Ground for the Apprehension which seems to have spread among the Inhabitants, or how it is possible for us to place them in greater Safety, unless we take them into the Fort or withdraw our Army from the Field for the Protection of the black Town. J. WHITEHILL.'

Additional guns were mounted in the Fort, which Major Maule pronounced to be in a good state of defence, the only unfinished portions being the east front and the works covering both the north-east and south-east angles.

A field force of about 4,500 men, of whom one-fourth were Europeans, was assembled at the Mount. On the 26th August it left cantonments and marched to Conjeveram, in view to relieving Arcot, which Hyder had besieged four days earlier. The troops in the Northern Circars, comprising upwards of 2,000 men under Colonel William Baillie, were timed to reach Conjeveram on the 30th, the day after Munro arrived there. Baillie was, however, detained at the Cortelliar River by a high flood. He crossed on the 3rd September, and advanced to Perambaukum, fourteen miles from Conjeveram, where he fought an indecisive action with Tippoo Sahib. Hyder, in the meantime, had moved to Conjeveram. Munro sent a detachment under Colonel Fletcher to extricate Baillie, and the latter fought his way forward a few miles until he reached Polilore, where he was hemmed in on the 10th by Hyder's army and totally destroyed.[1] The enemy ignored all signs of surrender, and the slaughter of the wounded and defenceless was appalling. The survivors, among whom were Baillie and David Baird, were carried to Seringapatam in irons, and immured in the noisome dungeons of that fortress. Munro threw his guns into a tank, and retreated to Chingleput, harassed incessantly on his flanks and rear by the enemy's cavalry. Thence he retired to Saidapett, and occupied the north bank of the Adyar, while Hyder renewed the siege of Arcot. A full account of the operations is beyond the scope of this work, but a few details are required for the proper conception of the consternation aroused in Madras by the news.[1] The first authentic intelligence arrived on the 13th September in the form of a letter in cipher from Munro at Chingleput:—

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[1] An account of the disaster, from the pen of one of the prisoners at Bangalore, is given in *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* of the 20th to 27th Oct., 1781. A curious fresco, illustrating the defeat of the British, is preserved on the walls of Tippoo's garden-house at Seringapatam. Colonel Baillie is depicted sitting in his palanquin, and biting his thumb with vexation.

From the Commander-in-Chief to the Select Committee.

(*M.C.*, vol. lxxi., 13th Sept., 1780.)

'You probably will have heard of the unfortunate defeat of Colonel Baillie's Detachment. I know not the particulars: till then must be silent on the Subject. The Troops now at this fort have been marched 2 days past from Day light till dark the first day, and the second till day light this Morning. No rice here, therefore they must beat paddy into rice. Please, on receipt of this, to send Rice to meet us at the Mount, and some in Boats to Sadrass, as I cannot determine the route I shall take till some Hircarrahs come from the Enemy's Camp or near it, who are gone to bring Intelligence of their Motions. I will march on their Arrival, or as soon after as I can get two days' Rice beat out of Paddy. . . .

'HECTOR MUNRO.'

'Chingleput, 12th Sept., 1780.'

Proceedings of the Select Committee.

'Various Reports have been brought by Hircarrahs and Seapoys relative to the defeat of Lieut. Colonel Baillie's Detachment on the 10th, but no authentic Account has yet been received concerning the Manner in which it happened. The Reports however in general agree that the Accident happened by the blowing up of three or four Tumbrils nearly at the same Time, which occasioned some Confusion in part of the Detachment, and gave the Enemy's Horse an Opportunity of cutting in among them. The Reports further add that the detachment had been joined by the Grenadiers of the Army at Conjeveram before the Misfortune happened, and that Lieut. Colonel Baillie was attacked by the whole or the greater part of Hyder's Troops.

'The Committee cannot avoid expressing the sincerest Mortification and Concern at the loss of so considerable a detachment as that commanded by Lieut. Colonel Baillie, which, after the Junction of the Grenadiers of the Army, must have consisted of between 5 and 600 Europeans and upwards of 3000 Seapoys, of whom not a single Officer, very few European Soldiers, and a few Seapoys that We as yet know of have escaped being either killed or taken Prisoners. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxi., 13th Sept., 1780.)

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[1] A vivid account of the action at Polilore and of Sir Hector Munro's retreat will be found in Captain Innes Munro's *Narrative of the Military Operations against Hyder Ally Cawn.*

SIR HECTOR MUNRO'S ACCOUNT.

Messrs. Smith and Johnson having asked for details of the brief and disastrous campaign, Munro handed in his journal of the operations, from which the following extracts are made:—

Journal of Sir Hector Munro.

'*Aug.* 31*st.* We were this day informed by two Deserters that Hyder had left Arcott, and was crossing all his army over the Palar and marching towards us. His Cavalry were in large Bodies all round us. The Rains still continued both Night and Day. I received Accounts from Lieut.-Colonel Baillie that his Detachment was stopt About 5 Miles North of Trepassore by a small River that was so deep that he could not pass it. . . .

'*Sept.* 5*th.* I received a Note from Lieut.Colonel Baillie informing me that he had crossed the River the 3rd. The rains still continue very violent.

'*Sept.* 6*th.* The Enemy moved their Camp this day to the North East. We struck our Tents, and marched to a high Ground about Two Miles on the road to Trepassore, where we encamped. The Enemy's Camp was about Two Miles to our left. They had sent forward a very large Detachment, which attacked Lieut.-Colonel Baillie at Perambaucum, who repulsed them. It rained most violently this day.

Sept. 7*th and* 8*th.* I received a Note from Lieut.-Colonel Baillie informing me that, on a Review after the Action with Hyder's Detachment, he found it was not in his Power to join me, but hoped to see me at Perambaucum. I found myself now in a very critical Situation. The only hopes of Provisions were from the Paddy I had collected in the Pagoda. The Enemy was encamped within two Miles of me. Had I marched with my whole Force, he most certainly would have possessed himself of my Ground and of Conjeveram, and thereby cut me off from all Provisions. In this case we must have been starved. I therefore, with the Concurrence of the principal Officers in the Army with me, resolved to send a Strong Detachment to Lieut.-Colonel Baillie, who was still at Perambaucum, fourteen Miles from me on the Trepassore Road, and to remain with the rest of the Troops to watch the Enemy's Motions. At Nine o'clock at night Lieut.-Colonel Fletcher marched with the Grenadier and Light Infantry Companies of the 73rd Regiment, two Companies of European Grenadiers, one Company of Seapoy Marksmen, and ten Companies of seapoys Granadiers. . . .

Sept. 10*th.* A little before Daylight we heard a heavy firing of Cannon and musquetry at a Distance. The Enemy's Army, I understood, had moved. also at day light marched by my right on towards where we heard the firing. When we had marched about four miles I ordered three Guns to be fired as Signals of our Approach; and observing the Smoke of the Guns to be to our left, moved in a direct line towards them. After marching about 1½ Mile more I repeated the signals, but had no return. We saw a great Smoke, and of a sudden all the firing ceased. We continued our march to the right towards the Trepassore Road again, expecting to meet Lieut.-Colonel Baillie, not doubting but he had repulsed the Enemy. After marching near two miles We met one of our own Seapoys wounded, Who told us that Colonel Baillie had been attacked and entirely defeated. Tho I could not depend on this Information, yet, not meeting the Detachment, and the firing having totally ceased gave me too much reason to suspect some Disaster. The Security of the Army determined me therefore to return to Conjeveram, where We arrived about 6 in the Evening. Several other wounded Seapoys came in this night, who confirmed the Defeat of the Detachment. . . . I found there was barely one Days Rice for the Troops, and I considered that, if I remained at Conjeveram, I should soon be surrounded with all Hyders Cavalry. . . . I resolved therefore to fall back to Chingleput, where I hoped to find Provisions. I ordered all the Baggage out of the Pagoda, which was not in a State of Defence, and threw the heavy Guns and Stores that could not be moved into the Great Tank.

'*Sept.* 11*th.* At three in the Morning We left Conjeveram. We marched all Day. Our Flanks and Rear were continually harrassed with not less than 6,000 of the Enemy's Horse, who wounded several Men and cut off several Carts of Baggage. We arrived at eleven at night at a River within a mile and a half of Chingleput, so deep that the Rear of the army did not pass it till nine o'Clock next morning.

'*Sept.* 12*th.* I was much disappointed on being informed by Lieut. Mackay,[1] who Commands at Chingleput, that I could not get any Provisions for the Troops, and that the Nabob's Hamildars[2] had all run away from the Country. After every Endeavour, We could only get Paddy sufficient for one Day's Rice, and some Sheep for the Europeans. . . . Necessity obliged us to make another forced March to Saint Thomas' Mount.

Sept. 13*th.* We left all our Sick and some of the Baggage at Chingleput, and began our March at Six in the Evening, and arrived at the Mount on the 14th About two Oclock in the afternoon. The Troops were quartered in the Barracks and houses, and [next day] the Army marched to Marmelong, where they are now encamped.

'I have now, Gentlemen, in plain terms informed you of every particular relative to the Army that I can recollect worthy your Observation, and give me leave to assure you that, in the short time We have been from Madras, I have had more difficulties to encounter than ever I experienced since I have been a Soldier. I imagine it will appear that the unexpected as well as uncommon Quantity of Rain that fell from the 26th August to the 6th September has been the cause of our misfortunes by swelling a Small River so as to prevent Lieut.-Colonel Baillie's Detachment from passing from the 27th August to the third September. . . . Had Lieut.-Colonel Baillie joined me the 29th of August at Conjeveram (which nothing but the Rains could prevent), I should have had it in my Power to have attacked Hyder's Camp at Ball Chitty[3] before his Whole Force had been collected. . . . I should also have had Provision sufficient to have Served the Army to Arcott, where We expect an ample Supply. But the necessity I was under of remaining at Conjeveram deprived me of these Advantages. . . . HECTOR MUNRO.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxi., 21st Sept., 1780.)

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[1] Lieutenant George Mackay. His name does not appear in Dodwell and Miles's List.

[2] *Hamildar*, *'amaldār*, a collector of revenue.

[3] *Ball Chitty*, Bāla Cheṭṭi's Choultry, near Conjeveram.

Smith and Johnson pressed for further details, and particularly for copies of Munro's orders to Baillie :—

Minute by Messrs. Smith and Johnson.

'The Disaster which has befallen Us is such as cannot be paralleled since the English had Possessions in India. We have lost a great part of our best Officers, about 600 Europeans and 4,000 Sepoys. The Remains of our Army have been obliged to retreat with the greatest Precipitation, and Hyder Ally, fearless and unopposed, now ravages the Carnatic. Surely it is encumbent on Us to be fully informed of the Extent of our Misfortune, and not to lament in silence a Loss which We fear cannot be repaired. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxi., 2nd Oct., 1780.)

Munro replied on the 6th October that he had not preserved copies of his notes to Colonel Baillie, 'except one or two *Erse* ones, which the Gentlemen are welcome to whenever they please. The having no Cypher made me write those in Erse, as they were of some Consequence.' Among the letters handed in were the following addressed to the Governor :—

Sir Hector Munro to Governor Whitehill.

'*Camp at Conjeveram, 29th August* 1780.

'Dear Sir, I wrote to you this Morning from our last Ground recommending that Rice, Arrack, Sheep and Biscuit, &c., should be laid in for the Army at Chingleput without one Moment's Delay, for, if the Palar is up, We can get at no Provisions of any kind, and it has rained without ceasing for these four Nights past and all this Morning, which is most unfortunate for Us. The Gentleman (as he is called) whom the Nabob sent with Us promised to get me some Rice here and 200 Sheep. When I came to the Ground, he told me he had no orders to attend me. As I neither want him as a Valet De Chambre, a Cook, or a Butler, or as a Guide, I desired him to return from whence he came as soon as he pleased, for that I would [not] ask him to do any one thing whatever; and as I shall most implicitly keep my Word, he is now a *Gentleman* at large, to go where or when he pleases. So much for the Nabob's Gentleman. The Time may come when he may be of opinion that all the Gentlemen of his Family ought to have attended the Army; but little said is soon mended according to the old Proverb. The Enclos'd for the Nabob from his *Gentleman*. They are firing away at Arcott as usual. I hope still to save it. I am, Dear Sir, Your's as usual, H. MUNRO.'

Sir Hector Munro to Governor Whitehill.

'*Camp, Conjeveram, 4th Sept.* 1780.

'Dear Sir, No change since my Letter of yesterday, but that many of the Seapoys refused this Day to receive Paddy, and I have no Rice to give them. For God-sake, send some Person of Consequence from the Nabob's Family, unless they mean to try Experiments by making an Army live upon Air. I have not missed one Day in writing to you since I left the Mount, and I have had but one Letter from you, and none from any [other] Person except a Note from my Friend Davidson.[1] I am, Dear Sir, Yours, &c. H. MUNRO.'

Sir Hector Munro to Governor Whitehill.

'*Chingleput, 12th Sept.* 1780.

'My dear Sir, I hope you and my other Friends will be so good as suspend your Judgements respecting our late Disappointment untill We know the real Cause. I believe all the Army will do me the Justice to say that every Method that could be thought of was tried to effect that Junction with Colonel Baillie. But alas! our Situation in this Country is such that any unexpected Change of Weather, want of proper Supplies of every sort, may in a moment overturn the best concerted Plans that human Invention is capable of forming. I am not able to write [more] now, but to wish to be kindly remembered to all our Friends. I always am, My Dear Sir, Your's, H. MUNRO.'

Munro estimated the loss sustained as follows:—

Minute by Sir Hector Munro.

'Mess^{rs}. Smith and Johnson are pleased to say 4,000 Sepoys and 600 Europeans were lost to the Service by the unfortunate Disaster which happened to Lieut. Colonel Baillie's Detachment.

'The native Sepoys of Lieut.-Colonel Baillie's Detachment were 2,606, of Lieut.-Colonel Fletcher's 706. Lieut.-Colonel Baillie's Europeans, Non Commissioned, Rank and File 207, Lieut. Colonel Fletcher's 301, making in all of Sepoys 3,312, and of Europeans 508.

'It is to be hoped that one half of these will not be ultimately lost to the Service, as, by all the Reports as yet received, there are between two and three Hundred Europeans, exclusive of Officers, Prisoners with Hyder, and about 1,000 Sepoys. Besides that, there are near that number of Sepoys come into different Forts in the Carnatic, and more are daily coming in.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxi., 9th Oct., 1780.)

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[1] Mr. Alexander Davidson, who had lately been summoned from Vizagapatam to join the Council.

CHAPTER XIV

1780—1781

RESULTS OF THE REVERSE—HOGHILL—HICKY'S BENGAL GAZETTE

RESULTS OF THE REVERSE.

ON Munro's retreat from Conjeveram, Whitehill sent an urgent appeal to Bengal for reinforcements, and embodied militia for the defence of Madras. On the advice of the Chief Engineer, who reiterated Stevens's recommendations of 1778, orders were given for the demolition of the Playhouse and other buildings on the Island, and the removal of the boatmen's village from the south beach to a site farther north.[1]

The Supreme Government responded with promptitude to the call for help, and on the 5th November Sir Eyre Coote landed at Madras with a battalion of European infantry, two companies of artillery, forty gentlemen volunteers, and fifteen lakhs of pagodas. Eight battalions of sepoys and another company of artillery, under the command of Colonel Pearce, were to follow overland. Coote took his seat as Second in Council, and produced an order, signed by Hastings, Francis, Wheler, and himself, suspending Whitehill. The principal reason assigned was Whitehill's defiance of the orders of the Governor-General in holding Guntoor. Whitehill indignantly repelled the charge, and refused to relinquish office save under compulsion. Eyre Coote delivered the following Minute:—

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxxi., 19th Sept., 1780. The Playhouse is judged to have been on the west side of the Island. It was a temporary structure erected by the boatmen under the superintendence of Mr. Taswell, the Master Attendant. (*P.C.*, vol. cxxiv., 12th Aug., 1780.)

Minute by Sir Eyre Coote.

'As the Letter from the Supreme Council, now read, contains my Sentiments at large on the subject of the Suspension of Mr. Whitehill from his Office of Governor of this Presidency . . ., it is unnecessary I should, on this occasion, enter into any further Discussion, but simply declare my firm Resolution to support an Authority which I think the Governor General and Council of Bengal, by the regulating Act of the 13th of George the third, have, in the present instance, a clear legal and unquestionable Right to exercise; and must therefore add on my part, as Commander in Chief of the Companys Forces in India, that whilst that Act of the Supreme Council at Bengal remains in Force, which it must do until reversed by an Authority even superior to themselves, I cannot nor will not act with Mr. Whitehill as President of Fort St. George, deeming him, under such Suspension, divested of all Authority, and consequently incompetent to any Acts of Government whatever.

'In delivering this Opinion I wish to be understood that I mean nothing derogatory towards Mr. Whitehill, and that whenever the Bar shall be properly removed and his Reinstatement in the Government take place, I will chearfully co-operate with him in any Measure that may promise a Remedy for, or assist to extricate, the Affairs of the Company and, I may add, the publick in general from their present Difficulties and Distresses. EYRE COOTE.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxiv., 7th Nov., 1780.)

Coote then moved that Mr. Whitehill be suspended, and that Mr. Charles Smith do succeed to the office of President and Governor. Munro proposed reference to Bengal, but the motion was ultimately carried on the 8th November, when Smith assumed charge of the Government.

Smith's Government reported as follows on the military situation:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'When our Army had retired from Conjevaram in consequence of the Defeat of Lieut. Colonel Baillie, Hyder Ally moved towards Arcot, and laid siege to the Pettah of that place, Which fell into his hands by Assault the 31st Ultimo after a Resistance of Six Weeks. The Fort Surrendered to him by Capitulation the 3rd Instant.

'The Fall of Arcot is certainly an Event of great Importance to Hyder. It is the Capital of the Nabob: there were lodged in it a very large quantity of Military Stores, which must prove highly serviceable to Hyder in prosecuting his further Views of Conquest, and it is large enough to afford Protection and accommodation for his whole Army. . . .

'The whole Country to be completely overran and laid Waste by large Bodies of Cavalry is another Circumstance exceedingly depressing to us, as it cutts off our chief supplies of provisions and Draught and Carriage Bullocks for the Use of the Army. . . .

'From the best Accounts We have obtained, Hyder Ally's Force consists of 700 Europeans, 70,000 Foot, 30,000 Horse, and 100 Pieces of Cannon. All the Force We have that could be carried into the Field, leaving but a small Garrison in Fort St. George, would not, including all Denominations, Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, exceed 5,000 effective Men. They are at present Cantoned in three grand Divisions upon Choultry Plain on Account of the Monsoon. Every possible arrangement is [being made] by us and Sir Eyre Coote to act defensively and, if practicable, offensively after the Rains, but the General thinks Our force is as yet inadequate to this last.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xv., 29th Nov., 1780.)

Writing again to the Company in January, 1781, about the disaster, Smith's Government remarked:—'The consternation Occasioned by this defeat, in which We lost the flower of Our Army, was universal. The Inhabitants of the Country and Villages fled. The wealthiest Merchants resident even at the Presidency sent away their family's; and out of the Vast Number who have Houses and property in the black Town, not above one half of them remained.'[1]

Mr. Sadleir, although under suspension, had addressed the Supreme Government regarding the conduct of the late campaign. Munro considered himself aggrieved, and challenged his accuser to fight. Sadleir had the courage to refuse:—

Mr. Sadleir to Governor Smith.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxiv., 5th Dec., 1780.)

'Actuated by the same Zeal which induced me to deliver in the Minute on which I was suspended, I entered into a Correspondence with the Governor General upon the alarming Crisis of the Company's Affairs upon this Coast. I made my Appeal publicly to his Station and to his Justice, and as it was necessary that the Company should be made acquainted with the same Facts, I addressed a Letter to the Board here, with Copies of the Letters and Papers sent to the Governor General, that they might be forwarded to the Court of Directors by the Nymph, Sloop of War, then under Dispatch. . . .

'My Letters to the Governor General and the Court of Directors remained before the Board from the 17th until the 26th October, the Day after We had official Information of the Reinforcement from Bengal under the Command of Sir Eyre Coote. Then, and not till then, I received the following Letter from Sir Hector Munro—

'"*Fort St. George 26th October* 1780.

'"Sir, Your Letters to the Court of Directors and to the Governor General of Bengal were brought to my House in the Fort Yesterday as I was going to Dinner.

'"What you say of me in said Letters is equally false and malicious.

'"I desire you to meet me to morrow Morning at half past five o Clock behind the Playhouse on the Island, prepared with Pistols to give me that Satisfaction which is incumbent on you to give and me to demand.

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[1] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xv., 9th Jan., 1781.

'"Bring a Friend with you. I will do the same.

'"I am Sir, Your most obedient Servant, HECTOR MUNRO."

'My Answer to him was as follows, which was delivered on the same Evening a few hours after the Letter was received.

'"*Fort St. George, 26th October* 1780.

'"Sir, I have received your Letter of this Date. Let me recall to your Mind that We have both filled public Stations in Government. We have never had any Difference as Individuals, and our Conduct in all Situations where We have acted together is not relative to ourselves, but to the East India Company whose Servants We are, and to the Community. . . .

'"It is your Conduct, not your Courage that you may have Occasion to defend, and believe me that our meeting in the manner you desire will not vindicate you upon that Ground.

'"Both you and I are the Servants of the Public: our Lives are not and ought not to be at our own Disposal in the present Crisis of Affairs. In your Condemnation of me you availed yourself of your Seat and Station, and obliged me to vindicate my opinion and justify my Character by public Appeal. . . . The Appeal being now before the Public, to them I shall leave our Conviction or Acquittal. Whenever that Judgement is obtained, If it shall appear that I have falsely accused or acted maliciously, I will readily, most readily, afford you the Satisfaction you require.

'"I am Sir, Your most obedient Servant, ANTHONY SADLEIR."

'Whoever will reflect upon this Letter and the Answer, together with the relative Situation of the Partys, would imagine that Sir Hector Munro, finding himself publicly and, as he thought, falsely charged, should, upon the Arrival of a Superior Officer, have demanded a Court Martial, and, having once vindicated his Honor, would entitle himself to that Satisfaction which he required, and I in such case did not refuse to give. . . .

'ANTHONY SADLEIR.

'Fort St. George, 16th Nov., 1780.'

In the following January Sadleir pressed for an inquiry into the causes of the late reverse. A lengthy criticism concludes as follows:—

Mr. Sadleir to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxv., 12th Jan., 1781.)

'The remarks contained in the above Letter have not their source in personal animosity. They are made with a view to my own Vindication, and to promote an enquiry into the causes by which the Company's Affairs upon this Coast, in the little space of one Month and twenty five Days, fell from apparent Power and opulence to an almost unparalleled state of misery and distress. . . .

'If those who held the ruling Influence in our Government at the time the reverse of our fortune happened are guilty, I am afraid they are greatly guilty. The hopes of the Company and of the Nation disappointed; the Glory of our Arms tarnished; our possessions and the possessions of our Allies either lost or in the utmost Danger; our Revenue exhausted; our public Credit extinct, or nearly so; our Capital threatened; the flower of our Army either destroy'd or dispersed; and the greatest Family Distresses combined with publick Calamity:—if this Mass of evil is of too little consequence in the eyes of Government to occasion an enquiry, it is difficult to say what will appear to them of sufficient Importance. . . .

'ANTHONY SADLEIR.

'Fort St. George, 1st Jan., 1781.'

Sadleir seized the occasion to prefer charges against Whitehill of peculation, said to have been committed three years earlier. At the same time his friend, William Ross, intimated to President Smith that if Sadleir were restored to Council the charges would be withdrawn. From this crooked course of conduct Sadleir gained nothing but reprobation. His suspension was ultimately removed by the Directors' orders of 31st May, 1781, which dismissed Whitehill from the service, and reinstated Hollond.

The question of Hoghill had been referred to England, but Sir Eyre Coote took so grave a view of the danger of positions commanding the Fort that the Government resolved to level not only the buildings in the locality but the eminence which formed their site. The matter is dealt with in a separate section.

Mr. Stephen Popham set an example of public spirit by proposing to raise, at his own expense, a body of Rajputs for local or general service. The Select Committee recommended to the Commander-in-Chief the acceptance of the offer:—

Mr. Stephen Popham to Brigadier-General Stuart.

(*M.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 5th Feb., 1781.)

'In times like the present it is the duty of every Individual to make the best Tribute of Service in his power. Permit me therefore, in return for that protection which I have enjoyed for some years, to make the following Proposal, which I have been enabled to do from the partiality and attachment of my Head Dubash and his Family.

'They have promised to procure me one or two hundred Men of the Rajah Cast, who have been enured to War, altho' not accustomed to the Mode of exercise now used by the Company's Sepoys. These Men, however, agree, in Consequence of certain promises, to submit to that discipline.

'I therefore now offer thro' you, Sir, as Commander in Chief of the Company's Forces at the Presidency, to pay on my own Account such Bounty Money as will ensure me the Choice of one or two hundred Men to be selected from a much larger Body now at my Service; to provide Colours, to Discipline and to Officer them, and to continue to pay all the Officers at my own Expence; and to call upon the Honble Company only for the usual Cloathing and Pay, with the necessary Fire Arms and ammunition for the Men.

'I submit, Sir, at the same time to your better Judgement whether a certain number of the Pike Men might not be employed with such a Corps to advantage, whether to oppose any attempt of the Enemy's horse to approach the Environs of the Bound Hedge, or upon the immediate defence of the wall. . . .

'On my part, Sir, I can only say that, should my offer, thro' your Sanction, be accepted by Government, I will promise to be indefatigable in preparing the men for service; and such is my Confidence in the Character I have of them that I will engage to lead them on to any Service for which, in your opinion, such a number of Men can be thought equal.

'Nor is [it] my Intention to Confine this Offer to the immediate defence of the Bound Hedge in case of an attack, but to receive with Chearfulness, and to execute with equal readiness, any out Service on which you may be pleased to order me.

'STEPHEN POPHAM.

'Bound Hedge, 28th Jan. 1781.'

Captain George Mackay, commanding at Chingleput, asked permission to remit Pags. 300 to two officers, James Dalrymple and Philip Melvill, who were among Hyder's prisoners. Sanction was duly accorded.

James Dalrymple to George Mackay.

(*M.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 10th April, 1781.)

'You no doubt have, long before this, heard my name enrolled amongst the unfortunate at Arnee. Our treatment from first to last has been truly miserable, and shocking to the Ideas of every one possessed with humanity. Our daily Allowance is only a little Rice and Ghee, and that of the very worst. May I therefore beg of you, as a Particular favor, to advance me, for a Bill on Doctor Fergusson, One hundred and fifty Pagodas? All the Gentlemen, Mr. Melville and I excepted, have been sent to Seringapatam. Captain Lucas passed by here the 13th of January in his way to Seringapatam, having till then been kept at Arcot with Hyder, in Company with Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Fraser, who are all now there. Lucas has for the present entirely lost the Use of his left Arm, and is very much wounded in many other places. Ensign Wilson, when he left this, was quite recovered of his Wounds (which were only in the Hand), and in perfect health. Be so good as to send the accompanying Letter to Doctor Fergusson when you do the Draught. Pray, is General Stuart along with the Army? The strength of our Army, Number of Guns, what it has been doing since it left the Mount, with any more news you can give me, will be very acceptable and obliging to

'JA^{s}. DALRYMPLE.

'Arnee Prison, March 7th, 1781.'

HOGHILL.

The rising ground known as Hoghill formed the south-eastern portion of Peddanaikpetta. It was the spot which Sir William

Langhorn marked as the site for a new Fort in the event of the old one being washed away by the sea. Representations had lately been made by Majors Stevens and Maule of the risk resulting from the proximity of Hoghill to the Fort, partly from the elevation of the ground, slight though it was, partly from the cover which the buildings thereon would lend to an enemy. Difficulty, however, lay in dispossessing the house owners.

Proceedings of the Select Committee.

'The President [Sir Thomas Rumbold] having some Months ago, upon the report of the Chief Engineer concerning the inconvenient Situation of the Houses on Hoghill with respect to the Fortifications, ordered a Survey and valuation of those houses to be made, which was done Accordingly, and a Resolution passed in Committee the 27th July that the Court of Directors should be advised of the Circumstances : but the President having since learnt that many houses upon Hoghill, now claimed as private Property, are built on the Company's Ground and within the Limits of the former Esplanade, proposes that Mr. Maxwell, the Company's Surveyor, be directed to ascertain with Precision the property of the Several houses and Grounds by calling on the Proprietors to produce their title deeds; and that after this shall have been done, the Company be acquainted what houses are necessary to be taken down in order to form a clear and Sufficient Esplanade to the Westward, and that they be requested to obtain an act of Parliament, or to pursue such other means as may be thought proper, for effecting this necessary Work on the most reasonable terms.

'Approved, and it is ordered that a plan of Hoghill, shewing its situation with respect to the Fort, he sent to the Company at the same time.

'Ordered also that the Court of Directors be informed of the Necessity we have been under of removing a part of the Blacktown Wall which approached too near the Fort to the Westward.'[1] (*M.C.*, vol. lxviii., 24th Dec., 1779.)

Major Maule estimated that some 214,000 cubic yards of earth must be cut away and for the most part thrown into the sea, at a cost of Pags. 41,000.[2] The valuation of the houses totalled Pags. 186,940, but not half the ostensible proprietors were able to produce title deeds :—

Proceedings of the Select Committee.

'The President acquaints the Committee that, at the time he had under Consideration the Removal of the Houses situated upon Hog Hill, he requested of Mr. Popham, as a person skilled in the Law, to point out the mode of proceeding necessary to be observed in executing such a measure, and that Mr. Popham in consequence delivered him a Letter on the subject, which he now desires to be entered on the Minutes; and tho' he (the President) would not recommend that anything be done towards removing the Houses or levelling the Ground upon Hog Hill until the Orders of the Company can be obtain'd upon this Subject, yet he is of opinion that the Information given by Mr. Popham may be very useful, and that it should be communicated to the Court of Directors; which is approved and ordered accordingly.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxix., 18th March, 1780.)

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[1] The portion near the Pettah Bridge.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxix., 18th March, 1780.

Popham considered that the power of exercising martial law in time of war, which was conferred by the Charter, would, in the circumstances of Hyder Ali's threatening attitude, justify the Governor in assuming possession. He added:—

Mr. Stephen Popham to Sir Thomas Rumbold.

'During former Governments, when the Fortifications were extended, the Business was not conducted with so much form, but in more enlightened times it may be adviseable to act with every legal Circumspection, lest a British Judicature should at some future Day adopt the Doctrine of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and under the Colour of Law put the son of some Modern Chitty in Legal Possession of an important Outwork. . . . STEPHEN POPHAM.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxix., 18th March, 1780.)

Government sent home the Chief Engineer's plans and estimates, and asked for authority to enable them to acquire the property.[1] Before orders could be received, Rumbold had resigned, and Hyder was devastating the Carnatic and threatening Madras. Sir Eyre Coote, on arrival from Bengal, declared that 'no one can be in any degree answerable for the Defence of this Fort in case of a Siege unless the Houses on Hog Hill be levell'd and the Ground removed.'[2] Tenders were received from Hall Plumer,[3] Benfield's successor as contractor, and William Turing, Deputy Military Paymaster. Philip Stowey also sent in a proposal which involved the diversion of the Elambore River to the north side of the Fort, and apparently a new exit to the sea near Parry's Corner. It was accompanied by a plan which has not been preserved:—

Mr. Philip Stowey to the Select Committee.

'I propose that the whole of the Buildings within the Obelisks marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, which form the Boundary of the Esplanade,[4] be taken down. That the foundation and Rubbish on which they stand be cleared away, and spread in an easy line home to the Edge of the river marked A. That the two Bridges B, C,[1] which now serve for a communication to and from the Black Town be also taken away, and the course of the River be changed and diverted into a Curved line approaching as near to the Obelisks before mentioned [as possible], making its Junction again at the Bridge D[2] which Bounds Mr. Popham's Ground. The communication of the Black Town to be made, as before mentioned, by placing two Wooden or other Bridges across the new Channel of the River [at] E and F,[3] the present bed of the River being partly filled with the rubbish which formed the Hog Hill and its Environs. The Excavation which will arise from the New Water course will perfect the Work, and by the River being removed to the opposite side from the Fort, and the Area between, tho at this time a mere Swamp and Nuisance, would by this method be filled. But these are scarcely to be called Secondary Considerations compared with advantages of another kind; not only that of its being the nearest possible distance for depositing the contents so to be removed, but the saving of infinite time and Expence compared with any other Idea of the matter I have been able to suggest. That an extensive esplanade may thereby be formed from the West side of the Fort is a Business the Chief Engineer may best Judge of. . . . PHILIP STOWEY.'[4] (*M.C.*, vol. lxxii., 4th Dec., 1780.)

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[1] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xv., 3rd April, 1780.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxxii., 13th Nov., 1780.

[3] Hall Plumer was a civil servant dating from 1769.

[4] At the present time only four inscribed obelisks remain in China Bazar.

Maule advised the acceptance of Plumer's offer to level Hoghill within ten weeks for Pags. 34,000. The Chief Engineer said, 'If I calculate Mr. Turing's proposals by the price it cost the Company to remove, with their Own People, that part of Hog Hill which was between the Pettah Bridge and the Hospital, his demand then will be above that formerly given in by me.'[5] To Stowey the Select Committee administered a reprimand for surveying ground which was in the charge of the Chief Engineer. Hall Plumer's tender they accepted. The residents of Hoghill opposed the scheme, and Sir Eyre Coote wrote as follows:—

Sir Eyre Coote's Minute.

'I am concerned to understand that the Gentlemen of the Select Committee should meet with Obstacles which create delay or Difficulty in their wishes to remove Hog Hill, a measure which, in my Opinion, I not only consider as essentially necessary to the safety of this Garrison in case of a seige, but indispensable from the report of the Chief Engineer, who describes it as a place destructive to the Strength of this Garrison from its Contiguity, and the certain advantage it will afford any Enemy in carrying on Approaches. Besides these original and Powerful Reasons for the removal of Hog Hill, the steps that have been already taken to that End furnishes another very serious one, and which is [that] we have pointed it out as a place dangerous to ourselves, and of course will be the first Object of an Enemys attention.

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[1] Perhaps the Pettah Bridge and that at the site of the old Bridge Gate.

[2] Probably the bridge carrying China Bazar Street across the drainage channel.

[3] One leading north, perhaps, and the other west.

[4] The general effect contemplated was the diversion of the North River from the General Hospital along the line of the Esplanade boundary.

[5] *M.C.*, vol. lxxii., 13th Dec., 1780.

'I must therefore take this early Opportunity of premising to the Gentlemen of the Committee that as, in the present situation of our affairs, pressed on the land side by the Hostile Operations of Hyder Ally, and in daily Expectation of the Arrival of a French Fleet on the Coast, the event of a seige ought by no means to be looked upon as either distant or improbable; It is therefore incumbent on me in my Military Capacity, as well for the regard I bear the Public as for my own Honor and Credit which may be engaged in the Defense of this Garrison, to entreat the Committee will allow no Obstruction to counteract the speedy Execution of a measure the Necessity of which they have already evinced their sense of by the endeavours they have exerted towards its Accomplishment.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxii., 21st Dec., 1780.)

A legal opinion was obtained from Benjamin Sulivan, the Government Advocate, to the effect that the President had power, under the circumstances, to evict the householders. The earthwork was put in hand forthwith, and early in January the Directors were informed that it would be finished in a month.[1] In the following May 4,000 coolies were still at work,[2] but in October Hall Plumer stated that he had long ago removed the hill, save a small portion which had yet to be transported to Popham's ground. He had filled in soil in Manady Street[3] and on Mrs. Casamaijor's land lately acquired for the Company.

Major Maule to the Select Committee.

'The high Ground now removed was of different Heigths above the Base of the Works in different Places, but particularly at about 450 Yards from the Walls it was, within five Inches, on a level with the Crest of the Glacis. From this heigth to the most remote Part of the Area cleared, it fell off to a level about four feet lower, from which Mr. Plumer was directed to bring the ground in a Slope to the Brink of the Inundation[4] as it now appears. . . .

'The Environs on the N.W., as far as they are cleared, are greatly improved by reducing the heigth of the Ground, and thereby depriving an Enemy of the many advantages he might have derived from that Heigth. In my opinion the Ground is as far reduced as could be performed at an Expense proportionate to the Advantages to be gained, though it would be too much for me to say that an Enemy could not avail himself of any Ground above Inundation; but I have the highest professional Authority[5] to believe that the form it has now received, being that of a Counter Glacis, is the best that could have been adopted. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxvii., 18th Dec., 1781.)

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[1] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xv., 9th Jan., 1781.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 13th May, 1781.

[3] A low-lying street crossing Popham's Broadway.

[4] The river backwater.

[5] Vauban, whom he quotes.

Difficulty was at first experienced in finding compensation ground for the late inhabitants of Hoghill. William Sydenham and James Call, administrators to the estate of the late Kistnama Naik, offered the Select Committee 125 Lots 'to the Westward of Mr. Popham's, and adjoining on the South to Mouphus Khan's in the Black Town' for Pags. 16,000: Francis Jourdan offered 48 Lots, near the Granary, for Pags. 3,000, and S. C. Kistnama 115 Lots, part of which was 'situated between the Padrys Garden and the Ground of Mrs. Casamaijor.'[1] These offers appear to have been accepted. The Chief Engineer then proposed to take up the Great Parchery, containing some 400 Lots exclusive of a considerable area round the Portuguese Church, and to purchase about 600 Lots in other parts of the town. The Pariahs he considered might be relegated to Kistnama's ground.[2] By the end of 1781 all claims had been satisfied, save to the extent of 247 Lots. According to Mr. Hugh Maxwell, Superintendent of the Company's Grounds, this area could readily be found among the gardens of Black Town.[3]

The removal of Hoghill and its buildings accounts for the present curiously indented outline of Peddanaikpetta on its south-east side, and the abrupt terminations of some of its north and south streets. The margin of the western esplanade is now occupied by the Ordnance Lines.

HICKY'S BENGAL GAZETTE.

A side-light is thrown on the events of the period of Whitehill's administration by the letters from Madras contributed to *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, the earliest newspaper published in India.[4] This scurrilous print was edited, published, and owned by Mr. James Augustus Hicky, who was to the Government of Warren Hastings a thorn in the flesh. From an imperfect file, extending from April, 1780, to March, 1782, which is preserved in the British Museum, the following extracts are taken. The issues of 1780 contain numerous communications from Madras; but in November the paper was prohibited by the Post Office, and a portion of the following year was spent by Hicky in prison, so that little news from the Southern Presidency was then recorded.[1] In the course of 1780 the *India Gazette*, a paper of a higher class, was issued as a rival to *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*:—

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxxii., 21st Dec., 1780.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 1st May, 1781.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. lxxvii., 18th Dec., 1781.

[4] The first number was issued 29th January, 1780.

Extracts from Hicky's Bengal Gazette.

April 22nd to 29th, 1780.—'Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart. resigned the Government of Fort St. George on the Morning of the ninth Instant, and immediately went on board the General Barker. It is confidently reported that he has not been able to accumulate a very large Fortune, considering the long time he has been at Madrass: indeed people say it amounts only to seventeen Lacks and a half of Pagodas, or a little more than six hundred thousand pounds Sterling.'

'*Extract of a letter from Madras, April 8th.* We have had a very severe Gale of Wind here, which has so effected the tender nerves of our G———r that he has at last Embarked, as his natural humanity (was he to continue longer) must unavoidably have met with a Shock to see the decay of the Pagoda Tree; for it has had such a shake lately that it is the opinion of the conisieurs that the *root, bearing branches* and *buds* are so much injured that it will require the greatest care of the most skilfull botanist to get it to bear again; and even if it does, it is the received opinion that it will never yield such another Harvest.'

13th to 20th May, 1780.—'Madras April 28th. On Monday last was Hung and Gibbetted, nearly opposite the great Baazar Gate, on the opposite side of the River, One Gruapah, a Gentoo, for wantonly murdering Vencatamah, a Girl about 8 years old, as she was innocently passing through the Baazar on Monday April 17th. Luckily he was seized before he did more mischief with a sword he had taken out of a Moor Mans hand as he was exposing it to Sale in the great Baazar. Several people now lays dangerously wounded in our Hospital here by Gruapah with the same sword. Quarter Sessions was held three days after he had committed the Horred murder, but he denied the fact till the bloody Sword appeared and was sworn to by several witnesses in Court. He then confessed the crime after the Trial was Closed, which held a considerable time. The jury consisting of six Europeans and six Gentoo's.'

June 3rd to 10th, 1780.—'Deaths at Madras. May the 7th Were interred the Remains of Mrs. Mary Powney upwards one Hundred Years of Age, the Relict of Capt. Powney, Commander of a Ship out of Madras, and the oldest resident there.'

June 24th to July 1st, 1780.—'News per Kingston. Candidates for the Government of Madras, Claud Russell, J.[2] Benfield, J. Call, G. Stratton, E. Cotsford, R. Smith and Stables. James Call[3] it is thought will succeed.'

July 1st to 8th, 1780.—'Since the arrival of the Kingston at Madras the Governor, Admiral, General and Ommeer ul Omrah have had many private conferences, which have caused much speculation. Our Governor[4] seems very pensive since the arrival of the Kingston, yet he continues so diligently to superintend the building of his private Theatre in the Company's Garden.'

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[1] For details of Hicky's stormy career, see *Echoes of Old Calcutta*, Busteed, and *History of Journalism in India*, S. C. Sanial (*Calcutta Review* for 1907).

[2] An error for 'P.'

[3] Perhaps an error for John Call, who was considered Macartney's chief rival. (*Life of the Earl of Macartney*, Barrow.)

[4] Whitehill.

July 8th to 15th, 1780.—'Madras, June 19th. The Weather has been very bad here since this Month commenced, and many persons have been seized with sudden spasms in Various parts (as well as the Extreames), and Fevers, which has carried them off at Short Notice, viz. Mess^{rs}. Will. Angus, John Borton, Surgeon of Bencoolen, and Miss Ann Watson, both arrived from Bengal . . . , and several young Gentlemen belonging to the fleet, and many out of the Hospitals. His Majesty's Hospital, being removed from near Hog Hill at the south end of the Black Town to the large and spacious new Granary[1] near the Wattering place at the North end of Mootal Pettah close to the Sea side, is found to be more wholesome and convenient for the Sick ; and we hear they are going to make Commodious Quarters for the Surgeons, &c. &c.'

29th July to 5th August, 1780.—'By a Letter received from Madras we learn that a fever similar to that which prevails here, called the Influenza, is raging, and that numbers are exceedingly ill of it. . . .'

'We hear that Stephen Popham, Esq., a Member in the Irish Parliament and a sworn Attorney of the Honble Mayor's Court at Madras, is appointed private Secretary, &c., to Governor Whitehill.'

19th to *26th August*, 1780.—'Madras 28th July. In my last I sent you an account of the number of Ladies which has arrived in the late Ships : there came a Eleven in one Vessel (two great a Number for the peace and good order of a *Round House*). Milinary must rise at least 25 per cent, for the above Ladies, when they left England, was well stocked with Head Dresses of different kinds formed to the highest Ton. But from the unfortunate disputes which daily arose during the space of the Three last Months of the passage, they had scarce a Cap left when they arrived.'

9th to 16th December, 1780.—'Madras 17th November. The suspension of Mr. Whitehill by the *Supreme Council*, tho' undoubtedly illegal, met with no opposition. Our Critical Situation demands unanimity of Councils and measures, and Mr. W——'s *private* and *Public Character* is so despicable as to render him undeserving a moment's consideration. The times require a Cotsford at the Head of our presidency ; they require not only an *honest* but a *sensible Man*.'

Under the nickname of 'Edward Durbar,' the Admiral was vilified for spending his time at Chepauk instead of on board his flagship. When Hughes at length put to sea, Hicky professed to regard him as lost, and, circulating the following description, offered a reward of 'Eight Finnams and five dudies' for the recovery of his body, dead or alive:—

'He is a short, thick set, fat Man ; his skin fits remarkably tight about him ; has very rosy Gills, and drivels a little at the mouth from the constant use of *Quids*. . . .'

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[1] On the site of the present Custom House.

CHAPTER XV

1781—1785

GOVERNMENT OF LORD MACARTNEY—THE GREAT FAMINE

GOVERNMENT OF LORD MACARTNEY.

GEORGE MACARTNEY, only son of George Macartney of Lissanoure, near Belfast, was born in 1737, and in due course entered the Diplomatic Service. In 1764 he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary at St. Petersburg to negotiate a commercial treaty, and he occupied that position for three years. He was afterwards Chief Secretary for Ireland for a like period, and in 1775 became Governor of the Caribbee Islands. A year later he was raised to the peerage of Ireland as Baron Macartney. On the capture of Grenada after a vigorous defence in 1779, Macartney was carried prisoner of war to France, but he was soon exchanged. In 1780 he was chosen by the East India Company to be Governor of Madras.[1]

Arriving at Fort St. George in the *Swallow* on the 22nd April, 1781, Macartney found the Carnatic overrun by Hyder Ali's troops, the Madras population famished, and the treasury empty. Eyre Coote and Hector Munro were in the field, and the only Councillors present were Charles Smith, Samuel Johnson, Anthony Sadleir, and Morgan Williams. Smith and Johnson resigned almost immediately, and Alexander Davidson, returning from a special mission to Tanjore, protested against Sadleir's sitting in Council before being relieved by the Directors from suspension.[2]

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[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[2] Suspension could not be withdrawn without the sanction of higher authority. The Directors were in ignorance of Sadleir's suspension when they nominated him a member of Macartney's Government. He was formally reinstated by their orders of the 31st May, 1781.

Under orders from home a change was made in the constitution of Government by reversion to the earlier system of appointing eleven Councillors, including the military member.[1] The President, salaried at Pags. 40,000, was prohibited from commercial dealing; the Commander-in-Chief received Pags. 16,000 as heretofore, but the civilian members returned to the old scale of salaries with liberty to trade. Under this scheme five additional members were appointed—viz., J. H. Casamaijor, John Turing, Edward Saunders, Cotton Bowerbank Dent, and William Maitland, but only Saunders was present at Madras, the others remaining at their out-stations.

The want of money was severely felt. The Nawab of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore could render no aid while their territories were held by the enemy. The supply from the Northern Circars was inadequate. Bills on England being forbidden, Macartney tried in succession a local loan, application to Bengal, and even a lottery,[2] but with little advantage. What money could be raised was sent to the army, the pay of which was six and a half lakhs of pagodas in arrear. Even the Members of Council suffered. Writing to the Company in 1782, Macartney's Government observed:—'We cannot avoid taking this opportunity of mentioning to your Honors the peculiarly hard Situation of the Members of Council; and Ever since the receipt of your Commands . . . they have been executing the duties of their Station without receiving any Emoluments from the Service at a time when the Expence of keeping up an appearance in the Settlement suitable to their Rank is double what it heretofore has been. . . .'[3]

The capture of the Dutch settlements, following the declaration of war with Holland, afforded some relief; but Macartney was ultimately driven to the expedient of drawing bills on England.[4] A silver currency of Arcot rupees was established at the fixed exchange of Rs. 375 per 100 Star Pagodas, and 12 single fanams per Arcot rupee.[5]

Declining from the outset to accept anything but his authorized salary, Macartney delivered into the treasury the customary valuable gifts made by the Nizam and Nawab. In 1783 the Mint Shroff Teperumāl Cheṭṭi paid in Pags. 4,000, due to the President as Mintmaster for the two years preceding. The Governor ascertained on inquiry that his predecessors in office had received Pags. 2,000 per annum as a fixed emolument in lieu of the Mint dues to which they were entitled. Macartney put the case to the Council as follows, when it was unanimously resolved that he was authorized to accept the sum tendered:—

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxiv., 11th Jan., 1781.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 28th Oct., 1781.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. xxix., 26th Jan., 1782.

[4] *Ibid*

[5] In 1785 we find that Madras Pagodas, which had depreciated in value, were being coined into Star Pagodas. (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxv., 5th July, 1785.)

Minute by the President.

'The President can't learn, after the strictest enquiry, at what period the Mint was first set up at Madras, but it would seem to be of great antiquity, perhaps of equal date with the Settlement, and that it has always preserved its credit whilst that of many others has been depreciated.

'Chippermal Chitty, when last before the board, explained the Establishment of [the] Mint of Madras in the following manner:—The Charges of Coinage upon gold is 11½ per Mille, of which the Company receives 5 parts. The other 6½ is for the Mintmaster and the Mint expences of Goldsmiths, Servants, Charcoal, &c., &c. The Charge of Coinage upon Silver is 22½ per Mille, of which the Company receives 5 per Mille. The other 17½ is for the Mint master and expences as above. . . .

'The President has stated this Matter according to the best information he can procure, and now lays it before the board. His reason is this:—As he laid it down for a rule, from the Moment of his appointment, most religiously to observe his Covenants with the Company, and never to accept for his own profit any present or emolument whatever but the Company's allowances, from which rule he has never deviated and to which he will ever adhere, He wishes to know the opinion of the board whether he is entitled to the 2,000 pagodas per annum as the Company's allowances, and authorised to receive them as such.[1] MACARTNEY.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxx., 18th June, 1783.)

An inquiry having been ordered by the Company into the conduct of certain of their late servants at Madras in respect of alleged bribery, the Governor-General deputed Mr. Charles Newman, as an unbiassed person practising in the Supreme Court of Judicature, to conduct the investigation.[2] Arriving in Madras at the end of 1781, Newman sought the aid of Government in eliciting information from the Nawab of Arcot, the Rajah of Tanjore, and the Renters of the Northern Circars regarding illegal payments said to have been made by them. He drew up the following notice:—

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[1] Allowances on account of Mintage and Consulage were first granted in the time of Mr. Pigot, under the Court's orders of the 13th March, 1761.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxvi., 9th Nov., 1781.

Mr. Newman's Notice.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxvi., 7th Dec., 1781.)

'*An Account of Sums of Money said to have* [*been*] *given by the Nabob of Arcot for bringing about the Revolution in the Government in* 1776.

	Rs.
Mr. Stratton	200,000
Sir R. Fletcher	200,000
Mr. Brooke	100,000
Mr. Jourdan	100,000
Mr. Palmer	100,000
Mr. Mackay	100,000
General Stewart	300,000
Do. upon his taking upon him the Command of the Army	200,000
Sir Edward Hughes for acknowledging the new Government; in cash Rs. 200,000 and a promissory note for Rs. 100,000	300,000
Mr. Benfield	400,000
Mr. Macpherson	100,000
Mr. Stratton, after he became Governor	300,000
A Sum of 10,000 Pagodas each given to Colonels Horn and Edginton and Captains Lysaght and Barclay	

'*Sums said to have been received by Sir T. Rumbold within* 20 *Months after his Arrival at Fort St. George.*

	£
From the Rajah of Tanjore, a present on his first arrival to obtain his friendship and protection, 2 lacks of Pagodas, or	80,000
From the Northern Rajahs for letting the Company's lands on long leases under their value, 2,500,000 Rupees, or	300,000
For letting the Company's Jaghire lands for 3 years contrary to orders, 1½ lack of Pagodas, or	60,000
From the Nabob at different Times and on different Accounts, viz. upon his Arrival as Governor, a present of 1 lac Pagodas, or	40,000
Upon the capture of Pondicherry 1 lac Pagodas, or	40,000
For renting the Guntoor Circar to his Son the Ameer	40,000
	560,000'

The notice set forth that refunds would be given to all persons proving that they had made unauthorized gifts, as soon as the amounts could be recovered from the recipients. Government approved the issue of the notice, and themselves addressed the Nawab, who replied as follows:—

Nawab Walajah to Lord Macartney.

'The Company have always been the Supporters and protectors of my country, my government, my rights and my honor, and I am fully convinced that any act of their Servants to the prejudice of my honor and dignity is far from their wishes. It therefore cannot but astonish me that my old friends the Company should now direct a Requisition which they know I cannot answer. More than this it is impossible to say to your Lordship.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxvi., 28th Dec., 1781.)

Newman had no better success with the Rajah and the Zemindars, and he ultimately relinquished the inquiry as hopeless.[1]

By the Regulating Act of 1784, the constitution of the Government was again changed. The Governor, who received as before Pags. 40,000 per annum, together with emoluments from Mintage and Consulage, was assisted by the Commander-in-Chief on Pags. 15,000, sitting as Second Member, and by two civilians as Third and Fourth Members, with salaries of Pags. 15,000 and Pags. 14,000 respectively. This system came into operation on the 12th February, 1785, when the oaths were administered to Colonel Ross Lang,[2] and Messrs. Alexander Davidson and James Daniell.'[3]

The principal events of Lord Macartney's rule affecting Madras are dealt with in the following pages. Details of the operations of the army and navy will be found in other works, but particulars of the famine, the civil administration, the death of Sir Eyre Coote, the deportation of General Stuart, the completion of the fortifications, and the relations with the Nawab are topics which are not without interest. An occurrence, doubtless much talked of at the time, was a duel between Macartney and Sadleir, arising out of a difference in the Select Committee. Sadleir, with more than accustomed perversity, contested a motion for increasing the allowances of the Military Department Secretary to which he had previously agreed. Macartney, ordinarily the most courteous of men, was betrayed by irritation into impugning Sadleir's veracity, and the result was a challenge by the aggrieved member. Mr. Davidson acted as second to Lord Macartney, and Major Grattan to Mr. Sadleir.[1] The meeting took place probably on the Island:—

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 26th Jan., 1782.

[2] Colonel Ross Lang, of the Company's service, became Commander-in-Chief after General Stuart's deportation. He married in 1773 Mrs. Ann Oats, widow of Captain Thomas Oats, and daughter of Mr. Thomas Pelling. The Colonel's son, Lieut. Ross Lang, married Miss Amelia Pelling in 1792.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxv., 12th Feb., 1785, and *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxviii., 11th April, 1785.

'*Account of a Duel between Lord Macartney and Mr. Sadlier.*[2]

'*Friday, 24th September* 1784. The time of the meeting, as settled the evening before by Mr. Sadlier and Mr. Davidson, was seven o'clock in the morning. However, about thirty-five minutes past six all the parties were on the ground: Lord Macartney and Mr. Davidson were the first. It being agreed upon by Mr. Davidson and Major Grattan, who had retired to the particular spot intended, that the distance should be ten paces, Major Grattan loaded Mr. Sadlier's pistols, Mr. Davidson's being loaded before they arrived. . . . Lord Macartney and Mr. Sadlier were then conducted to the spot, and took their proper distances as already marked out. The right of the first fire was determined by chance between the seconds, and fell to Mr. Sadlier who accordingly fired: the ball struck Lord Macartney on the ribs of the left side, which however was not known to any of the other gentlemen till after his Lordship had given his own fire, which missed Mr. Sadlier. . . . Lord Macartney, who did not quit his ground, called out, "Go on." Mr. Sadlier, remaining also on his ground, prepared to take his second fire. Mr. Davidson, having come up to Lord Macartney, first perceived that his Lordship was wounded, and declared it to Major Grattan. . . . His Lordship said "I came here to give satisfaction to Mr. Sadlier and am ready to do so." His Lordship's waistcoat being now unbuttoned, and the effects of his wound as well as its dangerous position becoming visible, Major Grattan, with the concurrence of Mr. Davidson, declared that in his Lordship's present condition Mr. Sadlier should rest satisfied, and that under such circumstances the matter could not well be pursued further. This declaration, being heard by Mr. Sadlier while remaining on his ground, was adopted by him, and he, declaring he was satisfied, then quitted his ground.

'At a meeting held expressly for the purpose by Mr. Davidson and Major Grattan on the next morning, at which were present Colonels Fullarton and Dalrymple, the above state of facts was mutually admitted to be just and true, and was accordingly subscribed to by the undersigned, ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JOHN GRATTAN.'

Rejection by the Directors of proposals relating to the Nawab's assignment to the Company of the Carnatic revenues[3] led to Macartney's resignation:—

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[1] This restless and turbulent civilian was shortly afterwards transferred as Chief to Masulipatam, where he died in October, 1793. (*P.C.*, vol. clxxxvi., 25th Oct., 1793.)

[2] *The Public Life of the Earl of Macartney*, Barrow, 1807.

[3] The assignment of 1781 will be referred to in the sequel.

Minute by the President.

'Having frequently expressed to the Board my Intention of proceeding to Europe as soon as I received authentic Information of the Appointment of a Successor, and the Honble Court of Directors having now apprised us of the Nomination of Mr. Hollond[1] to succeed me in the Government, I propose in consequence to avail myself of the earliest opportunity of putting that Intention into Execution.

'My Health is much broken by severe and repeated Attacks of the Gout, and I feel myself unable to continue those Exertions of Labor and application by which I have, during these last four years, sustained the heavy and increasing weight of the Charge entrusted to me. But were my strength and abilities much superior to what I feel them, I candidly confess it would be utterly impossible for me to carry on the Company's Administration under the Orders just received for surrendering the Nabob's assignment. These Orders are founded on sentiments directly opposite to the opinions which I have invariably entertained and Communicated to my Employers of the actual situation of their affairs; and I cannot help supposing from them that the Honble Court of Directors have withdrawn their Confidence from my Administration, and by establishing a System which tends to throw an absolute Discredit upon all that I have done and represented upon this important Subject, it would appear as if they meant, tho they have not expressed it, that my Resignation should immediately follow the Receipt of these Orders. After all that has passed relative to this assignment, after the struggles that have been made to keep it against the whole Power of Bengal and against the most determined opposition of the Nabob, I certainly expected that the Honble Court of Directors would have allowed greater credit to the Motives which induced me, contrary to my own personal Interest and safety, to hold fast to the assignment as the great resource for the common preservation of the Company and their friends, and at any rate that they would have not surrendered this Pledge of Security without pointing out and obtaining some equivalent for it. . . .

'The Differences which have subsisted between the Nabob and the Government, and which no accommodating sperit on my part can now reconcile, present insurmountable objections to my bearing any Concern in the new arrangements. Their success must chiefly depend in the first Instance upon their being brought forward by Gentlemen against whom the Nabob entertains none of those violent prejudices which he has manifested in all his actions and correspondence with me almost ever since the assignment was first obtained from him. . . . MACARTNEY.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxv., 28th May, 1785.)

Lord Macartney offered to go to Bengal on his way to England, and impart his views on the situation to Mr. John Macpherson, who had succeeded Hastings as Governor-General. This proposal the Council gladly accepted. The Governor then handed in an affidavit, which he had made before the Mayor, Mr. Philip Stowey, that during his term of office he had received nothing from any source besides his salary of Pags. 40,000, Mintage Pags. 2,000, and Commission and Consulage on Coral, about Pags. 1,000 per annum.

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[1] Mr. John Hollond declining the appointment on the ground of ill-health, Sir Archibald Campbell was nominated. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxviii., 9th Dec., 1784, and 11th April, 1785.)

Lord Macartney's Farewell.

'The last duty which I am to perform before I take my final Leave of the Coast will be my formal resignation of the Government [which] I shall send in writing from the last Northern port of the Circars at which I shall touch in my way to Bengal. I now deliver up to the board my Keys of the Treasury, and shall deliver the Keys of Fort St. George to Mr. Davidson at the moment of my Embarkation, both under the necessary reservation of my right to resume them in the Event of my being obliged (which God forbid), by any accident befalling the Ship in her passage to Bengal, to return to this Presidency, or any other Contingency compelling my return.

'The painful moment is now arrived when I must bid you Farewell. My feelings on the occasion are too strong for my expression. May your administration Gentlemen be happy. I am fully persuaded it will be just, prudent and honorable. . . . MACARTNEY.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxv., 2nd June, 1785.)

Macartney sailed in the *Greyhound*, and sent his resignation from Vizagapatam on the 8th June, from which date the charge of Government devolved temporarily on Mr. Alexander Davidson. Writing to England three days later the Council said:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Although your Approbation of his Lordship's Government renders in a great Measure our Suffrage unnecessary, yet we could not forbear unanimously and publicly to offer our Tribute of Applause to our late Right Honble President, whose high Rank, vigorous Conduct, and unblemished Integrity have given a Dignity and Firmness to this Government which the delicate Crises of your Affairs, during the greater part of his Lordship's Administration, rendered so evidently conducive to their support and Prosperity. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 11th June, 1785.)

The unshaken confidence reposed by the Court in Macartney was shown by his nomination as Governor-General.[1] He received the news during his stay at Calcutta, but nevertheless continued his homeward journey. On his arrival in England in January, 1786, the Directors renewed their offer, but the conditions desired by their nominee proved unacceptable, and eventually Lord Cornwallis was appointed. One of Macartney's first greetings in England took the form of a challenge from General Stuart, who claimed private satisfaction on account of

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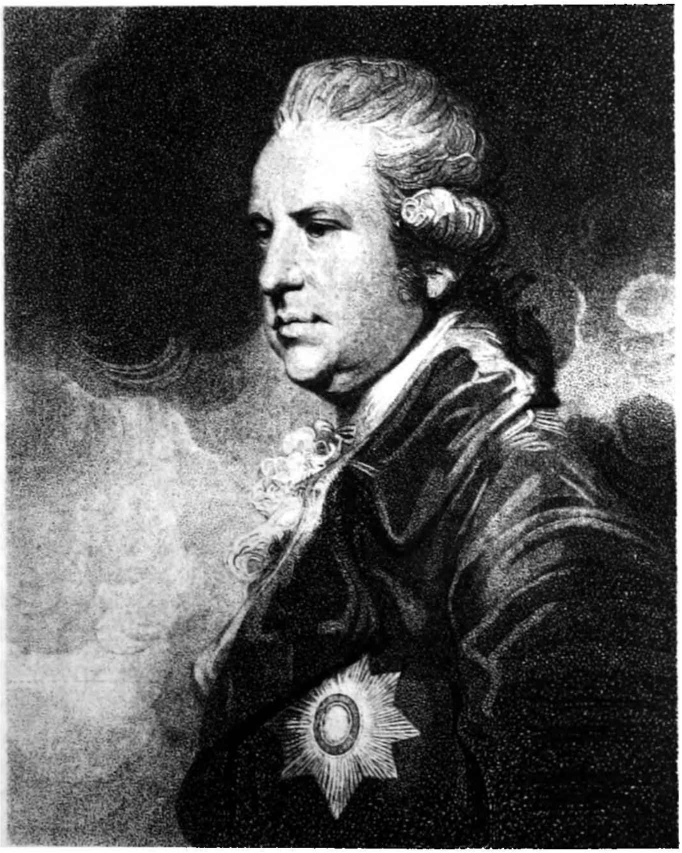
[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxviii., 10th March, 1785.



Lord Macartney

after Ozias Humphry

the public measures which had involved his dismissal. A duel was fought at Kensington in June, 1786, in which Macartney was severely wounded. In 1792 the late Governor was created Earl Macartney, and sent on an embassy to China, where he remained two years. Subsequently he conducted a confidential mission to Italy, and in 1796 was appointed Governor of the Cape, a position he resigned after two years. He died at Chiswick in 1806.

Macartney married in 1768 the Lady Jane Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Bute, but left no children. His widow survived him for two and twenty years.

THE GREAT FAMINE.

For two years before Macartney's arrival, Madras had suffered from scarcity, which was due mainly to scanty rainfall, but aggravated latterly by Hyder's devastations. As early as March, 1781, the situation was regarded as serious :—

Minute by President Smith.

'The President is under the deepest Concern to acquaint the Board that, by all Supplies of Grain for this Settlement from the Southward having been cut off, and the great quantity sent to the Army, the Stock now in the Garrison and Black Town does not exceed forty-two Days Consumption ; and as the arrival of Vessels from the Norward are at this late Season extremely precarious, he therefore proposes that an Order be issued for every Family in the Fort and Black Town to deliver immediately in to the Superintendant of Police[1] an exact Account of their Families, as means must be taken of clearing the Black Town of all People who do not belong to the Families of those who are actually Housekeepers.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxv., 31st March, 1781.)

In May three civil servants—Robert Hughes, George Moubray, and William Webb—were nominated a 'Grain Committee' to superintend the distribution of rice and other foodstuffs. They estimated that the stock might last until the end of June. Early in July they wrote :—

Report of the Grain Committee.

'We now take the liberty of informing your Lordship, &c., that the Stock remaining for Sale will suffice only for two days. It is true that the Merchants who have hitherto furnished the Market are possessed of a small Quantity, but they absolutely insist on retaining this for their own use. . . .

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[1] Mr. William Webb, a civil servant dating from 1770, was appointed Superintendent of Police in 1780, and charged with the duty of supervising the markets and regulating prices. The Directors, however, refused to sanction a salary. (*P.C.*, vol. cxxiv., 27th Oct., 1780, and *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxv., 25th Jan., 1782.)

'We are still of opinion that there is a good deal of grain concealed in the Black Town, but, by the best information, it is concealed among a great number of people, and We conceive it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to bring it forth by any other method than that of allowing the possessors to sell it in whatever manner they chuse, and without Restriction as to Price. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxvi., 7th July, 1781.)

In October, 1781, Macartney informed the Directors that, while there was no prospect of obtaining grain from either the Carnatic or Tanjore owing to Hyder's ravages, yet a considerable quantity had been received from Bengal, both from the Governor-General and through private traders, and he had hopes that acute famine might yet be staved off.[1] And early in 1782 he wrote :—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Such Number of Country Vessels laden with Rice, both on Account of the Honble Company and of private Merchants, are daily arriving here from Bengal that We flatter ourselves, should no unforeseen Accident happen, We need not be apprehensive of any alarming scarcity, tho the subsistence of the Army and of the Inhabitants must almost entirely depend upon the foreign supplies of Grain ; for the Country remains in a state of absolute Desolation, nor is there any Appearance of Cultivation in the Carnatick, except within the Bounds of our different Factories and Garrisons.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 26th Jan., 1782.)

Yet at this time the people of Madras were in great distress, and public subscriptions were flowing in for their assistance :—

St. Mary's Vestry to Government.

'At a special Vestry held . . . for the purpose of carrying into execution the late laudable Subscription for the Relief of the poor distressed Inhabitants of these parts, the Community assembled requested a Set of Gentlemen (of whom We are a part) to take the Guidance of the above Charity ; and further desired that as the Fund here, being only about eight hundred Pagodas Monthly, was inadequate [to] the General Benefit they have in view, that your Lordship, &c., should be requested to recommend to the Governor General and Council at Bengal the Setting on foot a Subscription there, which will afford the humane an Opportunity of contributing towards the Preservation of the Lives of thousands who must inevitably perish without their Charitable Assistance. . . .

'The Committee are using every means in their power for the Relief of the Poor, but the dying Objects daily met with in the Streets require Shelter as well as Support. They therefore hope that Government will afford Assistance from the Company's Stores, such as Palmyras, &c, which cannot otherwise be procured, to enable them to erect a few Sheds to cover these miserable Wretches from the excessive heat of the Sun. . . . They flatter themselves there is nothing further required than the daily Objects that occur to every Member of the Board to induce them to afford the Assistance now desired, which will be attended with the greatest Benefit to the Company by the Preservation of a number of Lives for the Tillage of the Land when the Expulsion of the Enemy (from the present Exertions of Government) shall be attained. WILLIAM BAINBRIGGE, WILLIAM WEBB, HUGH VAUGHAN.'[1] (*P.C.*, vol. cxxvii., 1st Feb., 1782.)

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiv., 28th Oct., 1781.

The Churchwardens to Government.

'We are desired by the Committee for managing the Subscription for the Native Poor to transmit the accompanying List of Black Subscribers, from which your Lordship will perceive how inadequately they have contributed to the Relief of the distressed Objects; and We are sorry to observe they are quite irregular in the Payment of the small Sums which they have subscribed.

'The Subscription from the Europeans amounts to about eight hundred Pagodas monthly, and from the charitable Recommendation of your Lordship, &c., We have received a Bill for five thousand Pagodas, which has been raised among the Inhabitants of Calcutta. These Sums, notwithstanding the Exertions of the Committee in the frugal Management of them, are by no means sufficient to afford effectual Relief to the numerous objects that daily resort to partake of the Charity. There are now upwards of four thousand at present. We can only afford them Nourishment scarcely sufficient for their Existence, and they will not be of any Benefit to the Public unless We are enabled to give them comfortable Support. We therefore take the Liberty of submitting to the Consideration of your Lordship, &c., whether you may not be able to adopt some Mode of increasing the Black Subscriptions, without which We fear the charitable Intentions of your Lordship, &c., and the European Inhabitants of this Settlement will be entirely frustrated. WILLIAM WEBB, HUGH VAUGHAN.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxvii., 24th May, 1782.)

Then follows a list of Indian subscribers, consisting mainly of dubashes, conicoplies, sowcars, etc. Their contributions amounted to Pags. 242½ monthly. The Banksall merchants subscribed Pags. 400, and 'Daumerla Venkatapaty Naik, Zemindar of Kalestry,' descendant of that Venkatappa who made the original grant of Madras territory, Pags. 100. The Government agreed to use their influence in the direction indicated.

Breaches of the Grain Committee's regulations were promptly punished. One Nallanna was detected in selling grain at a price exceeding the authorized rate. The Committee, which now consisted of Alexander Davidson, Robert Hughes, and William

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[1] Hugh Vaughan was a civil servant dating from 1772. In 1782 he was Dep. Civil Paymaster and Steward.

Webb, ordered a portion of his store to be seized, and placed in the public Banksall for sale at the proper price. Nallanna refused the proceeds, and filed a suit in the Mayor's Court against the Committee's Conicoply :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board thinking it necessary, in Support of the Dignity of Government, to protect their Servants, when acting in compliance with their Directions, from any Detriment, and likewise to punish the Person who may dispute their Authority when it is exerted, as in the present Case, for the general Good of the Community; Nellanah is accordingly ordered before the Board, and, on being questioned, acknowledges that he has instituted a Suit in the Mayor's Court against Atchiah, and that his Attorney at Law, Mr. Edward Ellis, is perfectly well acquainted that the Action is against a Servant of the Company for his Conduct whilst in discharge of his Duty to his employers. It is therefore Agreed that Nellanah do receive immediately twenty five Lashes in the most public manner for his Audacity in so notoriously attempting to controvert Regulations established under the Sanction of the Board.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxvii., 14th June, 1782.)

The famine became more acute as the year advanced :—

Fort St. George to Fort William.

'At the earnest Solicitation of the Committee appointed for the Management of the Charity established here for the Subsistence of the Native poor Inhabitants, and from a Conviction of the Benefits that have arisen to the Public in consequence of the liberal Contribution already made to it in Bengal, We beg leave to recommend the further Support of it to your Favor and Patronage. The monthly Subscription at this Place amounts to about Eleven hundred Pagodas, which is about one Third of the Sum necessary for the effective Relief of the distressed Poor.

'We have the honor to enclose to you an Account of the Extent of the Charity hitherto, and We flatter ourselves that, by the Assistance of your Recommendation, the Contributions of the benevolent at your settlement may be so far increased as to prevent the melancholy Effects of Famine, which We even now begin to be but too sensible of, Instances daily occurring of Persons dying in the Streets from mere want of Food.

'We think We need not take up more of your Time in enlarging on so shocking a Subject, but that We shall meet with every Aid from the well known Liberality of your Settlement which the nature of the Case requires, whenever the Distresses that actually exist are publicly known.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 7th Sept., 1782.)

A second contribution, amounting to Rs. 30,000, was received from Bengal in October.[1] The deportation of part of the native population was advocated by the Famine Relief Committee, and approved by Government :—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 9th Oct., 1782.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Read the following Letter from the Committee for the Management of the public Charity for the Relief of the poor Inhabitants.

"We beg leave to acquaint your Lordship, &c., that an extraordinary Meeting of the Committee for the Relief of the Poor was held this day to deliberate on the best Scheme for sending these miserable objects from this Settlement, as the Committee have found it utterly impracticable to procure subsistence for them any longer.

"The only feasible mode which has occurred to the Committee for effecting this is to have these People sent overland, in different Divisions of 1000 each, to Masulipatam; and therefore they have requested us to make application to your Lordship, &c., for Letters to the Commandant at Pulicat[1] for a small guard to escort them to Nellore, and for a Letter to the Commandant of that Place for similar aid to Masulipatam, where they hope your Lordship, &c., will be pleased to send your Orders for their being maintained in Such manner as you may judge Expedient. . . .

W. BAINBRIGGE } Ministers. W. WEBB } Church Wardens."
B. MILLINGCHAMP } HUGH VAUGHAN }

'The Board approving of the Plan proposed in the above Letter for sending away the poor Natives to the Northward, Resolved the different Subordinacies be written to acquainting them with our Intention, and directing them to apply to the several Zemindars to assign Places of Settlement for the Poor in the Villages of their District, with Orders that they be subsisted at the Company's Expences as œconomically as possible until they shall be able to gain a Livelihood by their bodily Labour.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 28th Sept., 1782.)

Deportation was begun the same day. Writing on the 30th to Mr. James Daniell, Chief at Masulipatam, the Council said:—'The Scarcity of Provisions at this Place has risen to such a Height that We have been under the Necessity of resolving to send away from here all the Poor maintained by public Charity, to be subsisted in the Circars. The whole Number of them amounts to about Nine thousand, and they will proceed in Parties of a thousand Persons every three days. The first Division sett o[ff] on the 28th Instant.'[2]

Entertainments were organized to provide funds for the relief of the poor. We find the following in a Madras letter of the 9th December, 1782, to the *India Gazette*[3]:—

'The Comedy of the Provok'd Wife and the Comic Opera of the Padlock are now in rehearsal, and will be performed early in the month of January for the relief of the poor native inhabitants of Fort St. George. Tickets will be delivered as usual at the Theatre.'

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[1] Pulicat had been in British possession since 1781.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 30th Sept., 1782.

[3] *India Gazette*, 28th Dec., 1782.

With the departure of the fleet on the approach of the monsoon, apprehension was felt of an attack by the French on Madras. A public meeting was held at the Town Hall, under the chairmanship of Mr. Edward Garrow, at which it was resolved to ask Government, in view of 'the Want of Grain and Provisions, and the prospect of a Superior force of the Enemy,' to modify the grain regulations, and deport the poorer inhabitants. The address was signed on the 11th October by the following, amongst others[1]:—Edward Garrow, A. Brodie, G. Ramsay,[2] B. Roebuck, S. Popham, Philip Stowey, Charles Binny,[3] Moses De Castro,[4] Joseph Garrow, Edward Ellis, Benjamin Sulivan, W. H. Torriano, Charles Bromley, A. F. Franck, J. Landon, John Wynch, Josias Du Pré Porcher, Paul Benfield, Geo. Moubray, Geo. Powney, A. Turnbull, Eyles Irwin, J. Call, Archdale Palmer.

At a Council meeting held next day, Macartney presented the following minute:—

Minute by the President.

'A Calculation . . . should without delay be made of the Garrison necessary for the defence of Fort St. George in the case of a Siege, together with the Servants and followers really necessary to such Garrison. Also of the Number of Artificiers of all kinds, and of Coolies or other Persons necessary in the Fort in case of a Siege. To these must be added all the Company's Civil Servants residing in Fort St. George, with a reasonable average number of black attendants, &c.

'These calculations being made, it is the Duty of Government to exert the whole of its authority and every authority, as far as may be necessary, in laying up immediately a sufficient Stock of the necessary Provisions of all kinds for the consumption of the numbers thus calculated, at least until the first day of March next, by which time it is reasonable to suppose the Fleet may be back from Bombay, and consequently the Sea open for the Conveyance of new Supplies. . . .

'If there be any fund either remitted from Bengal or other fund, it should be immediately employed, with the assistance of Government, in the Purchase of Rice for the poor, which should be delivered to them on condition only of their departure from hence to seek subsistence elsewhere; for which purpose they should be assembled by the Charity, and, giving them their respective shares of Rice, be immediately conducted under a Guard of Sepoys at least beyond the next River to the Northward, at which River a few guards properly Stationed might prevent the return of most of them to Madras. The Centinels placed at the Gates of the Black Town and Fort St. George might, under proper orders, likewise be an additional check for preventing the admission of useless People into either place.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 15th Nov., 1782.

[2] Sir George Ramsay, Bart. (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 20th Sept., 1784), was a free merchant, partner in the house of Cuthbert and Ramsay.

[3] Charles Binny was Secretary to the Nawab.

[4] Moses De Castro, a free merchant from 1766, was probably son of Samuel De Castro, of the firm of Lopez Fernandes and Samuel De Castro, dating from 1749. In 1782 Moses was senior member of the firm of De Castro, Pelling, and De Fries.

'Whatever proportion of Grain, being private property, remains after these several drains, might be left, if the Public desire it, to take its course. In the present critical times there is unhappily no alternative. The poor must leave the place or perish. The Rich are many of them partly provided already, and can afford an high price. . . . MACARTNEY.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 12th Oct., 1782.)

The Council had already assumed entire control over grain, notice being given to importers that, for the next six months, Government would receive all supplies of rice at Star Pags. 150 per garce.[1] By the end of October the outlook was very black, and Macartney wrote home in gloomy strain[2]:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Although we may . . . avert the desperate necessity of surrendering or abandoning this Fortress to the Enemy, it is not in our power to prevent the fate which the certain and immediate prospect of famine presents to the miserable Inhabitants of this Settlement.

'In consequence of the War, the Black Town was filled with people who fled thither for refuge from all parts, from the Arcot province and the Company's Jaghire. These now encrease the general distress. Some have left the Black Town and happily reached the Countries undisturbed by the Enemy, and where positive orders have been sent to feed and protect them; but they bear no proportion to the numbers which remain and of which hundreds perish daily, nor is there a reasonable hope that any of the poorer sort can possibly survive till the return of the Squadron, if it be actually gone to the other side of the peninsula.

'The re-establishment of peace, whenever it may happen, will therefore only give us the possession of a desolated and depopulated Country, without the means of Cultivation, and, of course, without the capacity of yielding much revenue for many years to come.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 31st Oct., 1782.)

The records of 1783 contain few allusions to famine, but there is no doubt that scarcity continued until the conclusion of peace with Mysorè in March, 1784, when the bazars were suddenly flooded with foodstuffs, and prices dropped 50 per cent.[1]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 4th Oct., 1782.

[2] Captain Innes Munro wrote at this period:—'The complicated scene of horror was such as to benumb every humanized faculty of the soul. In the black town so great was the mortality that the dead bodies were too numerous to be carried off by the utmost exertion, and the putrid exhalations which arose from those numberless emaciated victims of famine, strewed in every quarter of the settlement, became dangerous and distressing. Crows, vultures, and jackals, allured by the scent of death, flocked in crowds to the scene, and added greatly to its horror and devastation.'

The Committee of Management of the Famine Fund, besides erecting temporary sheds for the shelter of the starving poor, obtained the use of a permanent building situated outside the north wall of Black Town, which then, or a little later, became known as the Monegar Choultry.[2] It is referred to in a letter of 1783 from the Chief Engineer[3] as 'the Choultry which contains the sick charity poor.' At the end of the famine, the balance of the fund was made over to the ministers and churchwardens for the relief of indigent natives. Whether the original Committee or the Vestry were the trustees alluded to in the designation of the Institution, which still survives, is uncertain. The owner of the choultry received no rent during his lifetime, but his heir claimed and obtained payment for the period 1782 to 1804.[4] In 1808 Government undertook the management of the asylum, and added to its capital fund. The following sketch of its origin is given in the records of 1807:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'During the war with Hyder in 1782, an order had been issued by Government that all buildings within a certain distance of the Black Town wall should be thrown down.[5] The Place called the Monegar Choultry having, antecedently to the date of the order, been allowed by the proprietor to be appropriated to the accommodation of the numerous paupers whom the miseries of war, aggravated by those of famine, had driven to the Presidency, the Government was pleased, at the instance of the Committee, and in consideration of the useful and benevolent purpose to which the Choultry was applied, to admit an exemption of the order alluded to. The Choultry, after the termination of those calamities, continued to be occupied by such paupers as were not in a condition to obtain by industry the necessaries of life.' (*Pub. Cons.*, 18th Aug., 1807.)

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 5th June, 1784.

[2] *Monegar* signifies trustee, agent, overseer.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. lxxxvii., 4th April, 1783.

[4] *The Church in Madras*, pp. 430, 442, Rev. F. Penny.

[5] *M.C.*, vol. lxxxvii., 4th April, 1783.

CHAPTER XVI

1781—1785

MILITARY AFFAIRS—DEATH OF SIR EYRE COOTE

MILITARY AFFAIRS.

WHEN Lord Macartney arrived at Madras on the 22nd June, 1781, he brought with him news of war with the States General, and authority to operate against the Dutch settlements on the Coast. Preparations were made independently of Sir Eyre Coote, who was fully occupied in the interior with Hyder Ali. Captain George Mackay, Commandant of Chingleput, appeared suddenly before Sadras on the 29th June, and James Peter Deneys, its Chief, surrendered without resistance. He had indeed little choice, for his sepoys deserted in a body, and his whole European force was a garrison of fifty-four, besides ten civilians.[1] Three days later Pulicat yielded to Major Elphinston of the 73rd Regiment, who was sent from Madras with orders to seize the settlement and destroy its fortifications. Negapatam was besieged by Sir Hector Munro, the fleet co-operating, and the place fell on the 30th October.[2] It was restored after the proclamation of peace, but with its defences demolished. Details of the operations would be out of place here, but a brief extract relating to the surrender of Pulicat is given in consequence of the vicinity of the place to Madras, and the frequent allusions which are made to Castle Geldria in the earlier records:—

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxxv., 29th June, 1781.

[2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 26th Jan., 1782. Shawmier Sultan, who was at Negapatam with his family and effects, asked for the Company's protection. The Select Committee recommended him to Hughes, saying that he had resided at Madras for more than thirty years, and had on several occasions assisted the Government with loans (*M.C.*, vol. lxxv., 15th July and 20th Aug., 1781). Shawmier died at Madras in 1797 at the age of seventy-four, and was buried in the Armenian Church, where his tombstone may be seen.

Major John Elphinston to Lord Macartney.

(*M.C.*, vol. lxxv., 3rd July, 1781.)

'I came to this place this Forenoon and found Lallah[1] in the Pettah with eleven hundred Men, who retired precipitately. The Fort capitulated in Terms that public Property should belong to the Honble Company, and private Property to the Proprietors. Two Dutch Ships are taken in the Roads. I wish a Ship or two was sent immediately for Stores, Prisoners, &c. There is much Grain here.

'John Elphinston,
'Major 73rd Regiment.

'Fort at Pulicat.
'2nd July 1781, 8 o Clock Evening.'

'*Articles of Capitulation between Nicholas Tadama and Henry Scoffier, Esqrs., Chief and Second of the Dutch Factory of Pulicat, on the Part of the States of Holland, and Major John Elphinston on that of His Britannic Majesty and the Honorable East India Company.*

'1st. That the Fort Geldria, Commonly known by the Name of Pulicat, shall be immediately delivered up . . ., also all the Guns, Ammunition and public Stores both of Money and Grain, as likewise all the Vessels, Boats and small Craft now at anchor in this road and harbour. . . .

'2nd. That all private Property shall be secured to the respective Owners, Grain only excepted.

'3rd. That all the Gentlemen of the Settlement and the European Families shall be permitted to proceed to Negapatam. . . .

'4th. That the Troops in Garrison shall be considered as Prisoners at Discretion.

'Dated at Pulicat, July 2nd 1781.

'Nicholas Tadama.
'Henry Scoffier.

John Elphinston,
Major, 1st Battn. 73rd Regiment.'

The garrison consisted of less than a hundred men, few of whom were Europeans. Hence the fort was in no condition to offer resistance. Bimlipatam and other small forts to the northward surrendered shortly afterwards.[2]

In virtue of being Commander-in-Chief in India and a member of the Supreme Council, Sir Eyre Coote claimed the right to conduct the war with Hyder free from local control. Without admitting the justice of the demand, Lord Macartney allowed the General a free hand, but Coote nevertheless complained to Hastings of interference with his powers. Macartney wrote home as follows:—

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[1] *Lallah*, one of Hyder's Generals. He is referred to in the Calcutta newspapers as Lalla, Lallo, or Lalloo. (*Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, 6th Aug., 1781, and *India Gazette*, 30th March and 6th April, 1782.)

[2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 26th Jan., 1782.

Fort St. George to the Company.

'In our Letter by the Swallow We informed [you] that, on our Succeeding to the Administration of your Affairs, we found Sir Eyre Coote vested with all the powers of this Government as to the conduct of the War, and We thought it necessary to justify to you our forbearance from the exercise of the duties transferred to the General. . . .

'The enterprizes against Negapatam and the other Dutch Settlements excepted, (and they were accomplished without the Assistance of a man from the Main Army), We had not in any one Instance Acted by ourselves. Sir Eyre Coote had the sole direction of the Army and its Operations. He led it w[h]ithersoever he pleased, without consulting Us, or communicating his plans or Intentions, which were seldom known to Us till after they had been executed, or had failed. He had never received from Us any thing in the form or meaning of an Order, or that could imply disapprobation of any of his Measures. In a word, our Sole occupation consisted in devising means for the support of his Army, and obviating, to the utmost of our Ability, the difficulties and distresses which were the general subject of his Letters to this Government.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 5th April, 1782.)

The following description of Sir Eyre Coote in 1781 is from the pen of Captain Innes Munro:—

'The appearance of this officer is indeed highly pleasing and respectable. Though much emaciated by a long residence in this enervating climate, he yet bears the air of a hardy veteran; and, though at the age of sixty-three, cheerfully submits to the unremitting duties and trying hardships of the field. He is also renowned for an intrepid spirit and judicious conduct; which, together with a fascinating mien and an outward affectation of countenancing the sepoys, are said to have given him a great ascendancy over the black troops; an important accomplishment, not easily to be attained by commanders in this country. The last indeed is the chief cause assigned for sending General Coote to command at this critical period upon the Coromandel coast.'

Coote's campaigns lie outside the scope of this work, but a brief reference to them is necessary for the comprehension of events which occurred at the Presidency. His victory in June, 1781, at Porto Novo, where he was hemmed in between Hyder's army and the sea, extricated him from a dangerous situation; but his success at Polilore in the following August brought no consequent advantage, and at the close of the campaign the Mysore ruler was still in possession of the Carnatic.[1] In the campaign of 1782

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[1] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 26th Jan., 1782.

Coote not only suffered from illness, but experienced serious difficulties from want of provisions and transport; yet he was successful in several actions, and twice relieved the fortress of Vellore. On the other hand, Brathwaite was defeated and taken prisoner at Kumbhakonam. In April Hyder Ali's troops were again harassing the Mount and San Thomé. A Berhampur correspondent wrote as follows on the 7th May to the *India Gazette*[1]:—

'A body of Hyder's horse were at St. Thomas's Mount on the 29th ultimo, and General Munro and Mr. Brodie with great difficulty escaped from the General's gardens. They were pursued by Hyder's horse to within a mile of the black town. Hyder's troops had come to the Mount with a view of preventing the junction of the 78th Regiment; but they arrived about three days too late. . . . The detachment from Hyder's army consisted of about 15,000 horse and foot. Being disappointed of this first object, they marched down to St. Thomé and plundered it, driving all the Portuguese and native inhabitants into the black town. Several European ladies were there at the time, but luckily got away.'

Cuddalore had already fallen to Tippoo Sahib and the French[2]:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Towards the end of March Tippoo Saib moved with his Army within a few Miles of the Bound Hedge of Cuddalore, and invested that place the 2nd April, in conjunction with Mr. du Chemin and all the french Troops from Porto Novo, with a large Train of heavy Artillery.

'On the 3rd two french Officers came to the Fort with a flag of truce from Mr. du Chemin, and offered terms of Capitulation, the Substance of which was that the Fort should be delivered up at 5 o Clock that Evening to the French Troops, private property secured, and the Garrison to proceed to Madras, there to be exchanged for an equal Number of French Troops.

'Captain Hughes, to whom, agreably to your Orders, the Chief[3] and Council had delivered the Command of the place on its being invested, in answer demanded 5 days, and said he would treat for the surrender of the Fort if not relieved by the expiration of that time. This the french General refused, and the place being too weak to make any effectual resistance against so great a force, the Garrison consisting of not more than 400 regular Sepoys and 4 or 5 European Artillery men, Captain Hughes accepted the terms, and the French took possession of Cuddalore the Next Morning. . . .

'Upon receiving Intelligence of the Investment of Cuddalore, two Ships were despatched to the Assistance of the Garrison, but it had surrendered before their Arrival.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 5th Sept., 1782.)

In September, 1782, Coote sailed for Bengal, and as Sir Hector Munro had left for England, the command of the army devolved on General James Stuart. Munro's removal was ordered by the Directors in the following terms:—'Having frequently and most seriously considered the General Conduct of Sir Hector Munro, Commander in Chief at your Settlement, We have found it our indispensable duty without delay to remove him from his said Command and from the Service of the East India Company, of which we give you this Information, and direct, immediately upon receipt hereof, you communicate this Our Resolution to the General.'[1] At the moment when this letter of dismissal was being penned at home, the Madras Government were lauding Munro for his success at Negapatam. Writing to the Company, they said:—'General Sir Hector Munro, still continuing in a very indifferent state of Health, is returned to this Presidency, and takes his passage for Europe . . . , closing his services in this Country with the important Conquest of Negapatam. The Zeal and Alacrity with which he undertook that enterprize, and the Ability with which he has accomplished it do him the highest Honor.'[2]

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[1] *India Gazette*, 11th May, 1782.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxxix., 6th and 8th April, 1782.

[3] Mr. E. W. Fallofield.

In December, 1782, Hyder Ali died of carbuncle in the district now called North Arcot. His body was conveyed to Colar in Mysore, but the fact of his death was concealed until news of it could reach Tippoo Sahib:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

(*M. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 29th Jan., and 13th Aug., 1783.)

'On the 10th [December, 1782] a Letter from the Commanding Officer at Tripassore, dated the 8th, mentioned that the current report of those parts was that, about 5 or 6 days ago, Hyder Ally went with his Army to Chittore, there to celebrate a feast, and that he was since dead of the violent discharges of a Boil on his Back.'

'Of these [events] the most important is the death of Hyder Ally, who expired at Chittoor between the 4th and 8th of December. This event has not been as yet attended with any of those consequences that might naturally be expected to follow the death of an Usurper who acquired and preserved his power by violence and cruelty. At the period it happened, his eldest Son Tippoo Saib was on the Malabar Coast with the best Troops of his Army opposing Colonel Humberston. . . .'[1]

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxv., 25th Jan., 1782.

[2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 26th Jan., 1782. Munro commanded the first line at Porto Novo on the 1st July, 1781, and the right wing at the second battle of Polilore on the 27th August. After this action he obtained leave from Sir Eyre Coote to proceed to England for the recovery of his health. On reaching Madras, however, he yielded to Lord Macartney's earnest solicitation that he should take command of the expedition against Negapatam, saying that 'if it was thought he could be of service, he should cheerfully attempt it, though, in the state of health in which he then was, it might be at the hazard of his life.'

Coote returned to Madras in April only to die. Shortly afterwards Stuart, who was operating against Cuddalore, was recalled to Fort St. George. The circumstances attending Coote's death and Stuart's dismissal will be described presently. The next senior officer, Major-General Sir John Burgoyne, commanding the 23rd Light Dragoons, declined to recognize Stuart's deposition, and Colonel Ross Lang, a Company's officer, who had lately distinguished himself by the defence of Vellore, was accordingly appointed to the command of the army. Burgoyne, refusing to obey Ross Lang, was arrested and subsequently tried for mutiny, a crime of which he was honourably acquitted.

On the 24th June, 1783, Macartney heard informally from Bombay that preliminaries of peace had been signed between Great Britain; France, Spain, Holland, and America. He despatched Sadleir and Staunton to Cuddalore to propose the immediate cessation of hostilities with the French, a course to which Bussy and Suffrein agreed.[2] The proclamation of peace reached Madras on the 24th July. Mutual restoration of territory followed, whereby the British regained Cuddalore and the French Pondicherry. Bussy did not long survive:—

Colonel Barry to Lord Macartney.

(*M.C.*, vol. cv., 10th Jan., 1785.)

'I do myself the honor, tho' with much concern, to acquaint your Lordship with the death of the Marquis de Bussy, which happened about 10 o'Clock last evening. I was the more surprized at hearing of this event in the morning as I had waited on him with Sir Henry Cosby but at eight, and found him in good health and Spirits, and, as usual, most kind and friendly. I had engaged myself to dine with him to day. . . .

'How this very unfortunate Circumstance may operate on our particular situation at the present, your Lordship will best judge. . . .

'H. Barry.

'Pondicherry 8th January 1785.'

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[1] Colonel Humberston (or Humberston Mackenzie) had arrived from England at Calicut with the 100th Regiment and part of the 98th.

[2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 13th Aug., 1783. Staunton, Macartney's private secretary, was granted a pension of £500 a year for the services he then rendered.

Pulicat was restored to the Dutch in July, 1785.[1] Negotiations with Tippoo had been opened two years earlier, and Sadleir, Staunton, and Hudleston proceeded to Mangalore to treat for peace. The Commissioners were shown little respect by Tippoo, but a settlement was concluded on the 11th March, 1784, whereby the restoration of prisoners was agreed to.[2] The unhappy captives had been treated badly by Hyder and atrociously by his son, and many, including the unfortunate Colonel Baillie, had perished during their confinement. The majority languished in the dungeons beneath the ramparts of Seringapatam, but some were imprisoned at Bangalore and in other fortresses. In April, 1782, Dr. William Raine wrote to Lord Macartney from 'Bangalore Prison,' enclosing a list of the captives in the fort. It included 3 Captains, 13 Lieutenants, 12 Ensigns, 2 naval officers, 1 Judge-Advocate, 1 Surgeon, 1 Surgeon's mate, and 3 cadets, besides 76 soldiers confined in the Pettah.[3] Macartney did all in his power to secure consideration for the prisoners in Mysore territory, but accounts of their treatment which reached England caused grave concern to the Directors:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have received such private information, which we fear is too well authenticated, of the sufferings of several brave Officers and Men of the Navy and Army who were Prisoners with Tippoo Sultan as has filled us with the deepest concern. We conclude that these Accounts cannot have reached you in the extent in which we have received them, as we conceive it impossible that you should not have communicated them to us.

'We very much fear, from the Lists that have been transmitted to us, that many of the Officers and Men of the King's and Company's Troops who have hitherto survived the rigor of their confinement are still in captivity. Should such be the case, we direct that you immediately take every possible method that shall suggest itself to you, without proceeding to Hostilities, to procure their release; and that you endeavour to obtain from Tippoo Sultan an exact account of the Prisoners which have been so unfortunate as to fall into his hands, representing to him at the same time how contrary it is to the Laws of all Civilized Nations to treat their Captives with the smallest degree of severity, much less with cruelties at the recital of which every breast must be filled with horror.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxviii., 10th Dec., 1784.)

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. cviii., 2nd July, 1785.

[2] As a result of the war, the President stated that, out of 2,265 villages in the Jaghire, 2,000 had been destroyed. (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 13th Aug., 1783.)

[3] *M.C.*, vol. lxxix., 10th April, 1782.

The number of prisoners restored by Tippoo in March and April, 1784, is thus reported by the *India Gazette*[1]:—

> 'The Prisoners (privates) released by Tippoo amount to eleven hundred and forty six English, and the Sepoys to three thousand. They are arrived at Arcot. General Lang is going to give to all the Prisoners an elegant entertainment on their release from captivity.'

Then follows a nominal list of 163 military officers, 30 naval officers, and 4 civilians. Among the officers who had perished were General Mathews and seventeen others from Bombay, and Colonel Baillie with seven others from Madras. In the next issue of the *Gazette*,[2] it is stated that 'Tippoo has chosen to detain more than two hundred, among whom are two Officers, Messrs. Speide and Rutledge: the others consist of Midshipmen and Artificers of various kinds.' Some of the captives did not regain their freedom until 1791.

The middle of 1785 saw the almost simultaneous arrival of two officers of high rank at Fort St. George—viz., Lieut.-General Robert Sloper, as Commander-in-Chief in India, and Lieut.-General Sir John Dalling, Bart., as Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army. The latter, who brought with him his family and a retinue of servants, sat as President of the court-martial on Burgoyne, and Sloper confirmed the Court's finding before he sailed for Calcutta. Ross Lang retired on a pension of £1,000 a year.[3]

A few matters of local interest may be noted. Among the King's troops sent out to Madras in 1782 were the 23rd Light Dragoons under Sir John Burgoyne, the 101st and 102nd Foot, each 1,400 strong, commanded by Colonels Sandford and Rowley, and a regiment of Hanoverians under Colonel Reinbold. This last corps was raised in Hanover, and governed by its own martial law. Each of its two battalions had a pair of small field-guns attached to it. The 23rd Dragoons was the first European cavalry regiment seen in Madras. It arrived dismounted, and was supplied with horses from Bengal. The regiment encamped at the Luz, where it formed a strong outpost. A detachment of infantry was cantoned at San Thomé,[1] occupying ecclesiastical buildings. In 1786 the Governor of Goa wrote to desire that 'the Military quartered in the Churches of St. Thomé may be removed, and that the Bishop may be left in the uninterrupted possession of his Diocess as in former times.'[2] There was evidently difficulty in finding accommodation for the newly-arrived troops. Mr. James Stringer complained in 1782 that two officers of the 101st Regiment had forcibly entered his house at Vepery, and billeted some men there, who did grievous damage. He represented that 'after a servitude of 18 years in the Capacity of Master Bricklayer with the Strictest Fidelity and attention,' he was entitled to the Company's special protection.[3]

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[1] *India Gazette*, 17th May, 1784. Beveridge gives the numbers as 180 officers, 900 British soldiers, and 1,600 sepoys (*History of India*, Beveridge, ii. 526). Innes Munro cites 200, 1,100, and 2,000 respectively.

[2] *India Gazette*, 24th May, 1784.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. cvii., 29th May, 1785.

Besides the volunteer corps known as the Black Town Militia and commanded by Captain Simon de Fonseca, a special force had been raised for the protection of the native city, and placed under the authority of the Town Major:—

The Town Major to Government.

'In Order that you may fully Comprehend the Nature of my Accounts for Cloathing the 26th and 27th Battalions of Sepoys and Native Artillery, and how they happen to differ from the Mode of Cloathing the other Battalions in the Service, I take the liberty to acquaint your Lordship, &c., that these Corps were raised at the Commencement of the War, expressly for the Defence of the Black Town, and upon the Idea of their being paid by Assessment on the Inhabitants. . . .

'As soon as the Black Town Battalions were taken into the Company's service in April last, I gave a Memorandum to the Right Honble the Governor for continuing the same Pay (or 1 Pagoda 20 fanams) per Month to the sepoys until the year was Compleated. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxxvi., 19th Feb., 1783.)

In 1785 Sir John Dalling advised the disbandment of the 'Company of Malays in the Black Town.'[4]

For a very long period the Governor of Madras had enjoyed the escort of a few mounted Europeans, but it was not until the beginning of the war with Hyder Ali that the Body Guard was placed on a regular footing as a troop of native cavalry. Its establishment is thus explained by Major Sydenham:—

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 4th Feb., 1783.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. cxiii., 9th July, 1786.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 4th Dec., 1782. James Stringer, who acquired land in Vepery, died in 1787 at the age of fifty-seven, and was buried in the Island Cemetery. His tombstone records that he was for twenty-four years 'Superintendent of Public Buildings, H.E.I.C.S.' His wife Elizabeth, who expired four years earlier, lies buried in the churchyard of St. Matthias, Vepery. (*List of Inscriptions*, J. J. Cotton.)

[4] *M.C.*, vol. cvii., 21st July, 1785.

Memorandum by the Town Major.

'The Governor's Troop of Native Cavalry, now forming part of a detachment under the Command of Lieutenant Orr for the protection of the environs of this Place, was raised immediately on the commencement of the present war with Hyder Ally, (Viz. August 1780), by the Town Major in consequence of the Orders of Mr. Whitehill, the then Governor, and consisted of 1 Jemidar, 2 Havildars, 2 Naigues, 1 Farrier and 20 Privates. The principal intention of forming this Troop was to have some Videttes to place occasionally on the Road[s] leading to Madras to bring intelligence of the Enemy's approach. It was accordingly armed and accoutred from the Company's Stores, and taught the exercise of the Carbine having the Ramrod of Captain Pringle's construction, and these are the Arms now in use with the Troop. The Horses for it were lent by the Gentlemen of the Settlement, and afterwards purchased of them by Government. The Saddles, Holsters and Bridles were furnished from the Nabob's Stores under the Charge of the Military Storekeeper.

'The Cloathing and Horse furniture was provided by the Town Major, and charged to the Company. The Troop, being formed and disciplined, did duty over the Governor, Mr. Whitehill. Four Men constantly attended his Carriage, and the whole Troop occasionally. The same to Mr. Smith upon his succeeding to the Government, and the number of Men in the Troop was increased by his Orders with a view to Mount them as soon as possible.

'Upon the March of the Army in January 1781 towards Cuddalore, it was thought necessary to form a Light Corps under Captain Scott to keep the Environs clear of Straggling Parties of the Enemy. This Corps consisted of the Governor's Troop, two compleat Companies of Sepoys, 100 Poligars and two light Guns. It was stationed at first near General Stuart's, afterwards at Mr. Taswell's Gardens, and was of great use in protecting the Environs against the irregular Horse which Lallah sent to plunder and to carry off Cattle. At the time this disposition of the Troop took place, Mr. Smith had a Guard of the dismounted Men at his house in the Fort, and four mounted when he went out. The same number also attended Lord Macartney on his arrival, but was afterwards reduced to two. . . . In August Captain Scott joined the Army, and Lieutenant Orr was appointed to the Command of the Troop and Detachment. . . .

'It is proper to observe that, before the Establishment of this Troop, a part of the European Troop had been ordered to do Duty as a Guard to the Governor, as appears by the General Orders of the 7th June 1779. This Troop was afterwards reduced. . . . W. SYDENHAM, Town Major.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 4th Jan., 1783.)

In 1783 the Select Committee, at Macartney's instance, resolved to increase the strength of the Body Guard, raising the establishment to 1 Lieutenant, 2 Cornets, 1 Subadar, 2 Jemadars, 4 Havildars, 4 Naigues, 1 Vakeel, 1 Farrier, 2 Drummer and Trumpeters, and 50 Troopers. Lieutenant John Orr commanded the troop, and Ensigns Pogson and Floyer were appointed Cornets. A company of native infantry was at the same time associated with the Body Guard.[1]

The Nawab and his two elder sons had each his own bodyguard. That of Walajah consisted of 223 ill-appointed infantry, with two French 4-pounder brass guns, which had been lately presented him by the Company. Amīr-ul-Umarā, however, possessed a well-disciplined mixed force of 157 cavalry, 337 infantry, and 145 artillery with three 3-pounder guns, the whole commanded by Captain Johnson. For the Nawab's eldest son, 'Umdat-ul-Umarā, twenty indifferently drilled sepoys, and two Danish 3-pounders sufficed.[2]

DEATH OF SIR EYRE COOTE.

While with the army in January, 1782, Sir Eyre Coote was seized with a fit of apoplexy,[3] but, on rallying from its effects, he refused to quit the field, and he retained the command of the army until the 12th September, when his doctors advised a sea voyage to Bengal. He sailed in the *Medea*, frigate, on the 28th September. After a cold weather in Calcutta he felt fit to resume the command, and in April, 1783, he left for Madras in the Company's ship *Resolution*, Capt. Wemyss, with artillery reinforcements and a consignment of treasure. The naval squadron not having returned from its monsoon quarters, French ships were scouring the Bay. The *Resolution* was sighted and chased, and Coote's apprehension of the loss which the Company would sustain by her capture brought on a recurrence of illness, so that his condition was precarious when he was carried ashore on the 24th April.[4] Relations between him and Macartney had been strained before he quitted Madras, and it was perhaps from this cause that his critical state seems to have been imperfectly known to the Government:—

'*Extract from Minutes of the Select Committee, 26th April,* 1783.

'The President observes to the Committee that Sir Eyre Coote is at length arrived, and he understands has brought with him both despatches and Treasure, but as yet we have received nothing from him. . . .

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. xcv., 19th Dec., 1783.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 4th Jan., 1783.

[3] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 26th Jan., 1782.

[4] *M.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 24th April, 1783.

'It is proper We should Enquire if any despatches for us from the Governor General and Council are arrived with Sir Eyre Coote, that we may know their Views and Intention and regulate our Conduct by them. It is still more necessary that we should know if Sir Eyre Coote has brought with him any Treasure for the public Service, because we stand greatly in need of it at this most critical Juncture. . . . General Stuart in every Letter calls loudly for money, and declares there ought to be 120,000 Pag^s. in the money Tumbril with the Army in the present Service. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxix., 6th May, 1783.)

An enquiry was accordingly addressed on the 27th to Mr. George Tyler, Sir Eyre Coote's Assistant-Secretary. He replied that the General should be informed of the application directly his health would permit. At 4.30 p.m. on the same day Sir Eyre Coote expired:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'On the 24th April Sir Eyre Coote arrived here on the Ship Resolution, and the next day, understanding that he was extremely indisposed, it was expressly resolved in Committee that the Secretary should wait on Colonel Owen, his principal Aid de Camp, and inform him that We had addressed a Letter to Sir Eyre Coote to be delivered him on his arrival from Bengal, but as he was at present too much indisposed to attend to Business and the Letter contained matter of very serious Import, it would be kept back until he (Colonel Owen) should be of opinion that it might be delivered with propriety. . . .

'Sir Eyre Coote was brought on shore the 24th, and expired the 27th April at his house in this Garrison.[1] He was enterred the next day in the Church with all the honors suited to his distinguished rank.[2]

'We condole with you on this melancholy event, which has deprived your Army of a Zealous and intrepid leader whose eminent Services cannot fail to render his memory dear to his immediate Employers as well as to his Country.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 13th Aug., 1783.)

Colonel Owen announced the news to Hastings on the day of Coote's death:—

Colonel Arthur Owen to the Governor-General.

'The Communication of what I am most cruelly necessitated to relate will fill you with extreme Distress. Your Good and Great General, Sir Eyre Coote, s no more. Worn down by severe Illness and Fatigue both of Body and Mind, a very Martyr to the Public Cause, He this afternoon about five o'Clock resigned his Breath, thank God seemingly without Pain; and his last two days were remarkably placid and serene.

'The shock our Country's Interests will sustain by this most severe of blows is too evident. I feel the powers of this subject so forcibly, and am at present so unequal to dwelling on it, that I intreat Your Indulgence for not being more particular in the recital. The Army, the State, the British World, as well as his Family and Connections, have suffered a most irreparable loss, but no one can be more materially or truly Affected by it than Your ever Devoted, Obliged and Obedient Servant, ARTHUR OWEN.

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[1] Neither this house in the Fort nor the residence which the General previously occupied on Choultry Plain (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 31st Oct., 1782) has been identified.

[2] This was the second intramural burial at St. Mary's, that of Lord Pigot being the first. The remains of Sir Eyre Coote were afterwards removed to England.

'Thinking it of the utmost Consequence that Your Honble Supreme Board should be acquainted as early as possible with the above Melancholy Intelligence, I applied to Sir Edward Hughes for this Despatch by Sea. The funeral is to be tomorrow afternoon, and I shall on the following Morning deliver over to Government here the five Lacs of Rupees which came on the Resolution consigned to Sir Eyre Coote. A. O.' (*Calcutta Records*, 27th April, 1783.)

Then ensued a triangular dispute regarding this treasure designed for the use of the Madras Government, of which they were sorely in need:—

'*Extract from Minutes of the Select Committee, 28th April,* 1783.

'In consequence of the Melancholy event of the death of Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, who is said to have brought with him from Bengal a supply of Treasure for the public service on the Coast, the Committee think it proper and necessary to make immediate Enquiry concerning the said Treasure, in order that it may be sent as soon as possible to the Army, which is now 7 months in Arrears, and General Stuart has requested in the most urgent terms a supply of 120,000 Pagodas previous to the Army continuing its march towards the Enemy at Cuddalore. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxix., 6th May, 1783.)

Capt. Wemyss produced his bill of lading for four chests, containing 96 ingots of fine gold of the value of five lakhs of rupees, consigned to Sir Eyre Coote, and stated that the treasure was landed on the 25th by order of Colonel Owen:—

'*Extract from Minutes of the Select Committee 28th April* 1783.

'Colonel Owen represents to the Committee that Gold, to the value of 5 Lacks of Rupees, had been put on board the Resolution; that, seeing by the Bill of lading that it was consigned to Sir Eyre Coote or his assigns, and the General not being able to give orders himself on the Subject, it was landed by his (Colonel Owen's) order, and is now under his charge; that he this morning received a Letter from Mr. Arthur Cuthbert (which he now lays before the Committee) demanding payment out of this Money of a Lack of Pagodas lent to Sir Eyre Coote on his Bond by the Admiral in August last, and threatening an immediate prosecution if the demand should not be complied with. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxix., 6th May, 1783.)

Owen applied to the Supreme Government for instructions:—

Colonel Owen to the Governor-General and Council.

'Since I had the Honor of addressing you by Letter of Yesterday's date I am Involved in a most disagreeable dilemma from which no power but Your Supreme Board can Exonerate me. My First Object on our arrival in the Roads was to land our late Invaluable General; this effected, to send an Order to Capt. Wemyss to deliver the five Lacs of Rupees to Mr. Tyler, Your Honble Supreme Board having thought it adviseable to Consign the Money specifically to Sir Eyre Coote or his Assigns. The General's ever to be lamented decease has brought on the following most disagreeable case.

'Yesterday, before his corpse was interred, I received No. 1 Letter[1] from Mr. Cuthbert, consequently wrote by the Admiral's Order: indeed he has since avowed it to me. The want of common decency in sending such a Letter before the Good General's Corpse was even cold appeared so apparent that I answer'd Mr. Cuthbert's Letter by no. 2. In the very same Hour I receiv'd a Letter from the Right Honble the President and Select Committee, requiring that the Money I had Landed from the Resolution should be immediately given over to their order. I waited on them in Committee and wa[i]ved, till Sir Eyre Coote was buried, on mere principles of propriety, coming to any resolution on the Demands made on me by the Select Committee and the Admiral.

'The particulars of the Admiral's claim it is almost needless to explain to your Board, as I am Confident the late Commander in Chief, while at Bengal and previous to his arrival there, has done it fully, viz^{t}. that in time of the greatest distress, when the General could not move the Army to the relief of Velore in August last for want of Funds, the Admiral lent him, on his own Bond, one Lac of Pagodas. The Public faith here was pledged that the first remittance from Bengal should repay the Admiral. Your Honble Board also, by Your Letter to the General in September last, authorised the repayment of the aforesaid Lac out of the first received remittances. From that date to the present hour Government here has put off paying the Admiral's demand. Sir Edward Hughes produces the General's authority and most positive assurances that, on his return to the Coast, he would pay the Demand. . . .

'Thus stood the explanation of the case this morning, and the five Lacs alluded to in my Charge by the unfortunate Casualty of Sir Eyre Coote's decease. Government here offer'd Sir Edward Hughes yesterday Bills on Bengal for the amount of his Debt, which had he accepted I should have been relieved from my present Distress, as I then should have been enabled, Sir Eyre Coote's Bond being Discharged, to have immediately deliver'd the Bullon into the Treasury, where I am confident it is much wanted; but the Admiral refused the Bills or any Security: nothing will do but Cash, which under my present predicament I cannot be authorised to pay him. He has, in the most peremptory manner, inform'd me within this Hour that he will sue Sir Eyre Coote's Estate tomorrow, adding that he had given the Order, and would not be triffled with by Lord Macartney, &c. Had the General recovered, the Money was vested and Entrusted to his discretionary Disbursement; consequently it could not be parted with by me in his Life time, nor can I, in the present Instance, pay it to any one till I am regularly and legally authorised to dispose of it. Your Honble Board are the only parties that can give me what

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[1] Demanding repayment of a loan made by Hughes to Coote.

I shall esteem proper Orders, for no other power has funds to pay the Admiral's demand, and for them I shall most impatiently wait.

'Sir Eyre Coote's Estate will be in the most disagreeable predicament till you relieve it, for the Admiral will not only sue for the Money but, it seems, till he is satisfied, he can also take out letters of Administration as a principal Creditor on the Estate, or enter Caveat on Lady Coote's taking out powers of administration, which, from the purport of the will, her Ladyship means to do, being the principal Legatee, [and] consequently having a large Claim on the Estate.

'I am confident that Your Honble Board will be Distress'd to a Degree at such an unparall[el]ed Circumstance happening, (absolutely brought on by the Deceased General's zeal for the Public Service), or that his hardly yet Cold but revered manes should be Insulted by Litigations from any Quarter. . . . ARTHUR OWEN.' (*Calcutta Records*, 29th April, 1783.)

The Madras Government consulted the Attorney-General as to the best means of recovering the money. Benjamin Sulivan replied that, if Sir Eyre Coote died intestate, Government could take charge of his property, 'but it is said that he has left a Will, and though it is also said his Executors are in Europe, yet his Widow is here, and to her the Court cannot refuse Administration during their absence.' Sulivan accordingly dissuaded Lord Macartney from taking proceedings in the Mayor's Court. On the 6th May it was resolved to send all the papers to Bengal, and point out that the whole trouble arose through consigning public money to an individual in his own name.

Four more chests of gold arrived by the *San Carlos* on the 10th May for Sir Eyre Coote. Owen received this consignment, and sent the whole of the treasure to the Mint to be coined into pagodas. A week later he satisfied the Admiral, and before the end of the month paid the balance into the Treasury. At the same time he handed in the following letter from the Governor-General:—

The Supreme Government to Colonel Owen.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxx., 28th May, 1783.)

'We have received your Letters of the 27th and 29th Ultimo by Captain Dyer of His Majesty's Cutter the Lizard.

'We read with the deepest affliction the Melancholy accounts which you Give us of the Death of Sir Eyre Coote, the late Commander in Chief of the Forces in India; but our Concern if possible would be heightened by the Circumstances which have followed concerning the Demand made upon Lady Coote, in the first Moments of her affliction, for payment of the Bond granted by the deceased General to Admiral Sir Edward Hughes for the Loan of one Lack of Pagodas borrowed of him for the public Service. That not a Moment may be lost in satisfying this claim, We have written positive Instructions to the President and Council of Fort St. George to discharge it out of the Consignment of Treasure which was Landed from the Resolution; and We hereby Direct that, on Receipt hereof, you immediately Deliver up to the Order of the said Right Honble President and Council not only the full Amount of the said Consignment, but likewise the further Consignment made to the late Sir Eyre Coote on board the San Carlos, if it shall be in your Possession.

'WARREN HASTINGS
'EDWARD WHELER
'JOHN MACPHERSON
'JOHN STABLES.

'Fort William,
'7th May 1783.'

Lady Coote resided at Madras until February, 1784, when she conveyed her husband's body to England in the Company's ship *Belmont*. The *India Gazette* published the following:—

> 'On the 6th instant the Belmont, Capt. Gamage, sailed for England. Lady Coote is gone home on that Ship. . . . The body of our good old General, Sir Eyre Coote, was taken up from the place of its interment, and put into a leaden coffin, and carried on board the Belmont for England. There cannot be a doubt his generous countrymen will pay all due honours to so illustrious and worthy a character by erecting a monument to his memory, and by perpetuating on the sculptured stone the remembrance of the many splendid victories he obtained over the enemies of his country in this part of the world, and by which he secured to it what may now justly be called the brightest remaining gem in his monarch's crown. This worthy veteran breathed his last in the country in which be gained his fame, but where he sacrificed his constitution, and where he can never cease to be remembered without the aid of either monuments or inscriptions while his countrymen possess a foot of land in India.' (*India Gazette*, 28th Feb., 1784.)

The remains were interred at Rockbourne, Hants, where the late General had, in 1762, purchased the estate of West Park. The Directors commemorated his great services by a statue in the India House and a monument in Westminster Abbey.

Coote married in 1763 Susanna, daughter of Charles Hutchinson, Governor of St. Helena, but left no children, and his estate passed to a nephew. A portrait of the General, by Robert Home, was painted for Madras in 1795[1] and placed in the Exchange. It is said that no native non-commissioned officer or sepoy ever entered the hall without saluting the picture. By 1812 the portrait had become so much damaged by exposure to sea air that Thomas Hickey was commissioned to paint a copy. His work, which was not finished until 1822, now hangs in the Banqueting Hall of Government House, Madras.

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[1] Probably a copy of a picture by Dance, which was then in the possession of General Martine at Lucknow.

CHAPTER XVII

1781—1785

DEPORTATION OF GENERAL STUART—MARITIME MATTERS

DEPORTATION OF GENERAL STUART.

AFTER his long-delayed trial and restoration to the service as second in command of the Madras Army, General Stuart did duty in the field under Sir Eyre Coote. Losing a leg by a cannon-ball at the battle of Polilore in August, 1781, he made a good recovery,[1] and a little later was eager to succeed Sir Hector Munro. Writing to England in the following January, Macartney's Council observed:—'The only General Officer who remaines is General Stuart, who, tho' mutilated a few months since by the loss of a Leg, seems full of Ardor and resolved to take the Command. Sir Hector Munro, as you have already been informed, will soon sail in the Rochford. Lord Macleod also intends to embark in the same Ship.'[2] Munro's departure was delayed until September, 1782. Simultaneously Sir Eyre Coote, broken in health, left for Bengal. Stuart thus succeeded the former as provincial Commander-in-Chief, and at the same time received from the latter the actual command of the field army.[3] Lord Macartney had, at the solicitation of Warren Hastings, given Sir Eyre Coote a free hand, but he was not disposed to grant the same liberty of action to General Stuart. The latter, however, regarded his command of the King's troops as exempting him from the Company's control. In June, 1783, he was recalled to Madras for systematic disobedience of orders, and in September received his dismissal:—

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[1] 'General Stewart was perfectly recovered, and had joined the army at the Mount; having provided himself with a cork leg, which we are informed he uses with great ease, and is able to get on horseback with it.' (*India Gazette*, 23rd March, 1782.)

[2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 26th Jan., 1782.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 28th Sept., 1782, and *M. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 31st Oct., 1782.

Proceedings of the Select Committee.

'The President has the honor to observe to the Committee that, in his minute of the 25th of June last, after mentioning Some of the Instances of Misconduct and Disobedience of Major General Stuart, which made it necessary to recall him immediately from the Command of the Army, the President added that, upon the General's Return, he would have an opportunity of adducing his Reasons, if any, that could tend to his Justification. Since his Return he has referred to his former Correspondence, and he asserts that he is fit for the Command; but he has adduced no Reasons either to justify his misconduct or to mitigate the Punishment due to it. His Conduct indeed appears to have been that of a premeditated, wilful, repeated and Systematic Disobedience; and that Disobedience has been not only prejudicial by its Example to the Company's regular Government, and has a Direct Tendency to bring about the Same Subversion of such Government as that of which the General has been in a former instance a principal and active Instrument, but such Disobedience has been actually productive of material and lasting Injury to the Company. . . .

'The President therefore moves, in virtue of the Power given to the Government in case of the Disobedience of any of its Military Officers, that Major General Stuart be immediately dismissed from the Service. And as his Rank in the King's Service can operate only when on Service by the King's Command; not being so employed, and being only on half pay from the Bounty of the Crown, and not employed by the Company, Major General Burgoyne, the Senior Officer in the King's Service upon the Coast, is consequently to Command the King's forces. . . .

'Resolved unanimously that Major General Stuart be dismissed from the Service of the Company, and he is hereby dismissed accordingly.' (*M.C.*, vol. xcii., 17th Sept., 1783.)

Burgoyne, however, considered that he owed obedience to Stuart until the latter resigned. Consequently the Select Committee[1] met again the same day, and resolved to arrest Stuart and confer the command on Colonel Ross Lang, a Company's officer:—

Proceedings of the Select Committee.

'The President repeats to the Committee what Sir John Burgoyne has just said in their presence, that, since the Orders passed this Morning, General Stuart declared to him (Sir John Burgoyne) that he would send Orders to the King's Troops this Evening, and that he (Sir John Burgoyne) added that he should obey those Orders. The President therefore thought it Necessary to direct the Adjutant of the Garrison, Lieutenant Gomond,[2] with a party, to be ready to secure the person of General Stuart and remove him to the Fort in order to prevent the confusion and possible Subversion of Government that might be the Consequence of General Stuart's being left at liberty to act agreeably to that declaration. The President also requested Mr. Staunton, in whom the Committee can, from expe[rie]nce of his abilities and discretion, place entire confidence, to be in readiness to accompany Lieutenant Gomond.

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[1] Macartney, Sadleir, Davidson, and Morgan Williams.

[2] In 1789 Captain Richard Gomond, who was then Town Major, married Miss Susannah Ellerker.

'The Committee unanimously approve, and agree to the measure of arresting the person of General Stuart, from a conviction on the strongest grounds that it is absolutely necessary for the peace and safety of the Settlement; and the Committee approve of the Steps which the President has taken to Accomplish that purpose, and empower his Lordship at this Critical moment to take any other precautions that he may Judge necessary for the public Safety. The party is accordingly ordered to proceed.' (*M.C.*, vol. xcii., 17th Sept., 1783.)

Lieutenant Gomond effected the arrest, and returned immediately to the Consultation Room to report his action :—

Report of the Fort Adjutant.

'Having received my Orders, I went to the Company's Gardens, and from the Guard there added 32 Sepoys to 20 which I took from the Fort . . . I applied to Ensign Cook, who readily took the Command of the party. We then proceeded to the General's Garden house. The party was formed in the Garden, and I went to the foot of the Stairs with 12 Sepoys. On entering the General's room, I found him with Major Gratton,[1] his Aid de Camp and Secretary, all writing. I went up to the General, and told him I was ordered by the Select Committee to consider him as in Arrest, and that he must proceed with me immediately to the Fort. He answered that he was Commander in Chief of the King's Troops, and that he would not come without Force. I replied that I had force with me, and must bring him by force if he would not come, and I requested Mr. Staunton to order the Sepoys up Stairs. They Accordingly came up with their Arms. . . . The General then desired Major Gratton, his Secretary and Aid du Camp, to observe that he was taken out of his House by an Armed force. They took down the names of Mr. Cook, Mr. Staunton, Mr. Walker and myself. The General then Asked me to produce a written Order, if I had one. I told him the order was verbal. . . . He called for his Coat, and put up his papers, and whispered separately to Major Gratton and Mr. Close.[2] He then ordered the Table to be removed from before the Couch on which he was sitting, got up with his Crutches, and again called on the people to be witness of the force, and repeated he would not go unless compelled. I answered he must see the Necessity of his going, and that, if he would permit me, I would take hold of his Arm. This he refused, and repeated that he must be forced. I therefore ordered two Sepoys on each side of him, upon which he came readily. After giving some directions to his people about him, I then attended him to his house in the Fort. While I was there, Sir John Burgoyne came to him, to whom he said he had been brought there by force, contrary to his will and consent. I left with him Sir John Burgoyne and Major Sydenham.'

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[1] Major John Grattan was Adjutant-General for His Majesty's forces.

[2] Lieutenant Barry Close was Aide-de-Camp to General Stuart.

Orders of the Select Committee.

'The Committee intirely approve of the Conduct of Lieutenant Gomond, and applaud the firmness and prudence which he has shewn in the Execution of their Orders on this Occasion.

'The Committee are of opinion that it is necessary for the public safety, and Accordingly resolved, that General Stuart for the present remain in Confinement; that an Officer be kept on duty over him, and that he be not visited but in presence of the Officer, nor suffer[ed] to write Letters without submitting them to the Inspection of the Committee. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. xcii., 17th Sept., 1783.)

Amīr ul Umarā is said to have summed up the situation with the remark, 'Sometime General Stuart catch one Lord; now one Lord catch General Stuart.' On the 1st October the Government reported their action to the Court, but the Directors had resolved on Stuart's dismissal before the communication reached England.[1] On the 7th October Stuart delivered the following statement of protest, which, he said, he had been obliged to draw up unaided, his legal adviser, Mr. Charles Bromley, having been denied access to him:—

Statement of General Stuart.

'To all to whom these Presents shall come or be heared, I, James Stuart, a Major General of His Majesty's Troops, did, on the Seventeenth of September Last, about three o Clock in the afternoon, Receive Communication of the General Orders from the select Committee of Fort St. George, whereof an attested Copy is hereto annexed, and Having, on the Evening of the Seventeenth day of September . . ., been Violently Seized at my Garden House on Choultry Plain by Lieutenant Gomand, Fort Adjutant of the Town of Madraspatnam, assisted by One George Leonard Sta[u]nton, a person not in the Company's Service and in no publick Character in this Government, and a party of Sepoys under the Command of Lieutenant Cooke, who Violently intruded, and in a most brutal manner forced themselves upon the Declarant, who was sitting in company with Major Gratton, Lieutenants Close and Smart, who were writing and receiving Orders from this Declarant, when Lieutenant Gomand, the Town Adjutant, advanced and announced to this Decla[ra]nt that he, this Declarant, was under an arrest by Order of the Governor and Select Committee, adding that the General must immediately accompany him to the Fort. The Declarant . . . replied . . . that he should require some time at least to secure his Papers and put on his Cloathes, and time for this the Declarant says he should certainly take. Lieutenant Gomand answered that, if the said Declarant did not come with him Voluntarily, he must use force, and had ready below for that purpose a party of Sepoys. Mr. George Leonard Staunton and Lieutenant Gomand on this whispered together, and the said George Leonard Staunton instantly returning with a party of Sepoys with fixed Bayonets, Commanded by Lieutenant Cooke, the said George Leonard Staunton having at the same time Drawn his Sword; Upon which Major Gratton approached him, and asked him if it was proper or decent to Enter the appartment of the Commander in Chief with such an apparent indication of outrage. The said George Leonard Staunton replied Very loud and with Great Intemperance that he knew what he did and that he would answer for it. . . . The said Declarant says . . . he did not think himself bound to go Voluntarily from his House, where he was then doing Business, and Should therefore be moved only by Force.

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxvii., 23rd April, 1784.

'On this Speech the said Declarant says Lieutenant Gomand Seized him by the Arm as he the Declarant leaned on the Couch and his Crutches, the Declarant resisting and calling all present to Witness the Force that was used against him, Major General Stuart, his Majesty's Commander in Chief in India, and, according to that days Orders of Government, not in the Service of the Company. The said Declarant says Lieutenant Gomand took out two Sepoys, and giving each an arm of this Declarant, they carried this Declarant off to the Stairs, placing him in a Chair as this Declarant has but one Leg. He was conveyed down to his, the said Declarant's, Palanquin, in which State of Confinement he was Escorted by the whole of the Party . . . to the Gates of the Fort, which he, the said Declarant, found Shut as if apprehensive of Surprize. . . . He was carried in to the Fort and to his House there, where he was placed in his own Bed Chamber, debarred the use of Pen, Ink and Paper, Centinels placed at the Door of his House and put under the Charge of an Officer with orders not to leave this Declarant night or Day, and no person whatever to hold any Correspondence of any kind, or permit any person to speak or come near the said Declarant without the leave of the President and Select Committee first had and Obtained. . . . JAMES STUART.' (*M.C.*, vol. xciii., 7th Oct., 1783.)

A vessel was hired for the conveyance of the General to England, and she was liberally provisioned:—

Report of the Town Major.

(*M.C.*, vol. xciii., 9th Oct., 1783.)

'Articles put on board the Fortitude Packet,[1] Captain Bowden, for his Voyage to England, for the use of Major General Stuart, etc.

Liquors	Claret	Dozens 60
	Madeira	Do. 60
	Arrack	Half a Leaguer
	Brandy	Dozens 18
	Hock	Do. 12
	Porter	Do. 24
	Bullocks	Numbers 12
	Sheep	Do. 60

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[1] The *Fortitude* was bought for the occasion for Rs. 35,000. (*M.C.*, vol. xcii., 25th Sept., 1783.)

Fowels and Capons		Dozens	30
Ducks		Do.	12
Turkies Two and Geese three	Total	Do.	5
Hogs and Pigs		Numbers	30
Sows with young		„	2
Milsh Goats		„	6
Hams		„	15
Tongues		Casks	5
&c.		&c.	

'WILLIAM SYDENHAM,
'Town Major.'

On the 13th Major Sydenham was instructed to wait on General Stuart and desire him to embark. If the General refused to obey, force was to be used. Sydenham carried out his orders in the following manner:—

Report of the Town Major.

'Having received your Orders . . ., I accordingly waited on Major General Stuart, and communicated to him the first part of these Orders . . ., telling him at the same time that I had them in writing, to which he replied that they were the first written Orders he had heared of Since his Confinement; that he was totally unprepared for a removal from his present Situation, and that, if he was to go on board Ship, it must be by Force and under a guard of Sepoys with fixed Bayonets. . . . I beg'd he wou'd pack up his Papers and every thing of Consequence, and that I should wait with great pleasure until it was done. He answered that his Affairs were in the utmost Confusion and disorder, his Servants unpaid, and that he wanted his Attorney, (Here desired Mr. Balfour to be sent for), and that in an Hour he would be better prepared. . . . I sent Lieutenant Gomand, Fort Adjutant, to the Right Honble the President to mention to him the Time Major General Stuart had required. . . . Upon going again into the General's Room to Communicate this permission to him, I found him ready dressed in his Uniform, an Escrutore and Bag (apparently Containing Papers) lying on the Table before him. He told me that he was as ready then as he Should be in Ten Hours, that Indeed he had got some Baggage prepared (perceiving that I looked at it as it was arranged on the Terrace North of the Room) upon an Idea that he might go some where, and he repeated that nothing but absolute Force by Sepoys with Musqueets should make him Embark.

'When I found that he would not go on any other terms, I directed Captain Durand (the Officer on Duty) to call in two Serjeants, who I had prepared in Case I should be obliged to employ Compulsion. . . . The Serjeants entering with Captain Durand Immediately afterwards, he said "But I do not see their Arms," and then, turning to me, added "They must have their Arms," having then only their Swords by their Sides. . . . He then took the Names of the Serjeants and said to them, "My Lads, go for your Arms." . . . I . . . therefore went out, and soon returned with four Sepoys with their Firelocks, upon which the General observed that they must lay hold of him, which two of them did very gently, one at each Arm. He then rose and . . . went on his

Crutches to the head of the Stairs, from whence he was Carried in a Chair by his own Servants to his Plankeen. It may be necessary to remark that once or twice, as he was going down, he said "The Sepoys must keep hold of my Arms." When he got to the Palanqueen he desired the Pingcree (or Cover) to be taken off, and then, getting into it, he again said "The Sepoys must keep Close to me," and Called to them and the Serjeant to do so. In this manner he proceeded to the Beach, and, being arrived there, he Called upon the Gentlemen who were Standing by to take Notice that he left this Settlement against his Inclination and by Force. He was then lifted into the Accomodation Boat, and was attended on board by Lieutenant Gomand, the Fort Adjutant, Captain Gee (Officer on Duty), and Lieutenants Close and Smart, but there were no Armed Men in the Boat.

'A party of Sepoys followed in other Boats for the purpose of remaining on board the Ship while in the Roads. The General, on entering the Accomodation Boat, beg'd I would pay attention to his Baggage, which I did accordingly, and had it all embarked soon after him. It Consisted of about 59 Packages of different kinds. . . . WM. SYDENHAM, Town Major.' (*M.C.*, vol. xciii., 14th Oct., 1783.)

The Directors recognized Capt. Bowden's service by recommending him for the next vacancy as Master-Attendant at Madras.[1]

MARITIME MATTERS.

In consequence of the war with France, Spain, and Holland, and the local struggle with Mysore, the East Indian Squadron was largely reinforced, and Madras, as the base from which the fleet was financed, provisioned, and watered, became an important naval station. This is not the place in which to follow Sir Edward Hughes's operations against the enemy. His exploits have been narrated in other works. An action which was fought off Madras must, however, be alluded to. After taking Trincomallee, Hughes reached Fort St. George on the 8th February, 1782, when he was reinforced by three ships from the Cape under Captain Alms.[2] On the 15th the French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, five frigates, and eight transports, under Admiral Suffrein, appeared in the Madras Roads:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'On the 14th the French fleet sailed from Pulicat, steering direct for these roads, and came to an anchor a little after Sun-set at the distance of 3 or

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxviii., 27th Feb., 1785.

[2] Alms convoyed a transport carrying General Medows, Colonel Fullarton, and 400 men. (*M.C.*, vol. lxxviii., 10th Feb., 1782.)

4 Leagues. Sir Edward Hughes in the mean while was making every preparation to receive the Enemy. The Ships were supplied with Ammunition, Water and provisions, and as most of them were defficient of their Complement of Men, 300 of Colonel Fullerton's regiment were embarked the 14th in the Evening.

'On the 15th in the afternoon the french fleet stood to the South east, and in that direction passed ours (at Anchor) at the distance of 2 or 3 Miles. As soon as the whole were clearly to Leeward, Sir Edward Hughes weighed anchor, and stood towards the Enemy in line of Battle.

'The Enemy having regained the wind in the night, Sir Edward Hughes endeavoured to force them to action by attacking their Transports and prize ships, of which he accordingly captured six, one of which, the Lawriston Transport, was brought into this port, and proved a most valuable prize, having on board a french Colonel and 300 Troops of the Legion of Lauzun (of which 100 are hussars), and a great quantity of Ammunition and Military Stores.

'The Engagement did not take place until the next day (the 17th) in the Afternoon, when the Enemy, still having the advantage of the wind, were enabled[d] to bring 8 of their largest Ships upon the rear and Center of our Fleet, which consisted only of five. That unequal Combat was however maintained with the most determined spirit from 4 o Clock until 25 minutes past 6. The Enemy then hauled their wind, and ceased firing. The Monmouth, Eagle, Burford and Worcester could not be brought into Action. Our loss was 127 killed and wounded, including Captains Stevens and Reynolds of the Superb and Exeter, who are unhappily among the former.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 26th March, 1782.)

The French made for Porto Novo, where 2,000 men landed and joined Hyder Ali. Hughes went on to Trincomallee, but returned to Madras on the 10th March. His fleet consisted of the *Superb, Hero, Monarque, Magnanime, Burford, Worcester, Sultan, Exeter, Eagle, Monmouth, Isis,* and *Seahorse,* besides smaller vessels.[1]

Suffrein had taken several British prizes, among which were the *Hannibal*[2] of 50 guns, employed in escorting Medows's troops from the Cape, and the Company's ship *Fortitude,* taken by the frigate '*La Fine*' (probably *Lutine*). With a strange lack of humanity the French Admiral delivered the crews of these and other vessels, comprising upwards of sixty officers and four hundred men, to the tender mercies of Hyder Ali.[3] In a letter from Cuddalore to the *India Gazette,* we find a correspondent writing:—'I am very fortunate in having escaped being sent to

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxvii., 20th July, 1782.

[2] The prize *Hannibal* must not be confused with Suffrein's 74-gun ship of the same name.

[3] Innes Munro blames the Madras Government for not consenting to an exchange of prisoners which Suffrein proposed.

Hyder, through indisposition; but sixty-two officers from the Hannibal, Chaser, Fortitude, Yarmouth and country ships were confined at Chillumbrum in a place scarcely large enough to accommodate a tenth part of the number.'[1]

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Soon after the departure of the Fleet, our President received a Letter from Sir Edward Hughes, enclosing Copy of one from Mr. Suffren to Captain Parr, late of his Majesty's Ship Chacer, by which it appeared that Mr. Suffren, under the pretext of our not having Agreed to the Exchange of Prisoners, had delivered most of our Prisoners to Hyder Ally; and we have since learnt from the Reverend Mr. Geryike (protestant Missionary at Cuddalore) that they have been actually sent from Cuddalore to Chillumbrum chained two and two together, and from thence to Bangalore and other Forts in the Mysore Country.

'Mr. Gericke, together with several of the french Officers at Cuddalore, used their utmost endeavors to dissuade the french Admiral from an Act so repugnant to humanity and to the principles upon which war is conducted between Civilized Nations, but without any effect. If it were possible for Mr. Suffren to think such an Act justifiable on any ground whatever, he might at least have Stipulated that the Prisoners should be kept at Chillumbrum, where they would have been at hand to be exchanged whenever a Cartel should be Agreed on for that purpose. By consenting to their being carried to the Mysore Country he has almost destroyed the hope of such an Agreement.

'We doubt not but you will think it right to represent this unexampled proceeding to his Majesty's Ministers, that proper Steps may be taken to obtain redress from the french Court.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 5th Sept., 1782.')

On the 15th October, 1782, the monsoon was ushered in by a storm, which surprised the fleet at Madras:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'On the 15th Ultimo a very severe Gale of Wind happened here, in which most of the Vessels were either blown out of the Road or lost. All his Majesty's Ships slipped their Cables and went to Sea. Ten Ships and Snows[2] of considerable Burthen were entirely destroyed, besides near One hundred Country Vessels of inferior Size.[3]

'We are much concerned to acquaint you that among the Vessels which suffered on this occasion was your Ship Earl of Hertford. She parted from her Anchors on the Night of the 15 Ultimo during the Violence of the Gale, was driven into the Surf, and totally lost. . . .

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[1] *India Gazette*, 21st Sept., 1782.

[2] *Snow*, a square-rigged vessel, closely resembling a brig.

[3] Among the vessels lost were the ships *Shannon*, *Essex*, and *Nancy;* the snows *Adventure*, *Enterprise*, *Haverfordwest*, *Lark*, and *Freemason*, and 105 small country craft. (*P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 14th Oct., 1782.)

'The Active, Frigate, returned into the Road the next day in order to carry the Officers and men belonging to the Ships of War who had been left on Shore to the Squadron. We learnt by her that the Superb had been dismasted, and that the Admiral in consequence had shifted his Flag on board the Sultan. We likewise understood that the other Ships of the Squadron had not received any material Damage in the Storm.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 4th Nov., 1782.)

A letter from Madras to the *India Gazette* announced that the Admiral, who was at anchor in fifteen fathoms, was giving an entertainment on board the flagship when the gale began at noon on the 15th. He at once slipped his cable, and carried his guests to sea. 'In the night the Hertford, the Free Trade, the Shannon, the Nancy, the Essex, and a Moorman's ship were all drove on shore. The Free Mason foundered at her anchors; and near one hundred snows and donies[1] were entirely lost. It is impossible to describe a scene of such horror and distress! The howling of the wind, the roaring of the surf, with the cries of the drowning people, and the beach for some miles strewed with wrecks and dead bodies!'[2]

Hughes considered it unsafe to remain longer on the Coast. Trincomallee was not now available for shelter, as the British garrison, under Captain Hay McDowal of the 42nd Regiment, had capitulated to the French.[3] Reinforced by five ships under Commodore Sir Richard Bickerton, the Admiral resolved to sail for Bombay. Macartney protested:—'The Admiral's persisting in that determination presents to us an awful and humiliating prospect; the British Squadron retiring to the other side of the peninsula, and leaving your possessions here threatened with famine, and those to the Southward actually attacked by a french Squadron which had been worsted in four actions and avowedly more damaged in the three last than the British Squadron.'[4]

The wrecks above mentioned were not the only shipping casualties which occurred at this period. On the 23rd June the Company's ship *Earl of Dartmouth*, Capt. David Thomson, was wrecked on the Carnicobar Island during her homeward voyage.

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[1] *Dony*, *dhoney*, a country-built vessel of the type commonly used on the Coromandel Coast; from Tam. *toni*.

[2] *India Gazette*, 9th Nov., 1782.

[3] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 31st Oct., 1782.

[4] *Ibid.*

She was in company with the *Chapman* carrying Mr. J. H. Casamaijor, who was highly commended by Capt. Thomson for the assistance he rendered. Thirty-one lives were lost, including two passengers, the remainder being invalid soldiers, Dutch prisoners, and members of the crew.[1] On the 4th August the Company's ship *Grosvenor*, homeward bound, was cast away on the African coast. She carried 169 souls, among whom were Colonel James, of the Madras Artillery, and several ladies and children. The 153 who reached the shore attempted a land journey of several hundred miles to the Cape. They were attacked by Kaffirs, and many died from wounds and exposure. The remainder were rescued by the Dutch. A narrative of their sufferings was compiled by Mr. Alexander Dalrymple.[2] On the 16th April, 1783, the *Duke of Athol*, Capt. James Rattray, with seven other Company's ships, arrived at Fort St. George under convoy. Three days later she took fire, and at 7.30 a.m. blew up in the roads:—

Fort St. George to Bombay Castle.

> 'We were much concerned at the information you gave us of the loss of the ship Fairford, and we are sorry to acquaint you that a similar accident happened to the Honble Company's Ship Duke of Athol on the 19th April last whilst at anchor in the Road of Madras, which was unfortunately attended with the totall loss of the Cargo and the greatest part of her Crew, besides several officers and about one hundred Seamen belonging to his Majesty's Squadron, who went to their Assistance.' (*P.C.*, vol cxxx., 25th July, 1783.)

On the 20th August of the same year the Company's ship *Duke of Kingston*, Capt. Justinian Nutt, was destroyed by fire off the northern coast of Ceylon. Thirty-two men of the 52nd Regiment, with six women and two children, were lost, besides three passengers and twenty-two of the crew.[3]

The Company's ships of the period were all of about 750 tons, except the *Royal Admiral* of 903 tons. They carried a respectable armament. The *Ponsborne*, for example, mounted twenty-four 18-pounders on the middle deck, and eight carronades on the upper deck.[4] The following report from the Captain of the

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 23rd Oct., 1782.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxvii., 19th Aug., 1783.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxi., 3rd Sept., 1783.

[4] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxvii., 24th Sept. and 12th Nov., 1783.

Company's ship *Blandford* illustrates the peril of even the short voyage from Madras to Calcutta :—

Capt. Peter Pigou to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxx., 14th June, 1783.)

'It is with the most poignant grief I acquaint you of the Capture of the Ship Blandford under my Command, the particulars of which I have the Honor to transmitt. My intention, when I sailed from Madras, was to stand well over to the Eastward to secure my passage to Bengal, but was prevented by the Winds hanging to the Eastward, and the 3rd December made point Gardaware.[1] . . . The People Dying Daily and others falling down very fast Determined me to put about and stand to the Northward. . . . At 11 A.M. the 8th January saw two strange sail. They answering our private signal, knew them to be two of our own Ships that sailed 12 Days before us from Madras.

'About noon the 9th January saw three strange Sail to the Northward, one a Ship, one a Sloop, the third not distinguishable. The Ship stood directly towards us. . . . I suspected [her] to be an Enemy, and cleared Ship for action. When nearly on our Beam she hauled her Main sail up, and kept edging down on us under English Colours. A little before 6 o Clock she brought to with her head to the Northward on the same Tack with us, hauled down her English Colours, and, hoisting French, gave us a Broad side at the distance of musket Shot. Not having hands sufficient to Fight our Guns and Work the Ship at the same time, I Wore Ship immediately. Judging the two Ships we had seen the Day before could not be far to the Southward of us, determined to undertake a running action towards them in case she should prove too strong for us. She constantly avoided coming along side of us, but endeavoured to lay on our Larboard Quarter, from which she was but too successfull in her intentions of disabling us.

'How ever, as we were standing along shore with our yards Braced sharp up on purpose, and the Wind upon our Larboard beam, we had frequent opportunities of Luffing up to bring our Guns to bear on her, and had always the satisfaction to find they told home. By 11 o Clock at night she had made a Compleat Wreck of us in our Masts, yards, sails, standing and Running Rigging, and nothing but the smoothness of the Water prevented most of our Masts from going by the board. Finding the Ship quite ungovernable with little Wind and then in 18 fathom Water, I determined if possible to bring her [the enemy] up along side of us, and took the opportunity of her being broad upon our Quarter to Order the Kedge Anchor to be dropt under foot, which had the desir'd Effect, when we gave her a well directed Broadside, from the Consequence, as she immediately sheared off without returning it, and when at the distance of Random shot on Bow, Anchored. We wore away on our Hawser, got springs out on it from each Quarter, and kept all hands at their Quarters ready to receive her, expecting she would renew the action ; but after laying there from ½ an hour after 11 o Clock at night till 2 o Clock in the morning without ever making the least attempt, she took the first opportunity of a light Air of Wind off the land to Weigh and stand from us. At daylight she bore South, distance 4 Miles, and our two Ships in shore of her S.W. by W., distance 5 or 6 Miles. They gave her Chace, and We saw no more of any of them. . . .

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[1] *Gardaware*, Godavari.

'We fought under every disadvantage it was possible for one Ship to fight another. We were reduced by Deaths and sickness to 37 Europeans, 9 of which were boys, and 11 Passengers, who were obliged to run from Gun to Gun to fight our Nine pounders. For when we begun to Engage, all our Black People, 4 or 5 excepted, run down below, and it was not till a Considerable time after we had been in Action that we got some of them up to Assist us at them. We had not a single man to spare either to attend our Braces, fight our Quarter Deck Guns, or in our Tops.

'The Courage, Intrepidity and cool behaviour of the Officers, Passengers and handfull of Men composing the Ship's Company deserve the highest Commendation and my warmest thanks. Mr. Douglas, Chief, and Mr. Saltwell, second Officers, distinguished themselves particularly by their Courage, attention and good Conduct. Mr. Grieve and Mr. Marcher, 4th and 5th Officers, acted with that Spirit that will redound to their Credit; as did Mr. Pinchback, Midshipman, Giles Avery, Carpenter, Jno. Wilson, Gunner, and Jos. Gross, Boatswain. Lieut. Miller of the 98th Regiment, and Lieut. Birrol of the Bengal Detachment claim my highest commendation and Warmest thanks. Lieut. Miller was early wounded in the action, by which I lost the assistance of a brave officer. Mess^{rs}. Copenger, Coward, Rodrick and Hugh Frazer, Cadets, and Mr. Windsor, Passengers for Bengal, merit my very particular thanks and acknowledgements for their spirited exertion upon this occasion. But I cannot sufficiently express my very great obligations to Capt. Clarke of the late Earl of Hertford, who most chearfully supported [me] with his company and assistance through the whole conflict, and who's whole conduct deserves my warmest applause and thanks. To Mr. Norman, Capt. Clarke's Second Officer, I have to give the greatest praise for his conduct and Bravery, and I wish to express my Obligations to Mr. Bigbie, Capt. Clark's Purser.

'We continued all the 10th at an Anchor repairing our Damages, and the Surgeon, Carpenter, and Boatswain gave me in the annexed accounts. I can only impute our having nobody Killed and so few Wounded to our having so few for either.

'At day light the 11th saw two Sail, one a Ship, the other a Snow. The Ship stood toward us. Prepared again for Action. At 8 o Clock she answered our private signal, and, coming up with us, sent her Boat aboard with the second Lieutenant. She proved to be the Coventry Frigate, Captain Wolsely, two days from Vizagapatam. We related the particulars of our Engagement to the Officer, and told him as We had been told ourselves by a french Prisoner we had on board, who pretended to know her and said she was a large French Privateer, mounting upwards of 30 Guns, fitted out from the Mauritius. . . . Captain Wolseley, anxious to go in quest of the Enemy, left us and stood to the Northward, after promising to return to us as soon as possible in Ganjam Road, where he would give us all the Assistance in his power. As the distressed state of the Ship left me no other alternative but to make the best of my way there, being then about 9 or 10 Leagues to the Southward of it, I got under way in a very disabled state with a fair Wind, and stood towards it with the Snow in company. At 11 P.M., hearing a Firing a head, and having seen the Frigate nearly in that direction just before Dark, we concluded she had come up with the ship we had engaged, and taken her. Having then but little

Wind, we both Anchored till 9 o Clock the next morning the 12th, When we both Weigh'd and stood again to the Northward. At 10 o Clock saw several large ships in Ganjam Road, which we at first thought might be seven sail of our own ships that sailed from Madras 7 or 8 days before us. But seeing no Colours hoisted by the ships or at the Flag staff, though Sunday, made the private signal, and finding it not answered, Wore ship immediately and stood from them, the Snow after us. Observed soon after a large Ship in Chace of us, and, presently after, a Frigate followed, both under English Colours. Made all the sail possible in our disabled State, [but] they both came up with us very fast. The Frigate came up first, and shortened sail. Then the line of Battle ship, being within Randam shot of us, hauled down her English Colours and, hoisting French, Fired a Gun, upon which we struck to her at 5 o Clock in the afternoon about 8 Leagues to the Southward of Ganjam, proving to be the Hero, Mons. Suffren. The Snow struck to the Frigate at the same time.

'Have the Mortification to add that the Frigate was the Coventry, which unluckily fell into their Hands the night before at the time we heard the Firing. Found that the ship we had Engaged was the La Tine[1] French Frigate of 40 Guns. I am ordered to the Mauritius, and expect to leave this place to morrow. I have the honor to be, My Lord and Gentlemen,

'Your most unfortunate and unhappy servant,
'PETER PIGOU.'

'Trincomalay,
'Ship L'Illustre, April 24, 1783.'

The conditions obtaining on board country vessels differed widely from those attaching to the Company's ships. The next extract relates to the voyage down the coast of a brig under a European captain and native crew. In 1783 the Chief and Council of Masulipatam sent three prisoners to Madras for trial. The men, who formed part of the crew of the snow *Lark*, Capt. Robert Dean, gave out that they had been captured by the French and put ashore. Their story was doubted, and the following declaration of one of the men, made before the Chief and Council, reveals a painful story of mutiny and murder:—

'*Declaration of Francisco De Costa, a Sea Cunny*[2] *or Helmsman.*

'This Declarant saith that he entered on board Captain Deen's Snow in the Station of a Sea Cunny. . . . That the Vessell sailed from Coringa with intent to go to Madras, and she steered her course Twenty four days out at Sea, when the Captain found fault with the Cussab[3] for serving out more water than the fixed Allowance, and struck him a blow on the Face. . . . That six or seven days after this, it being the Captain's Watch, the Captain committed the charge of the Watch to the Syrang, and went himself to rest in his Cabin. A short while afterwards the Captain came upon the Poop (where the Helm is guided), and asked the Syrang, who was sitting by the side of the Binnacle, how many Glasses[1] it was? That the Syrang replied it was three Glasses. The Captain thereupon asked the Sea Cunny the same question, and was told that it was only two Glasses. That the Captain then struck the Syrang for telling him a Lye, and the latter bled at his Mouth. The Syrang argued with the Captain, telling him it was not well to strike him. That the Captain thereupon seized the end of a Rope the Syrang had round his waist, and struggling came down together on the Deck, when the Captain called to one of his Slave Boys named Jack to bring him a Stick. Upon the Boy's fetching the Stick, the Syrang thrust him away, and, on the Boy's falling down, the Captain attempted to take the Stick from him, but his knee struck against an Hen Coop which stood in his way, and threw him on the Deck. The Syrang fell upon him and held him fast in his arms, and called to the Ship's Company to assist him in throwing the Captain Overboard. That the Tundle[2] immediately began to strike the Ship's Company to go and help the Syrang. That the Cussab, a Sea Cunny and a Pariar Lascar joined, and assisted the Syrang in flinging the Captain Overboard agreeable to the Tindell's orders. . . . That, after having drowned the Captain, they made for Land: the two Portugueze Helmsmen took the Command of the Vessell, which in eight days anchored in seven fatham Water off shore.

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[1] The frigate '*La Fine*' (*Lutine*), which captured the Company's ship *Fortitude* in 1782. (*India Gazette*, 3rd Aug. and 14th Sept., 1782.)

[2] *Sea Cunny*, steersman; from Ar. *sukkān*, the helm.

[3] *Cussab*. From information kindly obtained by the late Mr. William Irvine from an expert source, it appears that this term is applied to the leading native seaman in charge of deck stores, such as rope, paint, etc. The order of rank among the native petty officers is (1) Syrang, (2) Tindal, (3) Cussab. All three terms are still in use.

'That preparations were made for going on shore, when the Syrang asked the two Portiguez Helmsmen what they should do with the Snow, who told him either to sink her or to set her on Fire. He wanted to know what should be done with Jack, the Captain's Slave Boy? They bad him do as he thought proper. That the Syrang afterwards consulted with the Tindell about it, who told him that it was best to burn him with the Vessel in order to prevent a discovery. . . . That they afterwards hove out the Pinnace, and made a Raft or Catamaran. The Tindell tied up Jack, one of the Captain's Slave boys, to the Cable, ordered the Cussab to set fire to some Cordage, Tarpaulin, &c., in the Main hold, and, leaving the boy behind, the Company set off with the boat and Raft about 6 o Clock in the Evening for shore. That they rowed to the Surff, but were not able to make the land by reason of the severity of the Wind and the highness of the sea. That about 7 or 8 o Clock at night they saw the Vessel in a blaze, and they kept moving about till day light, when they perceived a Moor Sloop ridding at Anchor close ashore. That they went on board of her and, finding that she was bound to Bengal, the two portigueze Helmsmen took the Captain's Maylay slave Boy and remained in her, while this Declarant and the rest of the Company went on shore, from whence they proceeded to Coringa by land, giving out that they were seized and sent on shore by a French Privateer.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxx., 21st Aug., 1783.)

The result of the trial before the Court of Admiralty is not recorded.

Many were the complaints of the impressment of men for service on the ships of war. Thus, Captain Price, of the Company's ship *Ceres*, wrote as follows from Masulipatam :—

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[1] *Glass*, a measure of time, an hour.

[2] *Tundle*, Tindall, from Mal. *tandal*, a native petty officer of lascars.

Capt. Thomas Price to Government.

'His Majesty's Ship Coventry anchored in the Road last night, and at 9 Oclock P.M. boarded the Honble Company's Ship Ceres under my Command, and prest twenty five of the Ship Company, notwithstanding the remonstrance of my Chief Officer of the Danger of the Honble Companys Ship, having arrived here the 27th November making sixteen Inches Water per hour owing to the severity of the monsoon and the press of sail I was obliged to carry in order to gain the Port I was consigned to. . . .

'Therefore from the number of People taken, with those already pressed at Madras and casualties on the passage, together with the impossibility of replacing any of those men lost at this Port, I do solemnly and in the fullest manner protest against the proceedings of the Commander of His Majesty's Ship Coventry. THOS. PRICE.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 20th Dec., 1782.)

In 1783 the Fleet had, by reinforcement, attained great strength :—

Fort St. George Diary.

'Arrived from Bombay His Majesty's Squadron under the Command of Vice Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, K.B., with Commodores Richard King and Sir Richard Bickerton, consisting of the following Ships, Superb, Hero, Sultan, Burford, Eagle, Worcester, Monmouth, Magnanime, Monarca,[1] Gibraltar, Cumberland, Inflexible, Defence, Africa, Exeter and Isis ; the Juno, Active, and Sea Horse, Frigates ; the Lizard, Cutter ; the Combustion, Fireship ; the Pondicherry, Harriet and Minerva, Storeships, and the Prize Ship Blake. . . . (*P.C.*, vol. cxxix., 13th April, 1783.)

Within the next two days the *Chaser* and *Medea*, frigates, and the ship *Sceptre*, with a French prize frigate, also arrived from Bombay. In July, when the fleet was being watered and provisioned by the Master Attendant, it was disposed in four divisions—viz., Sir Edward Hughes's Division of seven ships of the line, the Van Division of six ships, the Rear Division of five, and a flotilla of five frigates, two sloops, and a cutter. It was manned by 11,740 men.[2] While the Admiral was complaining of the Master Attendant's slowness, the commanders of the Company's ships were grumbling at the lack of boats for the discharge of cargo. The Master Attendant was harassed on all sides, and several changes of incumbency occurred. At a meeting of the Council held towards the end of 1782 various projects were discussed. Mr. C. B. Dent advised the appointment of two persons, one to serve the Company as 'Captain of the Port,' the other the merchants as 'Master Attendant of the Banksall.' Mr. Davidson revived the schemes of Warren Hastings and George Baker :—

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[1] *Monarca*, Madras rendering of *Monarque*. (*Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, 3rd to 10th Nov., 1781.)

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxx., 29th July and 21st Aug., 1783.

Mr. Alexander Davidson's Minute.

'I have been informed it is practicable to water Boats on the outside of the Surf by conveying Lead Pipes over it : could this be effected, it would be equal to the encrease of one third of the Boats. But I propose this as a temporary Expedient only : the grand Object at Madras ought, I am of opinion, to be a Pier, the building of which is said to be very practicable, and, if constructed with the Approbation of the Chief Engineer, would not weaken but perhaps strengthen the sea Line.

'Mr. Ritchie,[1] now here, is said not to be unacquainted with this Branch of Masonary ; and I have no doubt but a permanent Pier might be built, which, with Annual Repairs, would be lasting. If this by Encouragement could be effected, Fort St. George would undoubtedly become the greatest Port of delivery in the East Indies.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 22nd Nov., 1782.)

Alexander Cuthbert,[2] who had succeeded George Taswell as Master Attendant in 1781, advised the importation of boatmen from the northern ports, and that 'a Piece of Ground within the Black Town Wall upon the shore should be allotted to such of them as are of Gentoo or Mallabar Cast, and to those professing themselves Christians Ground in Chaupauck, or between that and St. Thomé.'[3] This plan the Government resolved to adopt. The Madras boatmen complained of their treatment by the Master Attendant. Cuthbert denied cruelty, but said the men could not be controlled without punishments, and referred to the Captains who frequented the 'Beachhouse' to confirm his view. He alleged that the men resented the importation of one Policonda with boats from Dugarăzpatam. Government concluded that there was no cause for complaint against Cuthbert, and resolved that Policonda should be head boatman of the North Road, while the Christian chiefs must confine themselves to the South.[4]

In 1783, John Thomson replaced Cuthbert, and took charge at the same time of the Waterworks. He resigned in the following year, when two Masters Attendant were appointed, Messrs. Vincentio Corbett and Hugh Macauley Boyd.[1] Corbett was a civil servant of 1772. Boyd was a man of letters, a Master of Arts of Dublin, and a friend of Goldsmith and Garrick. He accompanied Lord Macartney to India in the capacity of secretary. In 1782 he was sent to Ceylon to seek the aid of the King of Kandy against the Dutch, and was commended for the prudence and ability with which he executed his mission. Returning in a country vessel, he was captured by the French, 'and Altho' not a Military man, Mr. Suffren has not only detained Mr. Boyd a Prisoner, but has thought proper to send him as such to the Mauritius, assigning the Services he might render as a reason for that severe proceeding.'[2] A gratuity of Pags. 6,000 was granted him by the Directors in recognition alike of his services and sufferings.[3]

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[1] In the *India Gazette* of the 28th April, 1782, Mr. Ritchie is referred to as a marine surveyor under orders for Madras.

[2] Alexander Cuthbert was Agent Victualler to the Fleet.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 22nd Nov., 1782.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 3rd Dec., 1782.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxiv., 24th Nov., 1784.
[2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 5th Sept., 1782.
[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxviii., 8th July, 1785.

CHAPTER XVIII

1781—1785

COMPLETION OF FORT ST. GEORGE—WARD'S VIEWS IN THE FORT—THE WATERWORKS—THE FORT HOUSE

COMPLETION OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

MAJOR MAULE's expectation of completing the Fort in 1780 was not fulfilled, but about Pags. 126,000 was spent during that year, chiefly on the east front, and substantial progress was made. On Sir Eyre Coote's arrival, the Chief Engineer reported as follows:—

Major Maule to Lieut.-General Sir Eyre Coote.

'In obedience to your Commands, I have the Honor to address you on the subject of the Fortifications.

'It will be unnecessary to say anything respecting the West Line, which remains in the perfect State you saw it before your Departure for Bengal. Since that time We have compleated the Works of the South Front, excepting a part of the Parapet of the South Curtain and some Pallisadoing in the Covert Way. Our utmost Efforts have been exerted on the East Line, the Foundations of which We were laying when you were here. We have now compleated [it], except turning the Arches of the Tenaillon at the Sea Gate, laying some little additional Masonry over the Arches of the whole Line, compleating it's Parapets and chunaming the Water Cisterns.

'On the North Front, during the present Season, We have continued thro' the late dry Ditch a Cunette, which has compleated the Communication by Water all round the Fort. We have constructed and finished two Lunettes, extending and much improving the Defences of that Front. We have compleated, with their Parapets, the North East Counterguard and North East Blind, have excavated and deepen'd the old Ditch round the Royal and Demi Bastions, have finished the Covert Way, and, excepting a very small part, levell'd and filled in the Glacis on this Front. I have here the Satisfaction to observe that, with the Covert Way, the Gallery extending along the Counterscarp, from the Sea to the Northward to the Sea to the Southward, is finished, affording a secure and immediate Communication thro' the Traverses to all the parts of the Covert Way, and furnished with shafts in the necessary situations for branching out Mines under the Crest of the Glacis.

'Called upon by the Select Committee in the Month of December last, I assured them that the Fortifications would be compleated in the course of six Months from that time, and I did it in the fullest Confidence of not being deceiv'd in my Expectations. The continual Deficiencies in the supply of Materials from the very beginning of the Year, and the almost total Want of any for the last five Months have caused that the Works on the East Line are in their present state. . . . GEORGE MAULE, Chief Engineer.' (*M.C.* vol. lxxii., 13th Nov., 1780.)

Not only the bastions and curtains of the body of the place, but also the outworks, were built with bomb-proof casemates beneath for the reception of troops and stores. The casemates saved the construction of additional barracks, but they must have been hot and ill-ventilated dwellings. Major Maule advised that all troops be withdrawn from the outworks, and lodged in the body of the place, preferably under the curtains of the west front. The north and south curtains were deemed unsuitable, the former being in bad repair, the latter from the narrowness of the street:—

Major Maule to the Select Committee.

'The whole length of Bomb Proofs on the East Line I have, in a former address, represented as very commodious, Airy, and proper for the accommodation of Troops, and I beg to repeat my wish that none but the Bomb Proofs that will be built under the Sea Gate Tenaillon may be assigned to any other purpose. As the Bomb Proofs on this Line were constructed to afford a lower fire[1] against Shipping, they should not on any account be lumbered with Stores.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 24th May, 1781.)

On Maule's recommendation, orders were given in May for the removal of all obstacles round Black Town, so as to afford a proper field of fire:—

Major Maule to the Select Committee.

'Having thought it necessary to examine into the State of the Black Town Wall, I find Houses, Topes and Gardens much nearer to it than they ought to be, and that to the Northward in particular the Safety of the Place is absolutely endangered by the Vicinity of the Washermen's Village;—Topes and Gardens running Close up to the Wall, and to a great Extent from it. I take leave to propose that an entire and immediate Clearance be made for the space of 600 Yards from the Foot of the Wall round the whole Extent thereof. . . . GEO. MAULE.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 24th May, 1781.)

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[1] These casemates were provided with gun-ports so as to afford a lower tier of fire, the upper tier being from the rampart above.

The final phase of the reform of Fort St. George was now practically complete. Macartney's Government wrote as follows to England:—'Since we last represented to you the State of the Fortifications, our Chief Engineer had reported to us that the Sea Line is finished to the Cordon, and requires only the Parapet thereof and the Palisadoes of the Wall to the Sea, Works of little time and labor, to compleat all the defences dependent upon the Fortification.'[1]

Colonel Ross returned to India in the middle of 1782, relieved Major Maule, who was transferred to Masulipatam, and reported on the works as he found them:—

Colonel Ross to the Select Committee.

'I have the Honor to report to you the State in which I find the Fortifications of this Place, which I am happy the Abilities of Major Maule and the Exertion made during my Absence have enabled me do with so much Advantage to the publick and Satisfaction to myself from the very respectable State to which the Works are now brought. The Defences of the North Front of the Fort are considerably improved by the Addition of two Lunettes, and the carrying through the former dry Ditch of the Ravelin a Cunette which now completes the Communication of Water round the Fort. The Bastions, Out-Works, Ditches, Gallery, Covertway and Glacis of the North-West and South-West Fronts are in good Order, and capable of any Defence expected from them. The Draw-Bridges of the South-West Gateways should be completed directly. I find the whole of the South Front complete, except a little Height wanting to the Parapet of the Curtain, and the Pallisadoes and Banquettes of the Covert-Way to the South East. . . . The whole of the East Line has, I am given to understand, for these several Months past been finished to the Cordon, but that, from the want of Bricks and Chunam which has so long existed, there yet remains to complete it a small Quantity of Brick Work to bring it to its level near the North Sea-Gate,[2] the Chunaming the Masonry at its Top level to prepare it for the Reception of the Earth to be filled in, and the Parapet extending along the whole Line. The Draw-Bridges to the Sea Gates are also wanting. The Cisterns I find are filled. . . .

'I have to express my very great Satisfaction in finding the North West and South West Front in particular, and the whole Fort in general, rendered so much more secure by the Removal of the high and dangerous Ground of Hoghill.

'The Black Town Wall is by no Means in the State I could wish to see it. though much Labour and some Expence has been incurred to improve it. . . , The North East Angle should, without a Doubt, be completed according to the original Design, and as the Expence of finishing the whole of the Plan first proposed will be but trifling . . ., I have to express my Hopes that your Lordship, &c., will concur in Opinion with me that the first favorable Moment that offers for putting it in a State of Defence should be seized. Its Environs to the Northward are in general free from cover, but to the Westward the Potter's Village and Parcherry are Evils that ought to be removed without Loss of Time. PATRICK ROSS, Lieut.-Colonel and Chief Engineer.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 9th July, 1782.)

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[1] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 26th Jan., 1782.

[2] The Sea Gate was now double, there being an opening in each face of the salient of the Tenaillon. These openings were designated the North and South Sea Gates.

At the same time Ross advocated the construction of a Granary surrounding three sides of the Fort Square, and a Magazine within the fortress to replace those on the Island and in Black Town. In October, when the contingency of a siege appeared not unlikely, the Chief Engineer urged the storing of more water, though the new cisterns on the east front together with those under the Treasury and the Mint Bastion held upwards of 3,000 tons. He advised the construction of a new cistern outside the east flank of the Royal Bastion, and two others on the east face of the Fort Square.[1] He proposed to utilize the foundation of the Nawab's Palace in the Fort, which was formed with inverted arches, for the storage of powder.

By April, 1783, the creation of a clear field of fire round Black Town had been completed, but a few obstacles still remained near the Fort:—

Colonel Ross to the Select Committee.

'The Environs of the Black Town Wall to the westward are nearly cleared of the Buildings to the extent of six hundred Yards measured on the capitals of the Bastions; and to the Northward, except the Choultry which contains the sick charity poor,[2] and three others situated near the extremity of the prescribed distance, which are left standing for the Convenience of affording Cover to such parties as it may be thought proper to advance on that side. One of them, the Company's Washing Choultry, now contains that part of the Body Guard stationed for the protection of the washing town.

'In the Environs of the Fort, the Play House, and such other Buildings on the Island as were not erected by authority, have been removed. As those remaining still offer, in point of approach, many advantages to an Enemy, I submit to your Lordship the necessity of immediately removing them, and taking away the surrounding wall of the Church Yard,[3] which may be fenced with a Pallisade to prevent the Jackalls from entering it. I think the Horses[4]

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 9th Jan., 1783. The measurements given are: From the Sea Gate Veranda to the north end of the Fort Square, 146 feet 3 inches; and from the Veranda to the south end, 124 feet 6 inches. The 'Veranda' was the Sea Gate Colonnade.

[2] The Monegar Choultry.

[3] St. Mary's Cemetery, at the west end of the Island.

[4] The Government Stables were adjacent to the Cemetery.

> may be picketed behind Chintadry pettah; and I beg leave to offer it as my opinion to Your Lordship that no permanent Building should be hereafter permitted within less than 1,600 Yards of the fortifications. . . .
>
> 'Not having been authorized to employ any Number of additional people, I should be wanting in duty at a time like this, when the Enemy's declared Intention to attack us is publick, did I not entreat Your Lordship's early attention to the Removal of the high Grounds and Ruins of the Houses formerly situated to the Westward of the black Town, the irregularities of the Ground on which the latter stand presenting many advantages to an Enemy. By the removal of what remains we shall gain the double advantage of exposing them to the fire of the Town, whilst with the Removed ground we shall be enabled to cover its Rampart with a Glacis. . . .
>
> 'It will likewise be necessary that we extend our view beyond the 600 Yards in order to oblige the Enemy to break Ground at a respectable distance. . . . PATRICK Ross, Lieut.-Colonel and Chief Engineer.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxxvii., 4th April, 1783.)

Early in 1785 Ross refers to encroachment of the sea, and advises the protection of the advanced parts of the Sea Wall by piling. On the south-west face the river had cut away the foot of the glacis before the Walajah Ravelin. The Chief Engineer proposed a protective wall of clay, 20 feet from the river, to extend from the Walajah sally-port to the sally-port on the south front. 'On this wall a Palmera Railing is intended to keep the way of the passengers to the fishing Villages immediately on the Bank of the River.' Colonel Ross then alludes to Black Town defences, and certain temporary detached works which appear to have been constructed during the war:—

Colonel Ross to the Select Committee.

> 'The earthen Works of the Bastions round the Black Town have had some repairs, and the earth that was in the Gateways kept shut during the War has been removed, and the Gates repaired, painted and hung. Some part of the Stockade towards the Sea at the North East Angle of these Works has been washed away . . . by the heavy Ground surfs. . . . It is very much to be wished, for the preservation of the Beach both before the Black Town and Fort St. George, that the works designed for the defence of that Angle had been executed. . . .
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> 'The Stores from Nungumbaucum and Pursevacum Redoubts[1] have been removed agreeable to orders, and they, together with the Entrenchment by the Governor's Garden house, restored to the use of the proprietors. PATRICK ROSS.' (*M.C.*, vol. cv., 15th Feb., 1785.)

No public function celebrated the completion of the defences of Fort St. George, but the year 1783 undoubtedly saw the accomplishment of the reform which was begun by John Brohier in 1756. The work was thus in hand for twenty-seven years. It represented the last of four phases, of which the first was Cogan and Day's Castle; the second the quadrangular bastioned enclosure of the White Town which converted the original castle into a citadel; the third the development of the walled town into a fortress planned as a half decagon, and the fourth the entire reconstruction of the Fort as a half octagon on Vauban's system, with ample outworks. A 'Plan of the Defences of Fort St. George, 1783,' signed by Major Maule, is preserved in the King's Library of the British Museum; but, as it does not depict the buildings in the interior, a later though undated plan has been preferred for reproduction in this volume. Comparison with Maule's drawing shows that the defences are represented as they were in 1783. The fortress at this period was of great strength, and its perfections stimulated a young officer of Engineers to project an exact model of it. Whether his design was fully carried out or not is uncertain:—

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[1] No trace of these works, which were doubtless constructed in earth, remains.

Ensign John Guthrie to Government.

'Having for some time past employed my thoughts on purpose to execute a Model of Fort St. George and its Fortifications on a very extensive Scale, I take this opportunity to address myself to the Honble Board on that Head.

'The whole of the Works are intended to be shewn in their present State: the situation of the Mines, with all the publick and private Buildings within the Fort; likewise the Guns and Mortars which are presently mounted or what may be intended for the defence of the whole. The Works of the Fortifications, both publick and private Buildings, will be raised and relieved in Ivory; the Sea, River and Ditch executed with plated Glass or Tinfoil; the whole finished on an elegant Table suitable to the rest of the Design. . . .

'It will not, I hope, be thought extravagant that [the] expence of the whole will amount to 1,500 Pagodas when considering the extent of the Model, the quantity of Ivory, Brass and plated Glass which will be necessary for the execution of the Work. But instead of plated Glass, Tin foil might be adopted for the Sea, River and Ditch, which would lessen the expence 300 Pagodas, but it neither would be so elegant or have so natural appearance, as the Objects would not be reflected with the Tin foil representing Water as if with Plated Glass.

'The Model is to contain in Length from the Centre of the Fort 2,630 feet to the Southward and the same quantity of Ground to the Northward, the whole length comprehending 5,260 feet, and from the extreme point of the Saliant Angle of the Tenalie on the Sea Line 2,920 feet to the Westward and 450 Eastward, in all 3,370 feet; which dimentions, being delineated on a Scale 30 feet to one Inch, will take up a Table or Plate of Wood 16 feet long by 10 feet Broad, the proposed extent of the Model. . . .

'I will with pleasure at any time shew to the Honble Board a Sketch of the Fort and Ground on a lesser Scale with a few Geometrical Elevations of the Streets; likewise a Pest Board Model of the Fort Square House on the proposed scale, which will give a sufficient Idea of my intentions, and what the extent of the work will be when executed. Yet what great difference will appear between the Model of Pest Board and the intended Ivory one when the Pillars, Columns, Doors, Windows, &c., of the latter will be relieved as they are in reality!

'I flatter myself, when complete and finished, it would not be an improper present to the Honble Court of Directors from this Honble Board, when they would at one view survey Fort St. George, one of their most noble Fortifications in India, and able more particular to judge of its Strength, Situation and Defence. . . . JOHN GUTHRIE, Ensign, Engineers.' (*Mil. Mis.*, vol. xii., 22nd Aug., 1785.)

WARD'S VIEWS IN THE FORT.

Born in 1732, Francis Swain Ward, though trained in England as an artist, entered the military service of the East India Company, and was posted to Madras. Owing to supersession by officers of the King's troops, he threw up his commission in 1764, became Secretary to the Chartered Society of Artists, and himself exhibited in London in 1772.[1] In the following year he was reappointed to the Madras Army in the rank of Captain, when he presented the Company with a set of landscapes painted in Southern India. For these works he received a handsome honorarium.[2] In 1776, when at Vellore, he fell out with Sir Robert Fletcher. Writing to Orme, he says:—

Francis Swain Ward to Robert Orme.

'Of Self can say that my Uneasiness has destroyed my Health and almost my Temper. My Situation is without Hope. Condemned to Misery and Misfortune, nothing can be done here but through the Favour of S.R.,[3] who no distress shall force me to Cringe too, as I should hate myself if I Accepted a favour from the wretch I dispise. . . . My little Girl grows the most Engaging thing Imaginable, and is thought very Pretty; but with all this, and my Affection for her, she Adds to my Misery when I Reflect that she is Born to Beggary. . . .' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. lxxxiii., 25th July, 1776.)

In the following year Ward was stationed at Trichinopoly:—

Francis Swain Ward to Robert Orme.

'My Silence you must Attribute to Caution, as for some time all Letters were Opened, at Least we have great Reason to suspect so, and Read to the

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[1] *Descriptive List of Paintings, etc., at the India Office*, Foster.

[2] *M. from Eng.*, vol. vi., 7th April, 1773.

[3] Sir Robert.

Prejudice of the Writer; and I believe one I wrote you shar'd that fate. In it I gave you an Account of the Revolution at Madrass. . . .

'This is by a private Hand (Mr. Stanhope[1]) going by way of Suis to England, who Stops here for a Short time in his way to Anjango. . . .

'I wrote to England to beg the Command of Madura, a Command I more wish than Others more Lucrative to those of my Rank in the Service; but my Motives for it is my turn for drawing and Painting, which I shou'd Employ dureing my Residence there to make addition of Curiosities to those I have Already furnished the Public with. I have not been Idle since my Arrival, but have made a Collection I am Convinc'd woud give you great Pleasure coud I convey them to you. I will yet hope the time may come when I may show them you myself.

'Could I get to Madura I should esteem myself happy, as that place and its Neighbourhood affords more Beauties of Nature and Art than perhaps any other place in India. . . .' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. lxxxiii., 4th Nov., 1777.)

In 1783 Ward made proposals to the Directors for the production of 'a work,'[2] and in the following year the *Calcutta Gazette* published details of a scheme for engraving a set of his pictures. Retiring as Lieutenant-Colonel in 1786, Ward continued to reside in India, and in 1790 offered to present the Company with seventy-six of his paintings on condition that the Directors would engrave them and present him with the plates, a proposal which was not accepted.[3] Colonel Ward died at Negapatam in 1794. A number of his pictures passed into the possession of Mr. Richard Chase, who was Mayor of Madras in 1800. These, together with views by Thomas Daniell and others, were engraved by Edward Orme. In 1805 the engravings were published as aquatint illustrations to *A Brief History of Ancient and Modern India*, by F. W. Blagdon.

Four of the views, representing the interior of Fort St. George, have been reproduced for this work. The originals were probably among the seventy-six offered to the Company in 1790, and it is judged that they were painted about 1785. In Blagdon's book the aquatints are accompanied by printed descriptions which, though in some respects inaccurate,[4] serve to explain the pictures. From the descriptive matter the following extracts are made:—

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[1] Philip Dormer Stanhope ('Asiaticus').

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxi., 3rd Sept., and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 6th Sept., 1783.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. clxi., 12th Feb., 1790, and *Descriptive List of Paintings, etc., at the India Office*, Foster.

[4] The Fort Square, for example, is alluded to as 'the only fortification and almost the only territory possessed by the Company at Madras in the year 1750.' The views should be examined in connexion with the plan of 'Fort St. George as completed.'

View from the North-West Curtain looking towards the St. Thomé Gate.

'This view in Fort St. George shews in the foreground, on the left hand side, the west face of the King's Barracks: the low buildings or sheds on each side the gateway[1] are appropriated for places of confinement for the disorderly part of the soldiery, and for the residence of the serjeant-major and quartermaster serjeants. A small part of the kitchen belonging to the barracks appears rising between the two buildings.[2] The cupola at the end of the barracks belongs to the Fort Square. It had once an excellent clock, which was of great service to the Settlement; but it has long since been taken down.[3] The tower of the Church is seen beyond it, and the chimnies of the Fort Square kitchen on one side of it.

'The nearest trees shade a long range of buildings called the Company's Barracks, and at the end of these is the avenue, on the other side of which projects the Admiralty House: at the back of this is an avenue of trees where the street leading to the arsenal commences.[4] Opposite to the trees in question is the house of Mr. Cotsford, and beneath it that of Mrs. Turing who, by the marriages of her family and relatives, became connected with half the Settlement. The road between the enclosures, where the Seapoy centinel is observable, leads to the St. George's or West Gate. . . .'

St. Thomé Street looking South.

'In the foreground, on the right hand, is the south-east angle of Fort Square, which is separated from the church: the next object in succession is a street[5] in which is seen a horse with his keeper. The locality of this view does not require, nor will it admit of further elucidation. It affords a good specimen of the modern style of British architecture in India.'

Middle Gate Street looking North.

'This street is terminated by the north gate, which opens to the beach and black town. The extreme building in the foreground on the left is a part of Portuguese Square, which is inhabited by the civil servants of the Company.... N.B. The termination of the perspective is not a house, but part of a ravelin.'

The Parade and West Face of the Fort Square.

'This View includes the Parade of Fort St. George. The building on the right hand represents the west face of the Fort Square. . . .

'Apparently adjoining to Fort Square, although in fact divided from it by a broad street, is the south face of Portuguese Square, formerly a Portuguese church and containing the dwellings of the Catholic priests attached to it. The building rising above it was for many years the Court-house,[1] in which civil and criminal prosecutions were carried on. On the left side are the King's Barracks, originally built for the reception of the King's troops. At the extremity was a gateway,[2] but it has long been disused and blocked up. On the foreground and close to the wall of the Fort Square is a hawker or native pedlar, ... At a distance from him is a fly palankeen, a mode of conveyance now unknown at Madras, where the close palankeen alone is used.'

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[1] *The gateway* of the barracks.

[2] *The two buildings*—viz., the range of sheds and the barracks.

[3] The clock is shown in the view of the Parade and west face of the Fort Square. The descriptions date some fifteen years later than the views.

[4] The observer looks down Palace Street, on the left side of which stands Admiralty House. The buildings to the right of the street constitute Hanover Square. The church tower is depicted without its spire. The flag-staff has been transferred to the Sea Gate from the Fort Square.

[5] Church Street or Church Lane.

THE WATERWORKS.

Mr. George Baker stated in September, 1780, that the cistern at the Nabob's Bastion had held water for the last seven years, but the bomb-proofs[3] in the same locality which Ross and Stevens had in vain attempted to convert into reservoirs were useless for that purpose. Baker had filled one of the new cisterns on the east line experimentally.[4] In the following April he addressed Government at great length,[5] representing that nearly ten years had elapsed since he made his contract, and offering to transfer the waterworks to the Company for Pags. 30,000. He included in his offer 'that Water Course which Mr. Benfield made with Earthen Pipes for furnishing the New works of the West Front of the Fort with Water, that Work being now my property on the same Terms that I held my other Works.' Baker then alludes to the risks to which his own metal pipe line is exposed:—

Mr. George Baker to Government.

'Our Water Course of Pipes, leading from our Wells near the N.N.W. Extremity of the Black Town to the Fort, pass thro' Govendanaique Street and Seven Wells Street. The Inhabitants of those Streets did not for about seven Years disturb or endanger the injuring of them; but many of them have, for about three Months past, fallen into a Custom of digging Pits, Cess Pools, or a kind of Sinks or Wells in front of their respective Houses, either for lodging the Dirt, or letting the Filth and foul Water drain into them from their Houses and Yards, instead of carrying the Dirt away, or letting the foul Water sink into the Ground, or run off as usual in the Channels left for that purpose on each side of those streets, which in a great measure undermine and tend to crack the Joints of the Pipes, and destroy the Water Course.

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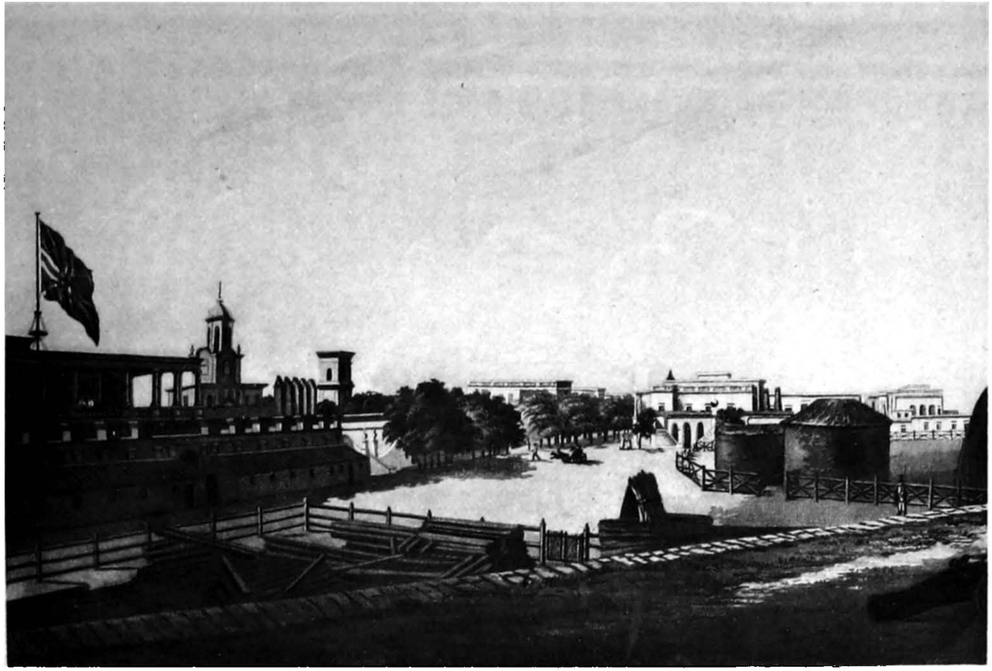
[1] Information given to the writer by the Rev. F. Penny shows that the Mayor's court-house in Choultry Gate Street was demolished in 1804.

[2] The Choultry Gate.

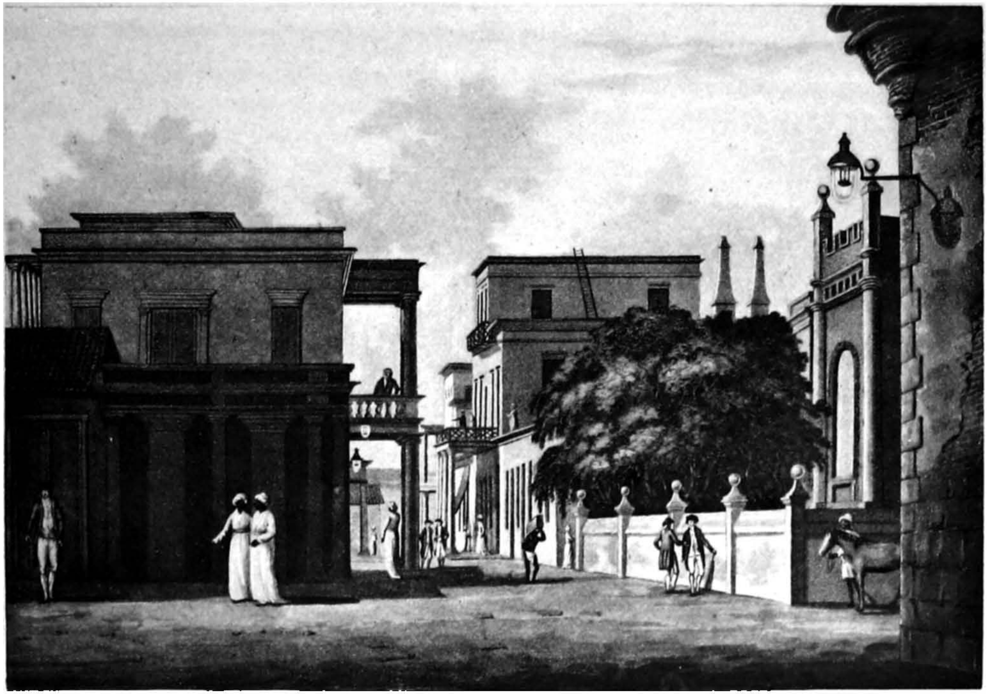
[3] Baker calls them 'Bomb proof Guddons'—*i.e.*, Godowns.

[4] *M.C.*, vol. lxxi., 18th and 23rd Sept., 1780.

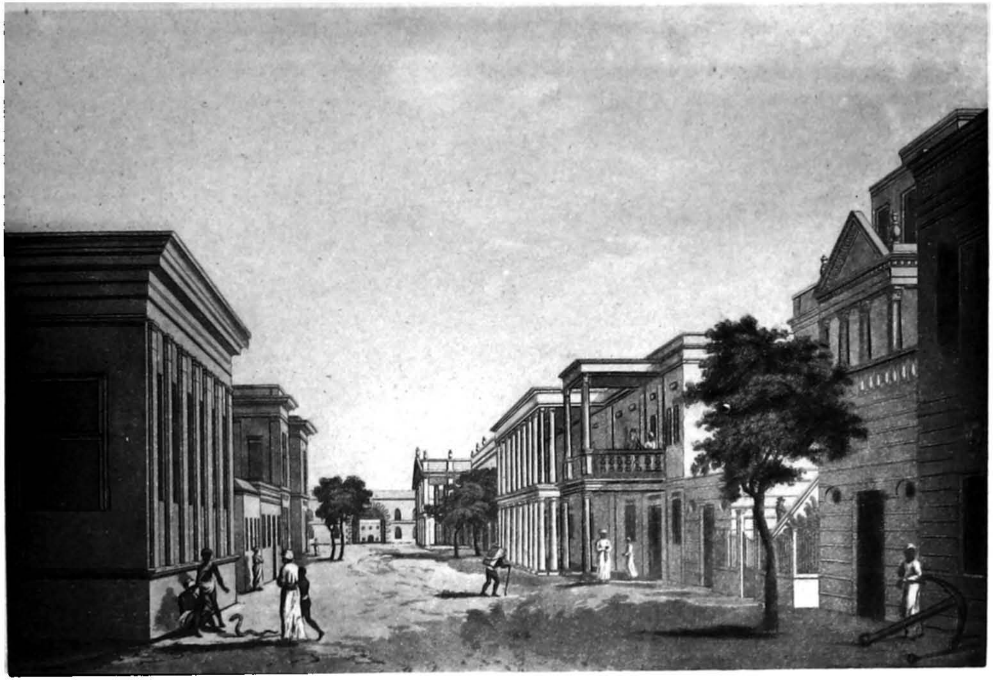
[5] *M.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 5th and 24th April, 1781.



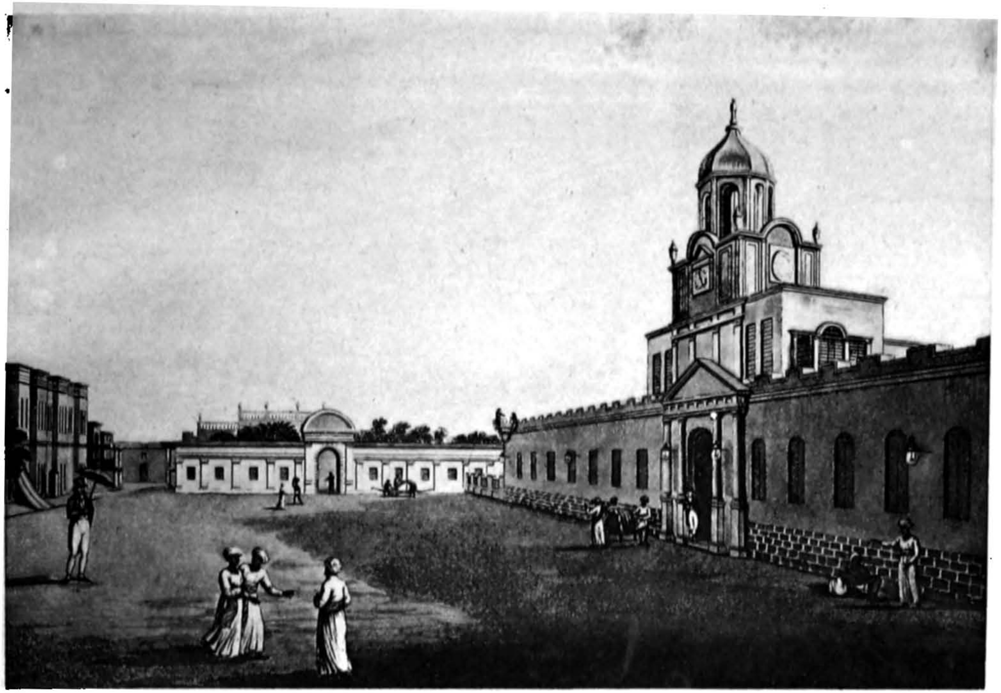
Fort St. George as in 1785. View from the N.W. curtain
looking towards the St. Thomé Gate.
after F. S. Ward.



Fort St. George as in 1785. St. Thomé Street looking south.
after F. S. Ward.



Fort St. George as in 1785. Middle Gate Street looking north.
after F. S. Ward.



Fort St. George as in 1785. The Parade and West face of the Fort Square.
after F. S. Ward.

'Some of them, not confining the heaps of Bricks to the Fronts of the Houses near which they lodge them, let large Piles project far into the Street, either on or near our Water Course, which does also endanger it, particularly when the pressure happens to be (as in many instances it is) great, and the natural resistance of the Ground is taken from the opposite side by the vacuity made for a Sink, Well or Cess pool. This is, in that loose sandy Soil, enough to destroy even a Water Course of Iron, such as ours there is. . . . GEORGE BAKER.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 24th April, 1781.)

A year later Baker reported that the full quantity of water demanded by his contract—viz., 2,160 tons for 6,000 men for four months—had been lodged in the Fort on the 9th February, 1782; and he had since stored, though not bound to do so, a further quantity of 1,080 tons, making in all sufficient for six months' supply. He described the mode of storage, and added a memorandum of his terms of sale:—

Mr. George Baker to Government.

'As to the present State of the Old Cisterns, those (if I may call them such) that were formerly Godowns in the Nabobs Bastion, but were fitted up as Cisterns about seven Years since . . ., which I have long and at a great Expence laboured to keep what Water I could in, by order of the respective Governments or Governors, till the new Cisterns were prepared to receive it, leak so much that the Quantity of Water (for there is some) now in them does not merit a Dependance on as a Stock in Store.

'There are, besides the above and the new Cisterns in the Rampart of the Sea Line, Four other Cisterns in the Fort, one in the Mint Bastion, One under the Treasury in the Inner Fort Square, One in the Nabobs Bastian (originally designed for and constructed as such . . .), and One just without the South East or Flag Staff Angle of the Inner Fort Square. . . .

'Exclusive of the Cisterns already described there are Seventy Six new ones in the Rampart of the Sea Line. Why they have been placed there, You, my Lord and Gentlemen, or your Predecessors in the Administration of Government, know best. Your most obedient Servant has not had the Honor of being consulted. . . .

'Of the seventy six new Cisterns, forty stand in the Rampart of the Sea Line to the South of the Sea Gate, and are divided into two divisions: the first Division consists of twenty five, and stands next the Sea Gate; the other Range consists of 15, and stands between the former and the South East Demi Bastian of the Fort. The remaining thirty Six lye to the North of the Sea Gate, and are seperated into two other distinct Divisions likewise; that next the Sea Gate on the North side consists of twenty four; the Northmost Division of those two has twelve in it. . . .

'Thus, my Lord and Gentlemen, that which has cost me ten Years of my Life (embittered with many Embarrassments) and ten thousand Pagodas more than I can expect to refund myself by my Contract is at last, tho' not in my own way, Effected. Having been so long and so much wearied and perplexed in this tedious Business, I was induced to offer my Works verbally to Governor

Whitehill for the Company. . . . so long back as the Year 1777. I did the same thing to Governor Sir Thomas Rumbold in 1778; the same again to Governor Whitehill in 1780; the like also to Governor Smith in December the same Year, and again in Writing to the Honble the Governor and Council under Date the 5th April 1781. . . . I now beg leave, My Lord and Gentlemen, to inform you that the Tender which I did make the Honble the Governor and Council on the 5th of April last past is still open, and in your Election to accept or refuse . . ., and it shall continue so to the 5th April next ensuing. But if it shall not, my Lord and Gentlemen, be your Pleasure to accept the same in writing delivered at my Rooms in St. Thomas Street by Sunset that day, the whole and all that relates to that tender ceases and as absolutely determines as though it had never been made. . . . GEORGE BAKER.'

'*Memorandum by Mr. Baker.*

'There is an inexhaustible Store of Water to be had from Wells sunk in Fort St. George at about 10 or 12 feet under the Surface of the Ground. Whether this Water be wholesome for drinking or not, those who are desirous of making the Experiment have it always in their power to make the Tryal. But be this as it may, the Company have always, since I first knew this place, caused Water for their Garrison to be fetched at a considerable Expence from the Black Town.

'When I made my Contract with the Company, I believe for several Years before they paid two hundred Pagodas per Month for furnishing *the Garrison only* with Water, which Garrison was, I believe, very rarely if ever so numerous as it has since generally been. It is most certain that the Factory and Garrison taken together did not in general amount to six thousand Souls, Though this is the number which I am obliged by my Contract to keep 4 Months water in reserve for at 3 Quarts per Man per Day, and furnish them therewith for the same Sum of two hundred Pagodas per Month, the Company paying me for whatever Water they may require over and above this Quantity and exclusive of this Sum.

'I have offered my Works to the Company for their Bond for thirty thousand Pagodas payable in England at the end of two Years at 8 Shillings per Pagoda and Interest at 5 per Cent per annum to be paid annually, and an Annuity for Life of 500 £ Sterling. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxvii., 5th April, 1782.)

Taking the annuity at six years' purchase, as 'I am now in my Sixtieth Year with a broken Constitution,' Baker shows that his total price of £15,000 represents a monthly payment of Pags. 156¼ during his life, and Pags. 125 after his death.

Government agreed to take over the waterworks as from the 5th April, and granted bonds payable in London after two years for Pags. 30,000 purchase money, and Pags. 5,169 for arrears due, Nothing was said about the annuity. Mr. John Thomson was appointed Superintendent of the works at Pags. 150 per month.[1] Thomson prepared a plan of the works, and compiled instructions for their management.[1] On appointment as Master Attendant early in 1783, he was relieved at the Wells by Mr. Robert Maunsell, a civil servant. In 1785, when Maunsell was transferred to Ganjam, the Commander-in-Chief expressed the opinion that the waterworks should be under the control of the Chief Engineer. In the course of his remarks he said:—

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 31st Aug., 1782.

Minute by Sir John Dalling.

'The Water brought for the Supply of the Garrison is conducted under Ground through Iron and Leaden Pipes from the northwest angle of the Black Town, and led through the Fortifications in different Directions, crossing the Ditch in three Places, over which, at two of the three Places, the Pipes are left in view, a certain Direction where an enemy may cut them off, and an ugly deformity spoiling the Appearance of these Fronts, one only being properly laid at the Bottom of the Ditch. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. cviii., 12th July, 1785.)

Although Sir John was supported by General Sloper, Commander-in-Chief in India, the Government resolved to appoint Mr. William Webb to be Superintendent on the same terms as Thomson and Maunsell. The Directors, however, agreed with the military authorities:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have perused your Proceedings relative to the appointment of Mr. William Webb to be the Superintendant of the Company's Water Works, and for the reasons stated by Sir John Dalling and acquiesced in by General Sloper, we are inclined to think that this Department might be more beneficially occupied by an Engineer. Considering likewise that the Company have not yet reaped any advantage from those works, after reckoning the Interest upon the Purchase Money, we think that 150 Pagodas per Month to the Superintendant is an unreasonable allowance. We therefore direct that one of the Engineers be in future employed in the management of the Water Works with a Gratuity of 500 Pagodas per Annum for his trouble; and you must embrace the first opportunity of conferring some other suitable appointment on Mr. Webb. . . .

'In Mr. Thompson's Letter to your Board of the 15th February 1783 it is stated that these works are very capable of being rendered profitable to the Company, and, by the execution of a Plan to throw water into every private house within the Fort and in the Black Town, would prove a very beneficial estate. We therefore desire to be informed whether any progress has been made towards the completion of this Plan. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxix., 16th Feb., 1787.)

Colonel Ross assumed charge of the waterworks on the 1st July, 1787. He reported that there was no private demand for water.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxix., 18th March, 1783.

Only one family in the Fort had availed itself of a house pipe, and not one in the Black Town. The natives preferred to obtain drinking-water from the nearest suitable well. For other domestic purposes they used the wells in their own compounds.[1] He considered, however, that more water would be taken by shipping if the rates were reduced.

THE FORT HOUSE.

The Council Chamber being out of repair, Mr. Philip Stowey, the Civil Architect, was directed, in April, 1782, to survey the whole of the Fort House. Extensive alterations were eventually carried out, including a new veranda on the east side. The documents are quoted at some length because much of the work done may still be seen:—

From the Civil Architect to Government.

'Conformably to your orders, I herewith have the honor of laying before you the Plan and Elevations for the intended Alterations and Repairs to the Fort House, and, agreeably to the Proposals annexed thereto, I will undertake to finish externally the South End according to the proposed Elevation, fit up the Governors Appartments in the Attic Front with new Windows and Doors, Wall Recesses, paint the Ceilings, Windows and Doors, fine Chunam the Walls, and erect two new Flights of Back Stairs and properly Chunam the Walls which form the Area of the same from Top to Bottom, for the Sum of S. Pags. 1,943. I will also engage to compleat, as far as the Plan and Elevation directs, the whole Front, fit up the Consultation Room in an handsome Style with a wooden Floor, a Ceiling, Cornice, Frieze, Door and Window Architraves, Book Cases, &c., erect two Flights of Stairs suitable thereto, properly floor and Chunam the whole within and without, paint the Doors and Windows with Europe Oil, and fix on proper Locks or Fastnings to each, those of the Consultation Room to be of Brass Mortise Locks, and the Walls and Frieze of the Room to be variegated with Oil Colours, for the specific Sum of S. Pags. 6,680.

'By the Plan now submitted, no part of the Walls of the House will undergo further Alteration than the fixing in new Windows and Doors, the Verandah being the only additional Building required, and as that is meant to extend to the Wings[2] and serve as a Communication thereto, the Stair Cases may be removed, and the Ground they occupy on each Floor turned into useful Appartments. The Stair Case B will give Access to the Rooms in the Body of the House.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxlv., 9th Oct., and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 16th Oct., 1787.

[2] These wings were short returns, projecting westward at each end of the building. The central veranda connecting them was built along the west front at first-floor level. The present wings, or north and south extensions of the block, were not added until about 1825, when the Fort Square was demolished to make room for them.

'It will require Six Months for the Completion of the Work, and should my Offers meet with the Approbation of your Lordship, &c., I request that Space of time be allowed me. PHILIP STOWEY.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxvii., 19th July, 1782.)

Government accepted these proposals; but, in the course of the execution of the work, the condition of the building proved to be worse than was at first apparent:—

From the Civil Architect to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxix., 12th March, 1783.)

'Since I had the honor to receive your Commands for undertaking the repairs of some of the public Offices and Apartments in the Fort House, I have, during the prosecution of that work, discovered such general decay to prevail in almost every part of the building that I consider it dangerous in the highest degree for the Company to continue the use of it in its present ruinous condition. The Walls, which make a principal part of the Structure, are well worth preserving, but the Timbers of the Floors, the Stair Cases and other internal Work are so rotten and defective as to be in hourly danger of falling in. Lately the Floor of the Accomptant's Office sunk many Inches merely from the shock of a few Carpenters working upon it. Externally there is neither a door or Window in any tolerable degree of repair, or Capable of being made so. . . . I have, upon a thorough Survey of the Premises, taken the Liberty to devise such Plans and measures to be pursued for the preservation of the sound parts of the building as it now stands, and for such addition and amendment to the whole as to me appear indispensably necessary and will, I trust, ensure real Utility. . . . The particular explanation of which will be best understood upon the Spot to which it appertains . . ., for however explanative I may endeavour to be by my plans and writing on the subject, it cannot be so well understood as by making a comparative view of the Building and Plans together: the defective and sound parts will then speak for themselves, and the junction of the new with the old best shew how far I have been guided by necessity and propriety in the formation of it.

'The amount of expence attending the completion of the Work I have written on the different plans which compose the whole as stated [below]. . . .

'That part of the Work contracted for, and is contained within the South and West Fronts of the Fort House, per plan of same - - - - - - - - - -	8,263
'That part not contracted for, and is contained within the North and East Fronts, and extend to the finishing all the remaining Rooms, Stair Cases, Communications, &c., throughout the Building, per plan of same - - -	8,263
'The Eastern Veranda and other Building, per plan of same . . . - - - - - - - - - -	3,670
Pagodas	20,916

The Council, after inspecting the Fort House, sanctioned the revised estimate, and in the following August reported their action to the Directors:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'The Council Chamber and the adjoining Apartments in the Fort House being 100 Years old and very much out of Repair, We last year directed the Civil Architect to survey them, and upon his Report We agreed to allow him Star Pagodas 6,680 for the Expence necessary to render them habitable, and ordered him to begin upon the Work immediately. But in the Prosecution of it he found such a general decay to prevail throughout the Building that he addressed Us on the subject, and desired that We would be Eye Witnesses of the Truth of his Representation, in which he set forth that little also except the Walls was worth preserving, and that it must fall to Ruin in a very short Time unless very effectual means were taken to preserve it. We visited the Fort House accordingly, and finding it to be in the State the Civil Architect had described, We contracted with him to give it a most substantial Repair for the additional sum of 13,916 Star Pagodas[1] to be paid by Bills on Bengal, and the work is now very nearly compleated. We flatter ourselves your Honors will approve of our having consented to this Expence, as it appeared absolutely requisite for the Preservation of the only Building you possess at this Presidency fit for public Offices.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 10th Aug., 1783.)

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[1] S. Pags. 13,916—*i.e.*, the revised estimate of Pags. 20,916, less Pags. 7,000 already paid against the original estimate of Pags. 8,623.

CHAPTER XIX

1781—1785

LANDS AND BUILDINGS—QUIT RENT AND SCAVENGER'S DUTY

Lands and Buildings.

Mr. Hugh Maxwell, Superintendent of the Company's Grounds,[1] drew attention to the practice of fraudulently acquiring land by a method analogous to that described by Mr. William Ross in 1778:—

Mr. Hugh Maxwell to the Select Committee.

'From the employ I hold, I take the liberty of calling your attention to an abuse that has existed for a long time in Madras, and I hope some measures may be adopted not only to prevent such practices in future, but also to oblige those to give back to the Company what has been obtained by fraud.

'It is customary for a man to fix upon any piece of Company's ground he wishes to possess, and lends money to the poor people who are permitted to build their huts upon it, for which he takes their notes of hand and a mortgage of the ground as a security for the payment. When the time is expired, he applies to the Mayor's Court (for they are in general Attorney's Dubashes who are concerned) for a writ of Sequestration, which is granted on his swearing to the Debt. The ground is sold by the Sheriff, and bought in for a trifle by the lender or some of his associates, and a Mayor's Court Bill of Sale granted for the same: by which means possession has been taken of large spots. Others have enclosed ground without going through the ceremony of applying to the Mayor's Court: the washing people in particular have been very guilty of those frauds. . . . Hugh Maxwell.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxvii., 6th Nov., 1781.)

In consequence of this representation, a Committee, consisting of Major Maule, Chief Engineer, Mr. Maxwell, Superintendent of the Company's Grounds, and Mr. Stowey, Surveyor of Buildings, was ordered to survey the Black Town and take possession of all ground for which good title could not be shown. Attention was drawn to certain land, believed to have been filched from the Company, which was to be sold under a decree of the Mayor's Court. Government instructed their Standing Counsel to advise whether legal proceedings should be taken for recovery of the property. Mr. Sulivan's investigation involved a futile search for the original grant of Madras territory to the Company, and his report is of considerable interest:—

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[1] The duties of the Superintendent included the removal of street encroachments, the widening of the highways around the city, and the maintenance of roadside avenues of trees. (*M.C.*, vol. lxxvii., 18th Dec., 1781.)

Mr. Benjamin Sulivan to the Select Committee.

'Mr. Secretary Hudleston, by letter of the 29th January last, conveyed to me your Orders that I should take such steps as I should judge proper to prevent the immediate sale of some lots of Ground advertized to be sold under a decree of the Mayor's Court; and that I should examine into the rights to those Grounds, and, if I should be of opinion that they were legally the property of the Honble Company, that I should endeavour to recover possession of them by due course of law.

'Having in consequence made every enquiry in my power relative to the Right, I found that the Company could not ground their claim in length of possession, the then occupiers having been in the uninterrupted possession for a long series of years, and that they could not claim under any other title, the original grant of Madras and its Environs having been either lost or mislaid. I therefore thought it would be in vain to attempt to stop the Sale, or to engage the Company in a Suit which could only serve to expose their inability to support it; and I had the honor to express myself to this purpose to the Right Honble the President.

'Wishing to come at some certain knowledge of this Grant before I addressed Your Lordship, &c., I applied to Mr. Hudleston and Mr. Freeman, the present Secretaries,[1] as also to Mr. Richard Sulivan and Mr. Oakeley, who some time since filled these Offices, in the hope of acquiring some information from them; but none of these Gentlemen knew of any other Grants than those that are printed, and nothing of a particular one for Madras and the small District immediately surrounding it. I had still, however, some expectation of finding it, having recollected Mr. Whitehill saying there was such a Grant from one of the Gentoo Princes in a Box of old Records in the Civil Secretary's Office, and therefore requested Mr. Haliburton, the Persian Interpreter, as I do not myself understand the Country Languages, to assist me in searching for it; but, much hurried by business in his own Department, he could not attend 'till yesterday, when We found a list of Grants that were missing at the time Moody Kistna was appointed to succeed Paupa Braminy as the Company's Interpreter,[2] and found that this particular Grant was the foremost in the list.

'Enquiring for this Grant, which I thought may be necessary on future occasions, has been the reason of my having so long postponed addressing

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[1] In the Military and Civil Departments respectively.

[2] Probably about 1749. Paupa Braminy, jun., in an undated petition to Governor Saunders, takes credit for having made 'A Catalogue of sundry Grants and Patents missing.' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. lxxi.)

Your Lordship, &c., relative to the lot of Ground mentioned in Mr. Hudleston's Letter; and as I have long since delivered my Sentiments to the Right Honble the President on that subject, I trust Your Lordship will attribute the delay to the true cause, a desire of giving You every useful information in my power. BENJAMIN SULIVAN.' (*M.C.*, vol. lxxix., 16th March, 1782.)

Mrs. Casamaijor, *née* Powney, who was married to Noah Casamaijor in 1736 and became a widow ten years later, owned a house and ground adjacent to the Company's Gardens at Chepauk. In December, 1781, she offered the property to Government for Pags. 6,000. The offer was accepted, and the land was absorbed into the Government Garden. Writing to England, the Council said:—'Mrs. Rebecca Casamaijor, who possessed a Piece of Ground and a small Dwelling House in it, offered them to us lately for sale. As the Ground in reality forms a Part of the Company's Gardens, which would render it extremely inconvenient should it fall into improper Hands, we thought the Opportunity of purchasing it ought not to be lost, and We have accordingly granted Mrs. Casamaijor an Interest Bond for six Thousand Star Pagodas in Payment for the same.'[1] The ground in Black Town which had been allotted to her in compensation for her former property on the Island had previously been purchased for the Company.[2] Her son, James Henry Casamaijor, when Chief at Vizagapatam, had a narrow escape from death. The sepoys at that place mutinied on being ordered to embark for Madras in October, 1780. They shot down two of their officers, killed one civilian and wounded another, plundered the place, and threatened to murder Casamaijor and the remaining members of the civil establishment.[3] On leaving for England in June, 1782, Casamaijor found his good service handsomely recognized by Government.[4] He subsequently returned to India and became a member of the Fort St. George Council.

In the course of the war with Hyder the Government found themselves compelled to use St. Mary's Church as a Granary and Storehouse for a year and a half.[5] During this period Divine Service was held in the great hall of the Admiralty:—

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 26th Jan., 1782.
[2] *M.C.*, vol. lxxvii., 6th Nov., 1781.
[3] *M.C.*, vol. lxxi., 13th Oct., 1780.
[4] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 7th June, 1782.
[5] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxi., 28th Oct., 1783.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board taking it into their most serious Consideration that, from the Number of Cazines and other Company's Buildings which they are at present obliged to appropriate to the Accommodation of the French and Dutch Prisoners and for the Use of his Majesty's Navy, the Insufficiency of the Remainder of the Public Godowns for the Reception of the necessary Quantity of Garrison and Military Stores is but too apparent; as the Situation of Affairs renders it absolutely expedient that a Stock should be instantly lodged within the Walls of the Fort, and the Church, from its Construction, being thought a safe and commodious Place for keeping Grain and Stores, Agreed that, with the Consent of the Vestry, it be allotted to the different Storekeepers for that Purpose untill other Warehouses can be spared for them. Ordered that the Vestry be informed of the above Resolution, and, at the desire of the Right Honble the President, that they be offered the Hall of the Government House[1] for the Performance of Divine Service so long as the Church shall be shut up.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxvii., 1st March, 1782.)

In the following year the Vestry asked the Committee of Works to enlarge St. Mary's Cemetery on the Island. The Chief Engineer, in submitting proposals, advised that the ground be enclosed with a palmyra fence, as a brick wall 'parallel to and within about 300 Yards of the Works' would be objectionable for military reasons.[2] Mr. Davidson, a member of the Committee, adduced other considerations of a gruesome kind:—

Minute by Mr. Alexander Davidson.

'Mr. Davidson observes on Colonel Ross's Minute that, although a Parapet Wall of several hundred Yards would give cover to parties of the Enemy . . ., yet that great inconvenience will arise from a Palmeira Railing from thefts, and in consequence subjecting the Burial Ground to be infested with Jackalls, Parriar Dogs, &c., which, if it happened, would be complained of by the Community as a grievance, and be otherwise highly disagreeable to Individuals who may have the Misfortune of losing their Relations. Sepoy Guards have not sufficient vigilance in the night time to watch over so wide a space as is set apart for a Burial Ground. . . .

'Mr. Davidson takes leave to mention to the Committee of Works that the Company's House in Saint Thome Street appropriated by the Government for his use as third in Council is wholly out of repair. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxi., 28th Oct., 1783.)

Government resolved on the enlargement of the Cemetery, and agreed with Mr. Davidson that a thin brick wall should enclose it.

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[1] The Admiralty was at this time designated Government House. It had been used as the Governor's town residence since the time of Du Pré.

[2] The adjacent stables were used as a magazine, 'several hundred barrels of Gun Powder lying under Tarpaulins,' without any proper fence.

Vepery Church, like St. Mary's, was put to profane use. The Rev. J. Fabricius repeatedly complained of the damage done by the British soldiers who were quartered at the Mission buildings in November and December, 1782. The Civil Architect inspected the place in the following March, but delay in repair caused Fabricius to betray some impatience:—

From the Protestant Missionary at Vepery to the Governor.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxx., 18th June, 1783.)

'The excessive great Damage and Destruction which His Majestys Troops, lately quartered here two Months, have made to the English Mission constraineth me to make this humble Address to your Lordship, and most respectfully to beg your Lordship the kindness to send some body hither for to take a view of it. If Hyder's Horses were come to Wepery, they would not have made such a Desolation as these our Friends have done. They have damaged the Church in such a manner that, in the Condition it is in, no Use can be made of it. All the Doors and Rails within our Church Ground are gone, the School-houses are not inhabitable, being deprived of all the Doors and Windows, and these Troops have pulled down the Roofs of two Houses here in the street, built by the Mission for weavers. . . . J. Ph. Fabricius,

'English Missionary.'

Several garden houses which were taken up for the use of the troops needed repair after evacuation. Among them was Mackay's Garden on the Mount Road. James Taylor, executor of the late Mr. George Mackay, claimed Pags. 491 from Government. Among the items we find[1]:—

'400 Reepers[2] for the Teal House, &c.
9 Windows in the Slave Boys Cadowns.
3 Ditto in the Pedgeons House.'

During the rebuilding of the east front of Fort St. George, the Custom House was moved from the Sea Gate to temporary buildings outside, but it was eventually re-established at the Gate. The following letter from the Sea Customer describes its vicissitudes, and shows that the Sea Gate Colonnade was used as a Granary before St. Mary's Church was appropriated to that purpose:—

Mr. Robert Hughes to Lord Macartney.

'I beg leave to inform your Lordship that, when I was appointed Sea Customer, the business of my Office was principally carried on in a Straw

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. civ., 29th Dec., 1784. The property passed to Alexander George Mackay, son of George Mackay. (*M.C.*, vol. cxiii., 6th Aug., 1786.)

[2] *Reepers*, battens laid across the rafters of a roof to carry tiles.

Shed a little to the Northward of the Fort. The Books and Accounts I thought proper to remove into my apartments, as the Shed in Question could not contend with either Fire or Water.

'Shortly after Sir Eyre Coote's arrival from Bengal, the Esplanade was ordered to be cleared of all buildings, and Mr. Smith, the late Governor, directed the Chief Engineer to prepare a part of the Sea line[1] as a temporary Custom House, which was accordingly done, and I took possession thereof the beginning of the year; but I soon found that the place given me was not a fifth of what was wanted. . . .

'About seven or Eight years ago the Godowns of the Custom House were situated to the right and left of the Entrance from the Sea, with the Piazza[2] in Front, and would contain all the Goods that were landing from Eight or Ten Indiamen and as many capital Country Ships. . . .

'When the Custom House was brought back in the Fort, I pointed out to Mr. Smith the Angle between the Sea Gates[3] as the fittest place for the purpose, and he gave me reason to hope that I should have taken possession thereof some Months ago. Mr. Garrow has had Orders for making the Doors and Windows . . ., but hitherto the earth is not removed from within and in front, but might easily be done in a few days. This Building and what I now hold, with the Piazza which is now made use of as a Granary, will enable me to give your Lordship every possible Satisfaction. The Piazza, my Lord, in former times was the public Resort of all Merchants, and considered the Exchange of the Place, and was always open for the Reception of all kind of Traffick of the Company's and others that could not lay out at the Hazard of the Weather; and for the Want of it for this purpose I have lately seen very valuable Property lying upon the Beach for a Week together, and there is not a man in the way of business who does not feel the loss of so very convenient a Building on account of its nearness to the Sea Gates; and all the world will allow that the Company had better pay double Godown Hire than employ it any longer as a Granary. . . . ROBERT HUGHES.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxvi., 7th Dec., 1781.)

Government resolved that the bomb-proofs by the Sea Gate should be allotted to the Sea Customer, 'and that a sufficient part be fitted up as an Office for that Employ.'

During the war, great pressure was put on the residential accommodation in the Fort. A house in St. Thomé Street was hired in 1781 at Pags. 80 per month for the use of officers expected with the Squadron, and in 1783 two houses in Black Town for the fleet captains.[4] The civil servants were accommodated as usual in the Fort Square and Portuguese Square, but the distribution of both civil and military quarters was revised:—

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[1] The restored east front.

[2] The Sea Gate Colonnade.

[3] The centre salient of the Tenaillon, now called the Redan, had a gate in each face.

[4] Sir Edward Hughes was provided with a house in the Fort. (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxi., 17th Oct., 1783.)

Minute by the President.

'It having been represented to the President that the Apartments in Fort Square and Portugueze Square allotted to the use of the Company's Civil Servants have been appropriated to other Purposes, and as he is of opinion upon Enquiry that a general Reform in this particular is become absolutely necessary, he submits to the consideration of the Board the following Regulations:—

'That all the Apartments in the Fort Square and Portugueze Square be declared vacant, except the Apartments allotted to the two Secretaries and their Deputies. The Accountant and Sub Accountant to have their present Apartments if they occupy them themselves.

'That the Apartments . . . containing the Southwest, South, and North East Rooms in the Fort Square and under the Fort House be appropriated to the use of the Assistants in the two Secretaries' Offices. . . .

'That the remainder of the Apartments . . . be distributed to the Civil Servants applying, according to Seniority.

'That none of the Apartments be taken to be made use of as Godowns or Offices, but that the Civil Servants holding Rooms shall be obliged actually to occupy them themselves or to give them up, and that any Person offending against this rule is to be reported to the Governor. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxvi., 9th Nov., 1781.)

Orders by the Select Committee.

'The following Arrangements to take place in the Military Quarters of Fort St. George. . . .

'The Officers doing Duty with the Europeans to be first provided with Quarters, the Sick and Wounded to be next Considered, and when Quarters in the Fort cannot be furnished them, Houses to be taken in the Black Town for their accommodation as near the Hospital as possible, that they may have the benefit of the Surgeons' regular and Constant attendance. . . .

'The King's Barracks to accomodate the Senior Officer of the Troops, two Field Officers and 17 Captains, and are occasionally and in time of necessity to serve the same number of Field Officers, 14 Captains or 28 Subalterns.

'The Old Artillery Barracks are to Contain 6 Captains or 12 Subalterns, and in case of necessity the same increased number at the King's Barracks.

'The Quarters South and North of the Parade [to] have accommodation in the same proportion as above.' (*Mil. G.O.G.*, vol. iii., 16th Oct., 1782.)

A memento of General Joseph Smith, who was living in retirement at Bath, appears to have existed in the village of Vandalūr beyond the Mount. Writing from England in 1785, the Directors said:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We observe by your Proceedings relative to the Jaghire Lands that in 1775 the Village of Vandelore was granted by the Nabob to General Joseph Smith as a Shotrium[1] at the Annual Rent of 50 Pagodas for the erection and support of a Choultry for Travellers. As you were of Opinion that this Building is evidently calculated for Public benefit, We approve of your having issued a new grant to the General of the said Village on the terms he before had it.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxviii., 8th July, 1785.)

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[1] *Shotrium, shrotriem*, an assignment of revenue for sacred or charitable purposes.

Application was made by Father Ferdinand for permission to rebuild the Capuchin Church in Armenian Street. The Chief Engineer found that the site level was 10½ feet above 'the bridge near the China Bazar,' and that the projected building was to be 24 feet in height. He questioned the propriety of allowing a structure of this altitude to be raised within 700 yards of the Fort.[1] The proposal was then modified, and in its new form approved. Father Ferdinand wrote:—'There seems to be so many difficulties for the building a new Church upon the Emplacement of the old one that I think (in order to displease no body) to repare only that which is extant, which I hope you have no objection to; therefore should be glad Mr. Ross' letter should not pass to the Council.'[2]

A fund left for the maintenance of Uscan's Marmalong Bridge was administered by the Vestry. In 1785 the Government contributed help in consequence of the great use they had made of the bridge during the war:—

St. Mary's Vestry to Government.

'The present ill state of the Bridge at Marmelon having been laid before the Vestry . . ., it was resolved that We should Acquaint Your Lordship, &c., with the same; and although a Fund has been left by the Donor for the constant Repairs of it, yet the Vestry having taken into Consideration the great benefit the Public Service had derived from it in the late War, and conceiving that the repairs at present necessary are chiefly Occasioned by the frequent passing over of Gun Carriages, &c., for the Public Service, which, having worn away part of the Stone Pavement, makes it necessary to have it covered with a Coat of Gravel, We are to request your Lordship, &c., will afford us such Assistance from the Lascars situated at the Mount as may be found necessary for that purpose. B. MILLINGCHAMP, RICHARD LESLIE. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxv., 8th Jan., 1785.)

QUIT RENT AND SCAVENGER'S DUTY.

Mr. Cotton Bowerbank Dent, the Rental General and Scavenger, drew attention in 1783 to the irregularity which prevailed in the payment of Quit Rent and Scavenger's Duty, the accumulated arrears being upwards of Pags. 43,000. He alluded to the difficulties of collection and the inadequate conservancy of Black Town :—

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[1] The distance from the salient angle of the covered way to the church was just 700 yards.

[2] *M. Mis.*, vol. xi., 13th June, 1785.

The Rental General and Scavenger to Government.

'There are a great Number of Europeans, Portuguese, Moors, Jentoos and Malabars who, after letting their Houses on long Leases and receiving the full amount of the Rent, leave the Settlement; and when the Assessment is demanded from them they refuse Payment, alledging that the proprietor and not themselves are answerable for it. . . .

'The Black Town Militia, composed of the Native Portiguese, refuse paying any Quit Rent, and assign as a Reason that their Duty in that Corps exempts them from any such demand. . . .

'Formerly there were several low Bogs in the Black Town, where the Carters used to deposit the Contents of the Carts, which were contiguous to the Houses; but having been for some time filled up, they are now obliged to carry their Carts out of the Bound Hedge to a very considerable distance, which makes it necessary to employ a greater number of Carts and Buffoloes. If the Inhabitants would enable me to defray the Charge by paying the Tax in a regular manner, the Black Town might then be kept properly clean. . . .

'I think it necessary to acquaint your Lordship, &c., that there is another Cause why the Black Town cannot be kept so clean as it ought to be, by reason that a number of the Inhabitants, instead of keeping Sinks in their back Yards, with Channels to convey the muddy Water thereto, let it pass into the open Streets, which not only renders it very offensive but extremely unwholesome; to prevent which formerly there was an European Serjeant, who acted as an Inspector to the different Streets. I therefore recommend that the Board will appoint such a person again for that purpose. . . .

'I beg leave to submit the foregoing to the Consideration of the Board, and request that they will fall upon some plan to induce the Inhabitants to pay the Tax in a proper manner . . ., particularly when it is considered that there are several Persons[1] in this Settlement who are ready to question the Right the Company have to levy any Tax on the publick without a special Act of Parliament expressly made for that purpose; which, as far as I can learn, has been the reason that my Predecessors in office have not insisted on payment by a rigorous exertion of the powers invested in them, or by due course of Law. . . . C. B. DENT.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxi., 28th Oct., 1783.)

Minute by the President.

'It appears from the Records that the Collection of Quit Rent and Scavenger's Duty has the sanction of long usage, and that no doubts were ever entertained on the part of the Government respecting the Legality of it, nor any opposition made on the part of the Inhabitants to these Assessments, until Mr. Sayer, the Companys late Standing Counsel in England, upon some question referred to him relative to an Assessment proposed to be made in Bengal for repairing the Roads and Drains of the Town, gave it as his opinion "that the Company had no Power of taxing the Inhabitants" . . .[1]

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[1] Among them Mr. Charles Bromley, Attorney.

'Upon a general Question whether the Company have a Right in themselves to impose Taxes on the Inhabitants without Limitation, the Answer is clear, that they have no such Right; but, as Proprietors of the soil under Grants made by successive Nabobs and confirmed by the Mogul, have the Company no authority to take a moderate Quit Rent or acknowledgement for the ground occupied and built upon by the Inhabitants, and do not original acquiescence and long prescription justify the continuance of such a Tax, at least until some more legal mode can be established? Upon the same principle of usage and consent, may they not continue to levy a Scavenger's Rate to be applied to the sole purpose of cleansing the Streets and removing Nuisances . . .?' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxi., 14th Nov., 1783.)

The Government resolved to obtain a legal opinion from the Supreme Court, and Mr. Benjamin Sulivan stated a case, which was transmitted, with all records bearing on the subject, to Calcutta:—

'*Case drawn up by the Attorney-General.*

'A Quit rent and a Scavenger's duty are annually collected in the Fort and Black Town of Madras, the first as an acknowledgement of the Lordship of the soil, the second for the purpose of cleansing the Streets and removing of Nuisances.

'When they were first established is not known, but there are orders from the Court of Directors for their regulation so far back as 1687.

'They were paid without opposition or hesitation until 1770 or 1771, when the Company's right to collect them was questioned by some for the reason mentioned in the accompanying papers.

'The President and Council, unwilling to forego these rights, if such they are, and at the same time unwilling to collect them unless it can be done equally and impartially, which cannot be, as they apprehend, if by law they are not authorized to enforce the payment, request that the Chief Justice and Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, Calcutta, after perusing the papers herewith sent, will favor them with their opinion—

'1st. Whether the certain knowledge of these duties having been established for near a century, and the impossibility of ascertaining the time when they were first imposed, is sufficient to establish a Custom.

'2ndly, if sufficient, whether the President and Council are warranted in continuing to levy them in the manner heretofore used.

'3rdly, if not sufficient, whether, as the Court of Directors have by the Charter of 1753 a power to make by laws, rules and ordinances for the good Government and regulation of the Inhabitants of their Towns and Factories, so as they be not repugnant to the laws of England, the President and Council are warranted in carrying the orders of that Court relative to these duties into execution.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxi., 12th Dec., 1783.)

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[1] A copy of the opinion was sent by Bengal to Madras. It does not appear to have been communicated to Fort St. George by the Directors.

The decision of the Supreme Court, dated 18th February, 1784, is signed by John Hyde and William Jones:—

Decision of the Supreme Court.

'We have perused the papers transmitted to us with your Letter dated 27th January . . ., and we think it extremely clear that the Presidency of Fort St. George have no legal Authority to collect a Scavenger's duty, or any quit rent not reserved in such grants as have been made to the inhabitants. To impose a Tax, however moderate, on ground or houses under the name of quit rent, and to levy rates, however qualified, would in fact be assuming a legislative power; and the Company have no such power at Madrass either as Proprietors of the soil or [under] any of their charters. They might, if they had pleased, have reserved a quit rent whenever they granted their land to be built upon . . . . The doctrine of immemorial custom, properly so called, is inapplicable to the rights of the Company in India. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxii., 22nd March, 1784.)

This decision formed the subject of deliberation by the Fort St. George Council, and the following minutes were handed in by Lord Macartney and Mr. Dent, the latter being a member of the Government as well as Rental General and Scavenger:—

Minute by the President.

'The opinion of the Judges of the Supreme Court upon the right of the Company to Collect Quit Rent and Scavenger's Duty in this settlement is explicit enough, and as it decides the Question directly contrary to the Ideas and Practice of the Company's Government from its first acquisition of Territory in this Country, I wish to offer a few Reflections that have occurred to me on the subject, not with any design of opposing the opinion of the learned Judges, which is no doubt strictly legal, but for the purpose of Information to my Employers, and in the hope that, having the subject before them in every point of View, they will endeavour to ascertain what Right they actually possess under the different Grants of Territory which have been acquired from the Princes of the Country. . . .

'The Lands which compose the Settlement of Madras are not held under the Grants of any Nabob. They are conveyed to the Company in absolute Sovereignty by the Mogul's Phirmaund,[1] and the Rights which formerly belonged to the Country Government are transferred by that Phirmaund to the Company. It is upon this ground, I suppose, that the Company's Representatives have thought themselves justified in the Powers they have exercised for the Government of the Settlement in Cases where no Provision has been made by the Charter of Justice or any of the Acts of Parliament which relate to India. . . .

'As the Inhabitants pay no Taxes for the support of Government, it is but reasonable that they should be assessed for those Expences which are incurred entirely for their benefit and convenience; but the Judges of the Supreme Court having declared that We have no legal Power to make such assessment, I am of opinion that some mode should be adopted for obtaining the Consent of the Inhabitants of the Black Town to the levying of Scavenger's Rates, to be applied by a Committee of their own Election to the Purpose of clearing the streets; and that no Collection of Quit rent be made (except in cases where it is expressly reserved in Grants of Land) until We can receive the Company's Instructions in consequence of the Opinion of the Supreme Court. MACARTNEY.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxii., 17th April, 1784.)

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[1] The *farmān* granted by the Emperor Farrukhsīyar in 1717.

Minute by Mr. C. B. Dent.

'I think, as the Sovereignty of Madras were given by grant to the Company, They have the same right of collecting Taxes that the Nabobs had under the Mogul Government, notwithstanding the Company are not authorized by any Acts of Parliament for so doing: still I conceive it to be the Duty of this Government to form such Regulations as may tend to the benefit of the settlement in General; and the keeping the streets of the Black Town clean and whole some is certainly an Object worthy their Attention. . . .

'I understand that, when the Grant of Fort St. George was given to the Company, to encourage the first Settlers Spots of Ground were allow'd them to build on without any Grant whatever! Each person took up as much as he pleas'd, and what he did not want for the purposes of Building was converted into Gardens. In course of time, as the Settlement increas'd and the Necessaries of Life became more dear, the Inhabitants sold their Gardens in Small Lotts, and Houses were soon after built thereon, till the Colony increas'd so much that it was thought necessary to errect the Black Town Wall for their greater Security. But as the expence was very Considerable, in order to defray it and at the same time to keep the Black Town clean, it was proposed to levy an Additional Tax on each House, which was accordingly number'd, and Bills of sale made out by the Choultry Register and signed by two Justices, which were delivered to the Proprietors of each House. But as the Court of Directors disapproved of the Additional Tax on Account of the Black Town Wall, it was thought expedient to demand only a Small Tax of 30 fanams on ev'ry 100 Pagodas on the valuation of each House for Quit rent and Scavengers Duty; though even this, small as it is, has never been collected without murmur and much Trouble. . . . C. B. DENT.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxii., 17th April, 1784.)

By desire of the Council, Lord Macartney assembled the principal residents of Black Town, and found them not unwilling to contribute towards the cost of conservancy, 'provided the Money levied were paid directly into the Company's Cash, and issued from thence to some inferior black man whose conduct they could observe and controul in the execution of the Duty of Scavenger.' The plan was carried into effect, and the office of Scavenger ceased to be filled by a highly-placed civil servant. The funds and responsibility were transferred to 'the Nardashum, who are two persons selected from the very Dregs of the Casts.' The new system proved unsatisfactory, and the Scavenger's conicoply was blamed. He defended himself in the following terms:—

Statement by Rudrappa.

'Scavengers has no such power and authority to collect as in Mr. Jourdan's time in the year 1776. . . . After the Governor had refer'd the Scavenger's Employ, which was held by a Member of Council, to the Nardashum, whose business is to decide only the Causes of Common prostitute and Parriars dispute, the Employ is become entirely ruined in the Opinion of the Black people. . . .

'In Mr. Jourdan's time 70 Carts were Employed when the Black Town was not one Third of the present extent. There are 93 Long Streets in the Black Town and 83 small Ones, and 42 Allys, which would require at least, to keep them properly clean, 200 Carts. At present 90 Carts are employed. . . . RUDRAPAH, Conicoply.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxiv., 20th Oct., 1784.)

By the following year the condition of Black Town had become a public scandal. Mr. Daniell, a member of the Council, wrote thus:—

Minute by Mr. James Daniell.

'The accounts of the scavenger's Employ lately received from the Committee of accounts, the Complaints of the Inhabitants of the Black Town, and the frequent presentments of the Grand Jury, call loudly for . . . redress of the Grievances Committed in that office. It is even become unwholesome to reside in the Black Town. The Streets in time of Rain are deep canals of Water, and many of the houses on each side of these Canals are sunk beneath the lumps of Rubbish and Filth collected there, from whose exhalations after rain it is rendered dangerous even to the Inhabitants accustomed to it. Nothing appears to me more easy than to put this Employ upon such a footing as to make the Streets become a credit instead of a disgrace to Government, and at the same time put half the receipts of that Office into the Company's Treasury. I think it, for these Reasons, my duty to propose the following Plan. . . .

'1st. That an advertisement may be published for sealed proposals from Malabar[1] Inhabitants to contract with the Government for levelling and clearing the Streets in the Black Town, and for clearing the Streets in the Fort, by Carts drawn by good Bullocks. . . .

'2nd. That a Committee be appointed now, and at the Commencement of every year, to regulate the Assessments. . . .

'3rd. That the Rental General shall have a fixed allowance for himself and servants issued from the Paymasters office. . . . That an overseer under the Appellation of Scavenger should be appointed to inspect the Streets [and] examine the Carts and Bullocks. . . . For the above purpose 70 Bundies[2] will be required, and two hundred good Bullocks. . . . The overseer's salary should be in proportion to his trouble, and to enable him to keep a Pallankeen and Bandy. . . . J. DANIELL.' (*P.C.* vol. cxxxvi., 23rd Aug., 1785.)

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[1] *Malabar*, Tamil.

[2] *Bundy, bandy*, a bullock-çart or other wheeled vehicle; from Tel. *baṇḍi*.

Mr. Daniell's plan was approved, and tenders from natives were invited. In June, 1786, the offer of one Mārgava Mudali was accepted for the conservancy of the Fort and Black Town for a term of three years at Pags. 4,950 per annum. He contracted to maintain 70 carts, 120 bullocks, and 80 buffaloes. It was 'agreed that Mr. Simon Fonseca[1] be appointed Overseer (under the appellation of Scavenger) to inspect the Streets, examine the Carts and Cattle employed, and to see that the Contractor fully performs the Terms of his Agreement with Government.' Fonseca had three assistants, and enjoyed a salary of Pags. 50. At the same time Mr. Francis Lind, a civil servant, was appointed Rental General, with instructions to recover outstanding dues and effect a more punctual collection in future of both Quit Rent and Scavenger's Duty. He was to make a fresh valuation of houses, supervise the Contractor and Overseer, and receive an allowance of 12 per cent. of his collections.[2] It thus appears that the Rental General, while losing the supplemental designation of Scavenger, was still responsible for the collection of the conservancy tax and the control of the conservancy establishment.

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[1] Simon Fonseca commanded the Portuguese Militia in 1780-81.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxvii., 9th June, 1786.

CHAPTER XX

1781—1785

LAW AND JUSTICE—POPHAM'S POLICE PLAN—NAWAB WALAJAH

LAW AND JUSTICE.

IT will be remembered that the Madras Government appointed Mr. Benjamin Sulivan[1] in 1778 to be their Standing Counsel on Pags. 250 a month. Two years later they doubled that salary in consideration of Sulivan's being precluded from the enjoyment of private practice.[2] The Directors ordered the appointment to be annulled as being a new post, but Sulivan's legal acumen discovered that 'the Office of Standing Counsel was necessarily included in that of Attorney-General, which was instituted by the Company's Order of the 17th October 1687.' The Government accordingly appointed him Attorney-General, with the same emoluments that he had lately been receiving.[3] The Court of Directors, without contesting the propriety of the appointment, disapproved of the recent augmentation of salary, and required the assenting members of the late Government to refund personally the excess paid.[4] Although the order seemed to recognize tacitly the office of Attorney-General, Macartney's Council deemed more explicit authority desirable. In 1785 they wrote that legal assistance was indispensable to them in their capacities of Councillors, Justices of the Peace, and Commissioners of Appeals, and remarked that Sulivan had consented to act as principal Law officer without emolument until the Court's orders could be received.[1]

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[1] Benjamin Sulivan married Miss Elizabeth Dent in 1790.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 9th Jan., 1781.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxxv., 20th June, 1781, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 28th Oct., 1781.

[4] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxv., 25th June, 1782.

Among the Attorneys practising in Madras at this period we find the names of Messrs. Charles Bromley, John Sykes, Stephen Popham, and Thomas Jones. Mr. Sykes was the Company's Solicitor. In 1782 Lord Macartney duplicated the appointment by nominating Popham to act jointly with Sykes.[2] Bromley was generally found in opposition to Government. He was active in aiding Sir Robert Fletcher at the time of Lord Pigot's arrest, and was prominent in refusing to pay Quit Rent. He acted for General Stuart when that officer was placed in confinement. Jones involuntarily brought about an enquiry into the system of administering justice to the natives. It arose thus: Jones claimed to have purchased the sole right of fishing in part of the Adyar River, and ordered his Portuguese servant, De Souza, to drive away some natives who were poaching on his preserves. A complaint of the servant's conduct was brought before Mr. Sadleir, the sitting Justice, who directed the Public Talliars to produce the man. They duly served the summons:—

Declaration of Talliars Guruvappa and Ganga.

'By order of Anthony Sadleir, Esq^{r}., on the 6th Instant in the Morning at 8 o Clock We went to call for a Portigue Man named De Souza, whom we found, accompanied with another Portigue Boy, passing by the Buzar situated at Mootial Pettah in Madau Baulakistna Chittys Street. We then summoned him to appear before the Gentleman, when he asked us what Gentleman was he. We answered that Mr. Sadleir ordered us to summon him, upon which the said Portigee man told us that he would not come without his Masters Order. . . . Soon after, Mr. Jones came with a stick in his hand, which the Portigue Man and the Boy seeing, they immediately laid hold the said Guruvapah's Jacket. . . . Mr. Jones, approaching near the said Guruvapah, asked them was he the person they meant. They answered, Yes. On this he gave the stick into the hands of the said Portiguez and, himself standing by, ordered them to beat him. They accordingly beat him, the said Guruvapah, as far as their strength could enable them. . . . They likewise pushed down the other Taliar, kicked and drove him away. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxx., 14th June, 1783.)

Sadleir brought the matter to the notice of the Council, pointing out the impossibility of executing the functions of a Justice of the Peace in the absence of power to enforce his decrees:—

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 11th June, 1783.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 31st Aug., 1782. Mr. Sykes dates a letter of the preceding June from Anderson Street, Black Town.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board . . . proceed to take into Consideration the Insufficiency of the present Mode of administering Justice among the Native Inhabitants of this Settlement in cases of Property, where it has frequently happened that the Execution of Awards or Decisions passed under the sanction of a Magistrate's Authority have met with Opposition from the Parties concerned, and the Magistrate has not had the Means legally to enforce the Judgement he had given, which exposed the Power of the Justices to Contempt. . . .

'Resolved to apply to the Company's Attorney General, and to the Solicitor, for their Opinion of some future Method to be adopted for determining Causes of property among the Natives not cognizable by the established Courts of Justice. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxx., 17th June, 1783.)

Before the opinions of Sulivan and Popham are recorded, the retribution which fell on Mr. Thomas Jones may be alluded to:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'At the . . . Quarter Sessions [of February, 1784] the Grand Jury presented the Dubash of Mr. Thomas Jones, an Attorney of the Mayor's Court, as being an Encourager of litigious Suits at Law, and being a common Barrator, with the Connivance, if not the Support, of his Master. They also, in another Presentment, accused Mr. Jones of having so far interfered with the Fishery of S. Thome River, which is the great Supply of the Markets held in this Place, that the Price of that Article of Life was much enhanced.

'The Notoriety of the Charges alleged against Mr. Jones, besides his contemptuous Behaviour towards the Authority of this Government on a former Occasion, rendered it, in our Opinion, proper to inflict some Mark of our Displeasure upon him, and, at a Court of Appeals held the 19th February, We accordingly passed a Resolution incapacitating him from practising as a solicitor in that Court.

'Upon our informing the Mayor's Court of the above Resolution, they were likewise pleased to expell him from practising as an Attorney of their Court, and he has since quitted the Settlement.'[1] (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 5th June, 1784.)

Mr. Benjamin Sulivan was supplied with copies of the correspondence with England of 1770 and 1771 relative to the establishment of the Board of Police. His opinion contains an interesting, though not quite accurate, review of the history of the administration of justice in Madras:—

Opinion of the Attorney-General.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxx., 12th July, 1783.)

'The Necessity of establishing Courts of Justice for the decision of controverted property among the Native Indians, and the inconveniences arising to

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[1] He subsequently returned, and in 1788 married Mrs. Bastianna Harrington.

Government from a want of such Courts, are so clearly and faithfully represented in the two letters from this Presidency,[1] that no room is left for me to comment on either. In answer to these Letters, the Court of Directors observe[2] that the Board of Police, proposed for the removal of these inconveniences, being repugnant to the Charter, could not be continued, but recommend to the attention of this Presidency the orders which they had given to their Commissioners, which were to make full inquiry into the nature and Constitutions of the Courts of Zemindary and Cutchery . . ., and, if expedient, to procure Phirmaunds from the King or the Country powers for establishing new Courts of Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction.

'It did not occur to the Honble the Court of Directors that there was no Court of Zemindary or Cutcheree established at that time in this Settlement, or at any time before, from the first purchase of the small territory about Madras from the Kings of Viseapour.[3] The old Company, which possessed very extensive powers by Charter, and amongst the rest that of establishing such Courts of Justice as they might think proper, invested the Governor and Council with the Criminal Jurisdiction, and erected a Mayor's Court consisting of the heads of Casts[4] for the determination of disputed property among all kinds of people, whether Europeans or Indians. When the English Company was established by King William, a new Court, consisting of one person learned in the law and two Merchants, was appointed to hear all Causes whatsoever, whether Civil or Criminal; and when the two Companies were united, both Courts subsisted, a writ of error lying from the Mayor's Court to the other, which was called the Court of Admiralty. These Courts continued to execute the powers they were invested with over all the Inhabitants untill the Charter of George the 1st Constituting a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and a new Mayor's Court from which the heads of Casts were excluded. Both these Courts had likewise Authority between party and party of whatever denomination; but the Native Inhabitants, being by this deprived of the satisfaction of having their differences determined by the heads of their Casts, became discontented and troublesome to Government; in Consequence of which, by the Charter of George 2nd, they were exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court unless both Parties should consent to abide by its determination. No provision was however made for the determination of controversies amongst themselves, probably from an Idea that there subsisted Country Courts Competent to that purpose; but I have not been able to learn that any Gentoo Court was established here after the period of the Company's purchase, and the Courts of Zemindary and Cutchery, which are mentioned in the Instructions to the Commissioners, are Mahommedan Courts, which could not have been introduced till after the Mahommedan Conquest of the Carnatic, an event that did not take place for a considerable time after the Settlement was formed; neither did it in its consequences affect the establishments of the Company, and therefore could not be introductive of these Courts at Madras. . . .'

Sulivan then discusses the question whether the Mogul's firmans of 1765 for the Jaghire and Circars conveyed those Zemindary rights which include civil and criminal jurisdiction. He considers that:—

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, 6th April, 1770, and 25th March, 1771.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, 30th Nov., 1770.

[3] Sulivan here seems to confuse Fort St. George with Fort St. David.

[4] Three only of the twelve Aldermen were natives under the Charter of 1687.

> 'The Phirmaunds for the possessions on the Coast, being grants in Inaum, which, upon enquiry, I find is nothing more than a free gift of the Government share of the produce of certain district[s], and does not convey Zemindary[1] rights, vest no Authority, by the laws of the Empire, in the Company to institute either a Court of Zemindaree or Cutcheree. . . .
>
> 'As on a former Occasion I had the honor of informing the Right Honble President that I thought the Choultry Court, which was abolished in 1774, was repugnant to the Charter and could not be revived, and having now endeavored to shew that no Country Courts can properly be established without a previous grant of Zemindary rights, I shall now proceed to the consideration of such a temporary mode of administering Justice in cases of property among the Native Inhabitants as appears to me likely to relieve them, at least in some degree, from the Hardships they at present labour under, and to screen the Magistrate from embarassment. . . .'

Sulivan then points out that, as no native can sue another in the Mayor's Court except by mutual consent, most cases are settled by arbitration. The parties execute bonds to abide by the award, but unfortunately such bonds are not binding, and cannot be enforced. The only expedient the Attorney-General can suggest is that each of two native disputants shall enter into bonds, not with each other, but with a European, so that in case of breach, action in the Mayor's Court will lie. As a permanent measure, he proposes application to the Court of Delhi for the grant of Zemindary rights.

Mr. Sulivan's statement reveals the fact that the Choultry Court was suspended in 1774. The Choultry still subsisted, however, for registration, and in 1785 we find Mr. Joseph Shawe appointed 'Register of the Choultry Court and Deputy Land Customer' in succession to Mr. William Ross, who resigned.[2] The Choultry Court was not finally abolished until the end of the century.[3]

Mr. Popham's opinion on the administration of justice among natives was not ready until the end of December. The document is of great length, covering thirty-five folio pages. The Government Solicitor considers that the Charter of George II. is responsible for the difficulties existing. Its exclusion of natives from the Mayor's Court is alleged to have been due to a petition from the native inhabitants to the Directors, made at the instance of the Governor's Dubash. It was an avowed object of the Charter to secure uniformity of practice in the courts of the different Presidencies:—

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[1] *Zemindary*, from Hind. *zamīndār*, a landholder.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxv., 8th March, 1785.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxlii., 18th March, 1800.

Opinion of the Government Solicitor.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxxii., 28th Feb., 1784.)

'The Powers, however, given by this same Charter militate against that intended Uniformity which is declared to be its Leading principle. The President and Council for the time being are Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Goal Delivery for the Trying and punishing of all offenders (High Treason only excepted) . . . within the said Town of Madras Patnam, Fort St. George, or within any of the said Factories or Places Subordinate thereto. This comprehends the whole Inhabitancy for the time being, whether Subjects of Great Britain in the first Instance, Resident Christians from other States and Claiming the Protection of the English Laws, The settled Natives of the Presidency and its Subordinates, or Indian Sojourners who are merely the Passengers of the Day.

'The Mayor's Court is authorised to try, hear and determine all Civil Suits, actions and pleas. . . ., except such Suits or Actions shall be between Indian Natives of Madras Patnam only; in which Case the Charter directs that the same be determined Among themselves, unless both Parties shall by Consent Submit the same to the Determination of the Mayor's Court. . . .'

It might be inferred, Popham remarks, that while all persons are regarded as equal in respect of offences against the laws of God, in property disputes the natives have no remedy but arbitration:—

'But the fact is not so, for the Court of Requests, which is for the determination of Matters of property (that is of Debts, duties, or matters which shall not exceed the value of five Pagodas) extends to all Persons. . . .

'The fact is that the Determination of a dispute for five Pagodas was not worth the time of a Governor's head Dubash; and those at home who framed the Charter gave implicit faith to the assertions of the Petition from not knowing its Source; and the Natives of Madras have ever since felt the fatal Effects which the Wily Influence of this Dubash had on the Government of Fort St. George. . . .

'The Extract of the Minutes of Consultation of September 1774 shews that the Honble Board took great Pains to enquire into the Defects of the Charter as to the Administration of Justice among the Natives, and after Solemn debate they determined that the Natives are left to judge in matters of property and Religion by the Power delegated to them from the Country Government. This left the Subject in Question where it was; but your Lordship, &c., will be pleased to recollect that the Jaghire and Circars, as well as the immediate Scite of Fort St. George, Madraspatnam and the districts thereof, were before that time Confirmed to the Honble the East India Company by Phirmaund from the Mogul,[1] so that the Sovereign Right was then, and is now, as much in the India Company as it was before such Phirmaund in the Mogul, and they have therefore Competent Grounds for an application to the British Legislature for an adequate Administration of Justice throughout the whole. . . .'

Popham goes on to contend that the Directors made a serious mistake in disallowing the Board of Police formerly erected by the Government of Madras. The best recommendation he has to offer is amendment of the Charter.

The Government ultimately took action as follows:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board being highly sensible of the many Inconveniences that arise to the Inhabitants of this settlement from the Want of some Court of Justice, to meet at Short stated Intervals, to take Cognizance of such Offences against the Peace or Welfare of the Settlement, and of such Disputes between the Natives as are beyond the Authority of the Single Magistrate who constantly sits for that purpose to decide upon, it is thought that a Quorum of three Justices meeting once a Week for the adjudging of such Crimes by Obliging the Parties to bind themselves by Arbitration Bonds which are to be admitted a Rule of the Mayor's Court, and for the Assistance of the sitting Magistrate for the Month, might in a great Degree obviate the present Difficulty. And it is accordingly Agreed that three Justices, of whom the sitting Magistrate of the Month shall always be one, meet at the great hall of the Government house[2] on every Saturday at 9 o Clock in the forenoon for the administration of Justice as a Quorum; and that all matters which require the Interference of the Magistracy be referred to them, except in Cases of a trivial Nature or of immediate Emergency, upon which the sitting Magistrate must decide.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxiv., 13th Nov., 1784.)

Courts of Admiralty were still convened as occasion required. In 1782 Mr. John O'Donnell, a Captain of Marines on board the privateer *Death or Glory*, was charged at Calcutta with murder on the high seas.[3] The Supreme Council addressed Madras as follows:—'As we find, upon referring to his Majesty's Charters, that there is no Admiralty Jurisdiction in Bengal which is competent to the trial of crimes committed on the high Seas . . .

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[1] The *farmān* of 1765.

[2] Admiralty House appears to be referred to under this designation.

[3] Captain John M'Clary, commander of the privateer *Dadaloy*, and Mr. John O'Donnell, one of the owners of the *Death or Glory*, were charged before the Justices of the Peace at Calcutta with the murder of Malay prisoners in the Straits of Malacca. It appeared that the Malays, who had been taken as pirates and confined on board, attempted a rising against the ship's company, and were cut down. M'Clary was acquitted, but O'Donnell was sent to Madras for trial. (*India Gazette*, 20th July, 1782.)

we have judged it necessary to order Mr. O'Donnell a Prisoner on board the Active Frigate, to be delivered over to the proper Magistrates on his arrival at Fort St. George.'[1] O'Donnell was placed in custody of the Sheriff, and in October a Court was held at which Admiral Sir Edward Hughes and the Captains of His Majesty's ships were invited to sit as members.[2] O'Donnell was acquitted. In August, 1783, another Court was convened to try a similar charge.[3] During that year commissions were delivered to the President by Captain Burney, of H.M.S. *Bristol*, empowering the Mayor's Courts at the several Presidencies to examine witnesses relative to the capture and condemnation of prizes taken from the French, Dutch, or Spaniards. Government forwarded the commissions for Madras to the Mayor's Court, but the Mayor and Aldermen returned them, saying they could not deviate from the Charter or receive instructions from any other Court without the authority of a special Act of Parliament. The matter was then referred to the Directors.[4]

POPHAM'S POLICE PLAN.

Disbelief in the principles of free trade rendered the Government ever anxious to interfere in the market rates for provisions and wages. The regulation of prices was one of the chief duties of that Board of Police which was established when Warren Hastings served in Madras. The Directors abolished the Board on the grounds that it would conflict with the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court, and that it was not authorized by the Charter. In 1777 Stratton appointed one Vīrā Perumāl to be Cutwal, or Overseer of the Markets;[5] and three years later the office of Superintendent of Police was created, Mr. William Webb being installed with directions to inspect the bazars, establish a fish market, and reduce the price of provisions.[6] Writing to England in 1781, the Council said:—'Mr. William Webb having made a Proposal to Us, in Consultation the 27th October, for superintending the Police; as

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxvii., 23rd Aug., 1782.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 28th Sept., 1782.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxxx., 21st Aug., 1783.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxxix., 23rd April, 1783, and vol. cxxx., 24th May, 1783.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. cxvii., 11th March, 1777. *Cutwal* signifies a superintendent of police. The word is derived from Pers. *kotwāl*, commander of a fort.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. cxxiv., 27th Oct., 1780.

We judged his Plan might be beneficial to the Public at this Time of Scarcity, We appointed him to that Employ with an Allowance of One hundred Pagodas per month.'[1]

Finding that Vīrā Perumāl's duties clashed with his own, Webb obtained permission to absorb the office of Cutwal.[2] The new system was worked until 1782, when it received a rude shock. The Directors refused to recognize Webb's appointment, and disallowed its salary. In the meantime Mr. Popham framed comprehensive proposals for the regulation of the city, including most of those matters which in modern times fall under the control of a corporation or municipality. His scheme, which was submitted on the 12th January, 1782, was shelved at the time, but it came up for consideration four years later:—

Popham's Plan.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxxvii., 12th May, 1786.)

'*A Plan, or Proposals for a Plan, for the Establishment of a Police, &c., &c., for the better Government and regulation of the Town of Madraspatnam according to the Powers and Authorities for that purpose given and Vested in the President and Council of Madras by the Charter of His late Majesty George the 2nd made in the 26th Year of His Reign.* . . .

'From the time the Black Town Wall was built to the hour of your Lordship's arrival in this Country, it has never, I believe, happened that any Gentleman in Station hath turned his thoughts towards the Real improvement of that Colony; else I scarce think it possible that such Obvious Nuisances should have been continued so long without any attempt to remove them.

'The Grand objects of a General Police are to promote Health, and to prevent Impositions and Frauds. Cleanliness and wholesome Diet will forward the first; a Central Market and the Establishment of a Police will prevent the latter. . . .

'The Black town and Mahratta Town[3] are built on Eminences. The former has a fall towards the Black Town Wall on the West side, and towards my Ground on the East. The Mahratta Town has a fall towards the Sea on the East, and towards my Ground on the West. There are no regular Drains to carry off Water, or any well, Sewer, or other provision made to carry off the Ordure, &c., of each House. The Consequence is that, exclusive of the Effect of the Monsoon on the Streets, each day's Consumption in every family render them disagreeable to Passengers, and the Digestion of the day is thrown on the first Rubbish Spot where the Menial Servants can empty it with Impunity.

'That this is remediable, if proper Authority was used, is within my Experience to Assert, for I was no sooner settled in my former House than I had one Well sunk for the reception of all waste water, and an other for other purposes, both so contrived with interstices to communicate with the general Soil that they can never fill. The consequence is that there is no Puddle to be seen in the Street near that House, and the Votaries of Cloacina make their offerings in a Temple of wholesome sweetness.

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 9th Jan., 1781.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxv., 15th March, 1781.

[3] *The Black Town and Mahratta Town*: Peddanaikpetta and Muthialpetta respectively.

'The like, every House should be bound to have at their private Expence, and there should be besides several direct and cross Drains to carry off the Water, to be made and repaired at the Public Expence: the Direct ones to run into the Sea, into the Canal thro my Ground, and thro the Black Town Wall on the West side. Respecting the Canal thro my ground, it may, in my humble Opinion, without prejudice to the Fort, be so deepened as to receive the flowing Tide, and thereby cleanse itself twice every 24 hours. . . .

'The Esplanade may be let out for Gardens, with prohibition to grow any Trees at all, or any Shrubs whose shade or Strength could in any case be prejudicial. That Circumstance alone would not only give an wholesome and pleasant View to the Inhabitants, but would supply Greens Sufficient for the Consumption of a great part of the Colony. The advantages would be particularly felt on the Arrival of Europe Ships, when their Crews and the recruits on Board are half dead of the Scurvey, and many die for want of a Vegetable Diet, of the Scarcity of which the Surgeon of the Naval Hospital Complains when the Squadron first arrives from a long voyage.

'As to the advantages resulting from regular markets in a Central Situation, they would be felt by all ranks of people, and by none more than the Junior Servants of the Company in the Civil and Military Employs, or any other Single persons in the Colony whose Incomes are so Circumscribed as not to deal in Joints of Meat and the Detail of a Table in the same Ratio, altho they may without imprudence purchase a Steak or a Chop.

'All articles of daily Consumption should be brought to the public Market. . ., and every Care taken that no Tax by way of Custom be levied by the Guards or other persons at the Avenues leading to Madras. . . . Regular Fish and Meat Shambles should be erected; the Fish brought in Water Carts from the Sea, and put in different Troughs till sold. . . .

'An inspector of the Markets should see that they were kept Clean, that the Articles were good in their kind, that the Weights and Measures were just, and that no impositions were practised. . . . The Weekly Prices should be given in to the Police Master and by him affixed to the market, Copies given to the Governor, to the Justice of the Month, to the Mayor, to the Town Major, and one fixed upon the Market. . . .

'There is scarce a Street in the Black [Town] wherein there are not many Puddles and holes of Considerable depth, and some Wells too without any wall to prevent the uninformed Traveller from breaking a limb or loosing his Life. Mr. Ram, who acted as Coroner, has said that the accidents of persons found in Wells exceeded all others on which he sat as Coroner. . . .

'The Streets also almost generally are too narrow, highly uneven, no fall for Water, no foot way for passengers, no Lamp for the safety of persons by night, nor any thing to give a Stranger reason to believe that an Englishman had any idea of Police. . . .

'Every Street should be named, its name marked in English and in the Country Languages; its Inhabitants, Europeans, Armenians, Portuguese, &c., as well as Natives, registered with their Trades, &c.; a List of the Shops in each Trade, where situated and by whom kept, and each Shopkeeper's name marked over the door; such Lists to be kept by the Bailiffs of each ward as hereafter mentioned. . . . Every Birth and Burial to be noticed in a Book kept by those who are under the Police Master, and a General report made to him thereof, with an Account of the arrival and departure of all Strangers to be taken by proper persons appointed for that purpose. . . . The Licensing and restraining the number of all Houses and places for the sale of Arrack or other Spirituous Liquors might also come under the Superintendency of this Plan of Police. Among other Articles of Registery and License should be Comprehended all sorts of Carriages and Animals used for drawing them, as well as all Carriage animals, whether Elephants, Camels, Horses, Bullocks or Buffaloes. . . .

'The Police Master should have a Deputy, with a Certain number of European Assistants by way of Bailiffs; and some Sepoys, Hircarrahs and Peons for carrying into Effectual execution the several duties of his Office. The Police master's Office and Prison-House should be Central, and there should be besides Watch Houses in several convenient parts of the Black Town. . . .

'The Bailiffs, &c., of each District to go their respective rounds at Certain Hours, and to take and Confine all persons offending against the Peace or who cannot give a good Account of themselves, and to bring them before the Police Master or his Deputy by 8 oClock the next morning.[1] . . . All Complaints about Servants for Insolence or Misbehaviour, the regulation of their Wages, the price of Cooley hire and the like, to be settled by the Police-Master. . . .

'In the Year 1774 there were in Mootal Pettah or the Mahratta Town 61 Streets and 2,208 Houses. In Peddy Naick's Pettah or Black Town 139 Streets and 5,542 Houses. The whole of the Houses thus were 7,750, which at the rate of a Lamp for every 10 Houses, a measure of oil, and which is enough for 8 Glasses,[2] being 4 fanams, and the Exchange being at 42,[3] would cost annually 3,360 Pagodas 35 fanams, exclusive of the Wages of the Lamplighters and the Expence of Lamps, Ladders, Scissars, Oil bottles and Dungaree[4] Cloaths for each man.

'The Valuation of the Houses in Mootal Pettah [Pags.] 449,772; in Peddy Naicks Pettah 894,461. The quit rent at 10 fanams per 100 pagodas and Scavenger's duty at 20 fanams, and supposing the Exchange at 42, is [Pags.] 9601–20–,,.

'The Situation of Madras Admits of one other Improvement, namely a Bound Hedge,[5] which would be as beneficial to the Colony as those of Public Markets or a Police, and would in many Points be of very extensive influence towards favouring the Operations of a Campaign in the time of War. The Sea[6] to the Southward of St. Thome, after it has crossed the Bar, runs nearly West for about three miles. Its own depth is a defence from Horse for the first mile.[7] Thence to that part which is near to Morse's Choultry[8] may be three redouts ; at Morse's Choultry one, and a Ditch from the River[1] to the Edge of the long Tank towards Moongumbaukum Choultry on the North Edge of the long Tank. Thence a Ditch in a Direction N.W. by W. nearly for a Mile and an half to Chatiput ; thence in a direction nearly N.E. by N. for three Miles to the West side of Paramboor ; thence in a direction N.E. by E. for 3½ Miles to Mooda Kistnahs Choultry,[2] where the depth of the water would be a Sufficient guard against the Sudden encroachment [of an enemy] all the way to the Bar at Ennore. Along the Edge of the Ditch, which should be about 20 feet wide and 10 deep, different redouts at proper distances might be constructed with three ambrasures and two flanking Guns in each redout, and a Barrack for one Officer and 50 Men to each, and two Superior Officers to Command the whole ; their limits to be, one from Peramboor to St. Thome, the other from Peremboor to the Bar at Enore. Such an Improvement would secure 33 square Miles of Country from any sudden Invasion, and enable us to profit from the Pasturage of that extent towards Supporting a breed of Cattle sufficient for the Consumption of Madras, and towards feeding a sufficient supply for the Occasional Losses and Accidents to draft and Carriage Bullocks for the Army. . . .

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[1] The Police Master was to deal summarily with minor charges, but to refer more serious ones to a Justice of the Peace.

[2] *Glasses*, hours.

[3] Fanams 42 to the pagoda.

[4] *Dungaree*, coarse cotton cloth; from Hind. *dangrī*.

[5] The project which follows is almost identical with that proposed by Messrs. Brooke, Jourdan, and Mackay in 1775. (*M.C.*, vol. liii., 20th Nov., 1775.)

[6] The Adyar backwater.

[7] Nearly to the present Elphinstone Bridge.

[8] There is an old Choultry on the Mount Road, near the Collector's Cutcherry, which may be that formerly called Morse's.

'Fish might be brought to Madras from Cattavorcum River[3] as well as from the Roads; and if a Navigable Canal was made from Moodu Kistnah's Choultry to the Black Town, and to be continued on the West side till it meets the two Streams which form the Island on the South of Fort St. George,[4] Fish and other articles might be brought from different parts of the Country which are on the boarders of Polyacatt Lake at an easy Expence. And was the whole of Fort St. George Islandized by continuing the Back Water, which now runs on the West Side at some little distance from the foot of the Glacis, on in a North Direction, and then Eastward by the China Bazar till it goes into the Sea, I conceive it would be an additional protection to the Fort.[5] The property on Choultry Plain, St. Thome, Wepry, &c., which would be secured by the Bound Hedge, would be so much increased that the whole of those Buildings and Ground, together with the Houses in the Black Town and those in the Fort not belonging to the Company, would be near a Crore of Pagodas. An estimate should be made of all the Property included within the Bound-Hedge, and a Tax might be levied in the first instance by a Percentage on the property sufficient for defraying the whole Expences of the several Improvements suggested in the foregoing Sheets; such Tax afterwards to be Collected Annually at a rate not exceeding one per Cent on the property; and Convenient Roads should be made throughout the whole Ground included in the Bound Hedge, and Substantial Bridges built where the Monsoon has hitherto made the Communication Dangerous during the rains. Government also might, on the Credit of this Tax when once Established, raise any sum they wanted, so that the Interest thereof did not exceed one half the Amount of the Tax. The other half to go towards the necessary Expences of supporting the Improvements in Question, and paying off such parts of the Loan as might be called on. The Interest to be paid regularly from the Taxes every year. The Bonds in small sums and transferable.

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[1] From the Adyar, near the Collector's Cutcherry, to Nungumbaukum village, following the eastern edge of the Long Tank.

[2] This Choultry, which has not been traced, seems to have been near the present toll-bar on the Ennore Road. The whole line of defence, from the Adyar bar to Mooda Kistnah's Choultry, corresponded closely with the existing municipal boundary of Madras.

[3] Ennore backwater.

[4] Apparently the backwater from Ennore to Moodu Kistnah's Choultry was already navigable. The canal proposed by Mr. Popham was ultimately made by the Hon. Basil Cochrane, whose name it still bears.

[5] This was Mr. Philip Stowey's plan, set forth in *M.C.*, vol. lxxii., 4th Dec., 1780.

'S. POPHAM.

'Madras, 12th January, 1782.'

When submitting, in 1784, the opinion desired by Government on the legal disabilities of natives, Popham remarked that the Charter gave the Company power to frame by-laws and ordinances, provided such were not repugnant to the laws of England, that the former Board of Police could not have interfered with the Mayor's Court, and that the Directors made a serious mistake in disallowing the exercise of Police functions. In offering this opinion he observed:—'How far the authority of the Honble [Company] extends in matters of Police, &c., I have taken the liberty to remark in my Letter to the Honble Board of the 13th January 1781; and I know not of any place on Earth where a Police is so much wanted as in Madras, and which, by an Equable Taxation for the purposes thereof, might take off all Expence from the Honble Company.'[1]

In 1785 Mr. James Daniell, one of the Council, minuted on the question as follows:—

Minute by Mr. James Daniell.

'The Regulations for a Police have so frequently been a subject of Contemplation, as well as of address in different Letters to the Honble the Court of Directors, that the Propriety of the measure need not be involved in further Argument to prove its indispensable use. The total want of such Regulations has become an intollerable inconvenience to the Inhabitants of this Settlement, and something must be done to extenuate the evil. The Great increase of the Inhabitants would also point out the necessity of an immediate attention of this Government to the object in question; but the Devastation spread by the late war through out the Carnatic, from whence the greatest part of our Provision flows, has so much increased the price (from which no black man will recede while the power of enforcing those prices is independently vested in himself) that they will bear no Comparison with the prices of such Articles in foreign Settlements; and foreigners may fare sumptuously the whole year in their Settlements, under a well regulated Police, for a sum which would barely support them three months at this Presidency.

'I will say nothing of the reflections this Government must incur by such undeniable troubles: their apprehension of disapproval at home, and the indefinite orders from Europe Resulting from the Ideas that they were not Competent by law to authorise a Police, I believe has been a great cause that no such regulations have been enforced.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxii., 28th Feb., 1784.

'Mr. Popham's reflections on this head, delivered to the Board by Lord Macartney previous to his Departure,[1] convey an opinion of Chartered Right inherent in the Company for such an Establishment instituted by the Charter of his late Majesty George the 2nd. . . . I would at present confine myself to a recommendation of Establishment of market places for meat, fish, Poultry and Vegetables, and the Regulation of wages to artificers and Servants, that the Inhabitants may be delivered from the insolence and Rapaciousness of those people who supply the Settlement with the above Articles, and from the exorbitant demands of hire of Artificers and wages for Servants. . . .

'I would in the 1st Instance propose that Five Commissioners should be appointed from amongst the Inhabitants in General to draw up a form of Regulations to be approved by this Government.

'2nd. That they should enquire into the quantity and quality of Supplies, and fix on the Establishment of Markets. . . .

'3rd. That 3 of the Commissioners should form a quorum for the daily Regulation of market in all its branches. . . .

'4th. That the whole of the Commissioners should assemble the first of every month to regulate and publish the prices of provisions of that month. . . .

'5th. That the Cutwal should be appointed by the Governor and Council. . . .

'6th. That all orders and Regulations of the Commissioners shall be forwarded to the Board for their approbation or amendment. . . . J. DANIELL.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxv., 15th July, 1785.)

Here the matter rested until it was taken up by the Government of Sir Archibald Campbell.

NAWAB WALAJAH.

Relations between the Governor and the Nawab were far from harmonious. Writing to Lord Hillsborough in 1782, Macartney said:—

'It has been objected to me by the Nabob that I am a stranger, ignorant of Oriental customs, unwilling to understand or come into the ways of Oriental people; that I won't accept of presents; that I am unconciliating, etc., etc. After the space of time that I have passed here, and the intercourse I have had with the Durbar and the gentry belonging to it, I must certainly be next to an idiot if I were ignorant of what is called the method of managing them. Nothing is more easy; sacrifice the interests of the Company and of the creditors, or promise to do so; engage for impossibilities, Tanjore and the succession of the second son; and write lying paragraphs and encomiums upon the Nabob's disposition towards us, in the public letters to England; do this, and I'll venture to say that a Governor of Madras, even in the present distress, would extract half a dozen lacks of pagodas for himself, when he could not obtain a rupee for the Company. This was the mode in which the Durbar was managed by some politicians; but my system has been different, and if my predecessors had practised it, our affairs here would not now be in their present deplorable state. By observing a different conduct from theirs, I have drawn upon myself not only the most rancorous enmity of the Durbar, but the ill-will and opposition of every man in this part of the world of a different character from my own. . . .'[1]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxv., 2nd June, 1785.

In 1781 Walajah entered into an arrangement with Bengal whereby he consented to assign the Carnatic revenues to the Company on certain conditions. The assignment was duly made at the end of the year, but a few months later the Nawab, thinking that the powers assumed by Fort St. George over his territory exceeded those which he had consented to relinquish, desired to resume control. The situation will be understood from the following letter:—

Nawab Walajah to Government.

'His Highness the Nabob Wallajah, Ummeer Ul Hind, Omdat Ul Mulk, Ausuph Ud Dowlah, Anwer Ud Deen, Cawn Behauder, Zuphur Jung, Sepah Saulaur, Soubadar of the Carnatic,

'To the Rt. Honble Lord Macartney, K.B., Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K.B., Anthony Sadleir, Esqr., Major General Sir Hector Munro, K.B., Alexander Davidson, Esqr., Morgan Williams, Esqr., James Henry Casamaijor, Esqr., Edward Saunders, Esqr., Cotton Bowerbank Dent, Esqr., Robert Barclay, Esqr., The President and Council of Madras.

'I address myself to you, my Lord and Gentlemen, as to the Representatives of the Company at this Presidency, and not to Lord Macartney exclusively, as the Insults and Indignity he has premeditatedly offered to me and to my Rights render it unfit that I should apply myself to him independently of his Council, as hath been hitherto my Custom. It is not necessary here that I should enter into a Recapitulation of the Grievances that I have to complain of. I have set them forth amply in my Letters to your President: the indelible Disgrace, however, that he Yesterday cast upon me by giving Sanuds in his own name to Renters in my Country, thereby destroying, as much as was in his power, the Authority solemnly guaranteed to me by the Treaty of Paris as lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, is such that, tho' the Remedy may not immediately perhaps be placed in your Hands, I yet cannot allow myself but that the English Nation will punish a Servant of theirs who, in a tyrannical and wanton manner, hath abused a power intrusted to him for better Purposes. On you therefore, Gentlemen, on the Governor General and Council of Bengal who have the Superintendancy and controlling Authority in all Political Transactions, on the Company, on the King and Parliament of England, I throw myself for Protection and for the Redress of those Injuries which neither Justice, Wisdom nor Policy could have made expedient. A forty Years steady, unshaken and unexampled Attachment to your Welfare and Prosperity hath thus been requited; A voluntary Cession of the Revenues of my Country towards the Expences of War, a War not originating with me, hath thus been repaid; The only Ally of the Crown of your Sovreign in Hindostan hath thus been held out to the Country Powers as an Example to deter, and not as an Instance of the Advantages to be drawn from blending their Fortunes with those of the English. . . .

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[1] *Public Life of the Earl of Macartney*, Barrow, 1807.

'On the Strength of these Stipulations,[1] and in a Perfect Reliance on the Good Faith of the Governor General and Council of Bengal, whose Acts I conceived of course binding on the Presidency of Madras, I entered into an Agreement or Crar Nama[2] with Lord Macartney the 2nd December last, Yielding by that Agreement indeed Powers over the Revenues far exceeding what were stipulated for by the Treaty, But still preserving, as I conceived, all my Rights as Soubadar of the Carnatic, especially as, previous and subsequent to the Execution of that Crar Nama, I had deemed it right to have the Sanction of the Governor General and Council of Bengal from their Minister, at whose Sollicitation and at whose earnest Desire I made the Cession which has since been turned so much to my Dishonor. Accompanying I send you Copies of Mr. Sulivan's Letters for your Perusal. Notwithstanding all this, notwithstanding the Faith of the King and Parliament of Great Britain and of the Company being pledged to me for the Preservation of my Rights; Notwithstanding the Declaration of Lord Macartney verbally and by Writing, even by Stipulations in his own Agreement wherein the Appointment of Renters is left to him but the Confirmation to me; Notwithstanding all these concurrent Circumstances, sufficient, as I imagined, for my own and for my Family's Security, I now find myself at once reduced to nothing; my Rights and Authority trampled under Foot; my Family, Subjects and Servants taught to look up to a Company's Governor whose Residence can be but temporary, instead of to their own lawful Prince; and the means wrested from me of affording a voluntary and a friendly Assistance, and of giving at least some Degree of Hope and Satisfaction to my numerous and distressed Creditors. . . . What can I say more?

'Given under my Great Seal and Signature in Madras this . . . 18 Day of April, in the Year of Christ 1782.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxvii., 22nd April, 1782.)

Writing to England a few months later, the Government observed that 'His Highness the Nabob has thought proper to address two Letters to the several Members of the Board full of Invective against the Right Honble the President, and Reviling his Conduct towards his Highness in the most indecent Language.'[3]

A letter addressed to the Nawab having arrived from the Company, Macartney enquired when it would be convenient for the Prince to receive the Governor and Council, who would present the document. Walajah, to whom an advance copy had been handed, declined to meet the members of the Government:—

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[1] The stipulations made by the Nawab in his engagement with Bengal in April, 1781.

[2] *Crar Nama*, *karār-nāma*, a written contract.

[3] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 31st Aug., 1782.

Nawab Walajah to Government.

'After having suffered from your Lordship so long and so unremittingly every Mark of Insult and Contempt, I could readily have dispensed with any pretended Assurances of Respect at this particular Crisis; nor did I expect, after four pressing Applications, to receive any Letter from your Lordship till you had answered mine relative to the Restitution of my Government and Country pursuant to the positive Orders of the Supreme Government of Bengal. At the same time, I conceive that your Lordship's Distress at being deprived of the Opportunity of paying your personal Respects must either be calculated to take Effect in the Meridian of England, as you must be conscious of your Want of common Decency in wilfully neglecting for so long past even the Form of Enquiry and Condolence at the Death of my nearest Relations, or must wish to give another proof of your ceaseless Indisposition in presenting, with an ironical Sneer, a Letter from my Friends the Company, to the positive Contents of which you have acted in direct and flagrant Opposition.

'With Respect to the Mode of Delivery by the Hands of the Secretary, as he has such frequent Opportunities of seeing me, your Lordship may send the Letter by his Hands at whatever Time you think proper. . . . What can I say more?' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxix., 25th April, 1783.)

The Bengal Government decreed the surrender of the assignment, but Macartney, believing that obedience would involve financial disaster, refused to execute the order without confirmation from England:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We informed you also of the orders We had received from Bengal to surrender the assignment to the Nabob:—orders so rash, and of such fatal tendency that our sense of our duty to you and the public compelled us, at every hazard to ourselves, personally to resist them.

'The grounds of that resistance, the destructive consequences that must ensue from surrendering the assignment to the Nabob, or, in other words, taking the revenues of the Carnatic out of the hands of the Company to place them in those of the Ameer[1] and Mr. Paul Benfield, were fully stated in our Letter to the Governor General and Council of the 25th May, and accompanied by such proofs and documents as we flattered ourselves would not fail to carry the clearest conviction to their minds, or at least to induce them to leave to our common Employers the decision of a question in which their Interests and Welfare are so essentially concerned. It is with infinite pain We inform you that We have been disappointed in that expectation by the receipt of a Letter from the Governor General and Council, dated 15th August, in which they . . repeat their orders of the 13th January in the same words for the surrender of the assignment. . . .' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xix., 30th Sept., 1783.)

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[1] Amīr-ul-Umarā.

Benfield had in 1781 been appointed one of six members of the Committee of Assigned Revenue.[1] In the following year, when unemployed, he applied for sick-leave to Bengal. Dr. Anderson certified that 'Mr. Paul Benfield, of the Civil Service of this Establishment, in consequence of a fatiguing Journey from Europe overland, has fallen into a Bilious Indegestion . . ., and is therefore recommended to the colder Climate of the approaching Season in Bengal for the re-establishment of health.' Macartney considered that Benfield's influence in Bengal might be exerted against his measures, and refused leave. Briefly sketching the applicant's history, the President remarked that, as far back as 1769, Benfield was recognized as 'a Champion in the cause of faction; who in the year 1770 was by the Court of Directors dismissed from the Company's Service for his factious and inflammatory Behaviour; who, after he had, on promise of future good behaviour, been restored to the Service, was for disobedience of orders in 1772 unanimously suspended from the Service, and was, in the year 1774, ordered by the Court of Directors to be reprimanded and mulcted for his offences. His subsequent conduct is fresh in all men's minds connected with this Settlement.'[2]

After some hesitation, the Company resolved to relinquish the assignment 'from motives of moderation, and attachment to the Nabob.' Macartney consequently resigned. The Court accepted the Nawab's offer of an annual contribution of twelve lakhs of pagodas, and issued orders as to the mode of its application to the gradual extinction of his debt. They regarded the claims relating to the consolidated debt of 1767 and the Cavalry Loan as indisputably just, and thought it expedient, though not obligatory, to recognize the consolidated debt of 1777. They ordered that accounts should be made up to the end of 1784, interest being charged at specified rates ranging from six to twelve per cent.[3]

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[1] The other members were Charles Oakeley, Eyles Irwin, George Proctor, Ernst W. Fallofield, and Hall Plumer. (*M. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 30th Oct., 1781.)

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 12th Oct., 1782.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxviii., 9th Dec., 1784.

CHAPTER XXI

1785—1790

SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL—THE COMMITTEE OF POLICE—THE COMMITTEE OF REGULATION—THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

MR. ALEXANDER DAVIDSON,[1] who, as senior Member of Council, became provisional Governor on Lord Macartney's resignation, held office for a period of ten months, during which nothing of moment occurred. On the 6th April, 1786, Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B.,[2] reached Madras in the Company's ship *Earl Talbot,* and received charge of the Government. The second son of Mr. James Campbell of Inverneil, Commissary for the Western Isles of Scotland, Archibald Campbell was educated at Glasgow University and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, whence he was commissioned Ensign in the Royal Engineers in 1758. In the same year he joined the expedition to Guadeloupe, and in 1759 resigned a concurrent commission in the 64th Foot. Like Patrick Ross, he served at Guadeloupe until 1762. Two years later, when a Captain-Lieutenant, he was selected to be Chief Engineer at Calcutta, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in the Bengal Engineers. Under rules framed in 1771, the retention of his position in the Royal Engineers was held to be incompatible with service under the Company, and in the following year he relinquished the Indian corps to return to

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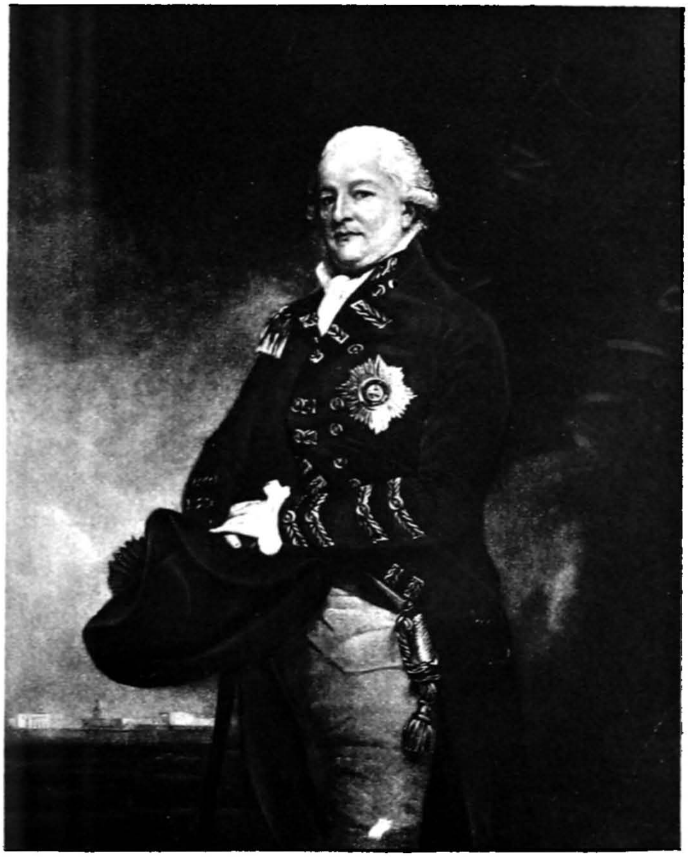
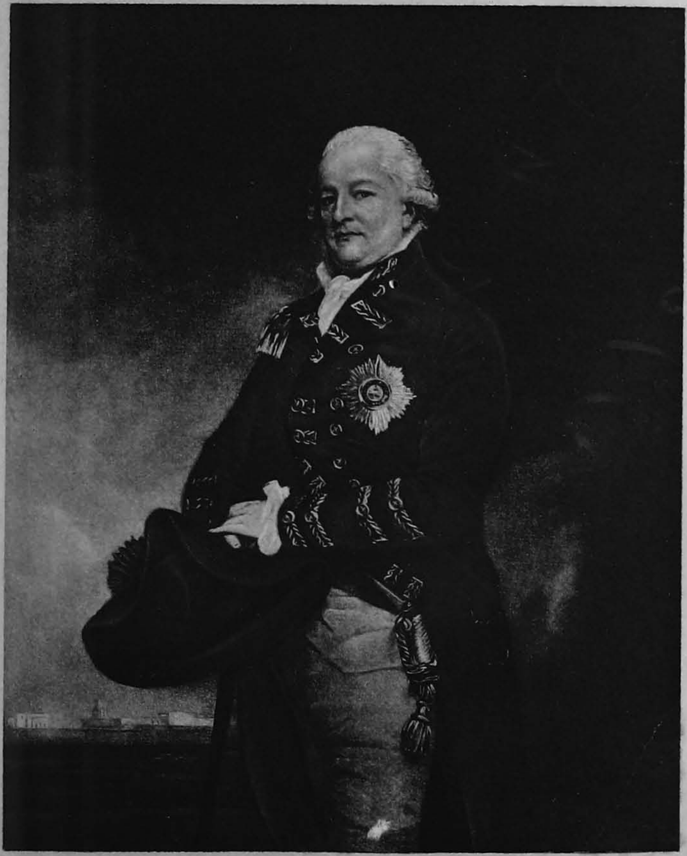
[1] Alexander Davidson joined as Writer in 1760, and spent much of his service in the northern districts at Masulipatam, Ingeram, and Vizagapatam. One of the new streets on Popham's ground in Black Town was named after him.

[2] Sir Archibald Campbell must not be confounded with a junior officer of the same name who served under Cornwallis in the Mysore Campaign, and afterwards at the fall of Seringapatam, in the Peninsula, and in the Burmese war of 1824.



Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B.
after Geo. Romney.



Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B.,
after Geo. Romney.

of four civil servants—Alexander Davidson, Charles Oakeley, David Haliburton, and George Moubray for the former, and J. H. Casamaijor, William Hamilton, Edward John Hollond, and John Balfour for the latter.[1]

Sir Archibald Campbell formed a Committee of Police for the regulation of wages and prices, founded an astronomical observatory, improved the postal service, constituted an orphan asylum, and encouraged the study of economic botany. During his rule the Madras Exchange and the Carnatic Bank were established, and the first local newspaper was published. These matters, amongst others, are dealt with in the succeeding pages. Campbell also concluded an arrangement with the Nawab for the reduction of the outstanding debt, which amounted in 1787 to about seventy-five lakhs of pagodas, and for the collection of the Carnatic revenues by the Company's servants.

Sir Archibald resigned early in 1789 on account of ill-health, relinquishing the Government to Mr. John Hollond, the senior Member of Council, on the 6th February.[2] He sailed in the *Manship* on the following day, reached England in a feeble condition, and survived only two years, dying at the age of fifty-two. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.[3] His portrait, painted by Romney in 1790, is reproduced for this work.[4] An earlier portrait, ascribed to Tilly Kettle, has lately been acquired by the Madras Government.

Mr. John Hollond administered the government for the next twelve months.[5] The only noteworthy feature of the period was Tippoo's invasion of the territory of the Rajah of Travancore, which led to a fresh struggle between the British and the ruler of Mysore. John Hollond resigned on the 13th February, 1790, ostensibly for medical reasons, and his brother, Edward John Hollond, filled the presidential chair until the 20th of the same month, when Major-General Medows arrived in H.M.S. *Vestal* from Bombay as permanent Governor and Commander-in-Chief.[6]

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 1st Aug., 1786.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cliv., 6th Feb., 1789.

[3] A description of the funeral is given in the *European Magazine* for 1791.

[4] By the kind permission of Messrs. Thomas Agnew and Sons, who published the portrait in *Romney: a Biographical and Critical Essay* [Ward and Roberts], 1904.

[5] Casamaijor's resignation took place in January, 1790, after which the Council consisted of the brothers Hollond and Mr. James Taylor.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. clxi., 10th and 20th Feb., 1790.

THE COMMITTEE OF POLICE.

Though Popham's 'Plan of Police' had been before Government since 1782, the state of war, famine, and financial embarrassment which prevailed during Macartney's rule hindered its due consideration. In 1785 Davidson's Government received a memorial on the subject, signed by 203 representative inhabitants of Madras:—

Memorial of the Residents, dated 21st Oct., 1785.

> 'We, the Inhabitants of Madras and its Environs, beg leave to Address your Honble Board on a Subject which has been for many Years considered and felt as a General grievance, and repeatedly presented by the Grand Jury at the Sessions.
>
> 'The Dearness of Provisions of every kind; the Abuses practised by those who deal in them; the Shameful impositions of Servants, Artificers, Labourers and Coolies; the Nuisances in the Streets of the Black town; the Badness of the Roads in the Neighbourhood of Madras, and the frequent Robberies as well as petty thefts committed, are Objects well worthy the attention of Government.
>
> 'We understand that Mr. S. Popham has comprehended all those Objects, and proposed Regulations for their Remedy and Removal, in the Plan of Police which he gave into the hands of Lord Macartney some time ago, and which was by his Lordship recommended to the serious Consideration of Council just before his departure. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxviii., 12th May, 1786.)

Among the signatures to the memorial, we find those of 'John Turing, C. B. Dent, James Call, Basil Cochrane, George Moubray, John Chamier,[1] Gideon Firth,[2] David Haliburton, J. Landon,[3] W. Webb, Thomas Chase,'[4] civil servants; 'W. Sydenham, Cornet W. Monteath, 23rd Light Dragoons, James Capper, Lieut.-Colonel Sterling, James Eidington, Captain of Cavalry J. Pater, Joseph Moorhouse, Captain-Lieutenant Barry Close,' military officers; 'J. Anderson, A. Binny, M.D., Surgeon W. Mallet,' doctors; 'Thomas Pelling, P. M. Cassin, James Amos,' free merchants; and 'D. Brodie, Philip Stowey, Charles Binny, and C. Bromley,' following various professions.

Two months later the pertinacious Popham renewed his attack, presenting a further exposition of his views, prefaced with a statement of public services rendered by him for the last eight years, four of which had been devoted to his duties as Government Solicitor. Popham takes credit for advising the removal of Hoghill; declining a salary from the Nawab; making an offer to raise a force for the protection of Black Town against Hyder, 'but when I carried it to Mr. Whitehill, the Governor, as he was going into Council, his reception of me and of my Letter was so disgustingly cool that I was obliged to drop the matter'; offering to raise a military corps at the time the French fleet appeared, when he received the thanks of Government; furnishing provisions and transport for Chingleput; fitting out a packet at his own expense to maintain communication with Sir Eyre Coote at Cuddalore, and soothing the jealousy of the King's troops when Ross Lang was appointed Commander-in-Chief. In enumerating these services, Popham says that his aim is to vindicate himself from a slander that his Plan of Police was designed for his own aggrandizement, and remarks that the scheme is neither the better nor worse for his being 'the Proprietor of that Central Spot of Ground[1] which must be the Scite of the Public Market.' He then indicates sundry advantages attaching to his scheme:—

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[1] John Chamier (formerly Deschamps) married Miss Georgina Burnaby in 1785.

[2] Gideon Firth became Resident at Pulicat on the capture of that place from the Dutch. When a member of the Committee of Circuit, he lost his life during a storm on the 20th May, 1787, at Coringa, 'where the Sea having rushed in, inundated the Country around and swept away the greatest part of the Inhabitants.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 17th July, 1787.)

[3] James Landon married Miss Margaret Dent in 1788.

[4] Thomas Chase married Miss Ann Rand in 1787.

Mr. Popham's Letter of 16th December, 1785.

'Was the Bound Hedge finished, no man could desert, No Spy could pass; and it is a notorious fact that during the late War the Black Town swarmed with, and is still supposed to harbour, Spies in the service of European as well as Asiatic Powers. Provisions would be Cheap. All the Garden Houses,[2] as well as 33 Square Miles of Ground, would be in security from the incursions of irregular Horse. . . . The Damage about the Village of St. Thome alone, tho' within three miles of your Presidency, sustained since July 1780, would be enough to defray the Expence of the Bound Hedge and all repairs for Years. A neat and well built Village is almost entirely dismantled. And if an Argument is still wanting in favour of the Bound Hedge, I appeal to the Gentlemen who were at the Siege of Pondicherry in 1778. They will bear testimony what a serious Service the attack of the Bound Hedge round that Fort seemed to be. . . .

'As to the advantages of Ease and Comfort to the European Inhabitants, they would be infinite. Provisions would be Cheaper, Robberies much less frequent, Impositions of all sorts prevented, and health promoted. The medical

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[1] Situated between the pettahs, and acquired five years before at a cost of Pags. 7,550.

[2] Innes Munro estimated in 1780 that there were 500 to 600 garden-houses on Choultry Plain.

Gentlemen will, I believe, acknowledge that many a Junior Servant, both in the Civil and Military Line, has owed his Fate as much to the confined and unwholesome Situation of his place of abode in the Black Town as to the malignancy of the disorder. It has been my good fortune to be instrumental in saving the lives of Two Gentlemen by requesting them, at a very serious stage of their illness, to move from their own abode to an Upstair room in my House. Good Air and wholesome Diet are Paramount to all Medicine. . . .

'The Dubashes of Justices meet with more Homage than the Justices themselves (or than any other Persons whomsoever in the Settlement, except the Dubashes of some of the Attornies of the Mayor's Court), and . . . those same Dubashes exercise their Power for the most oppressive, illegal and unjustifiable purposes. . . . It has been said that my Plan is too extensive. Is the extirpation of Dubashism such a Hydra of Labour that the idea should affright us? The community wish for the Reform, and by their Zeal the harder part of this Herculean task will be overcome. The cordial support of Government will compleat the work. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxviii., 12th May, 1786.)

Popham proposes to find money for his scheme by levying rates on the annual value of property in Black Town of 2½ per cent. for general purposes, and from 2½ to 3¾ per cent. for road maintenance, together with a tax of 1 per cent. on all property within the Bound Hedge. Such imposts he considers that Government have authority to levy. If the settlement of petty disputes and the punishment of minor offences is to be delegated to the Police, powers must be obtained from the Directors.

Sir Archibald Campbell took up the matter shortly after his arrival:—

Minute by the President.

'The late presentment of the Grand Jury at the last Quarter Sessions on the want of a proper System of Police, or of interior Regulations within the Limits of Fort St. George; the representation of almost the entire Body of Inhabitants to the same Effect; and the Strong and ample Recommendations of Lord Macartney and Mr. Davidson in favour of a Plan for establishing certain Regulations of police, by Mr. Stephen Popham, for correcting most of the abuses which are here complained of, are Objects which merit the serious Attention of Government. . . .

'For this purpose I would beg leave to recommend that Colonel Capper, Mess^rs^. Petrie, Oakeley, Webb, Haliburton and Moubray from among the Company's Servants, and Mess^rs^. Amos, Antonio De Souza, Edward Raphael and Shamier Sultan from the Free Merchants and Armenians of this Settlement and the Black Town, be named a Committee to proceed on this business without delay. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxviii., 12th May, 1786.)

The Committee was accordingly appointed, with Mr. Nathaniel Kindersley[1] as Secretary on Rs. 6 per day. They saw that much depended on the legality of raising money by assessment, and referred the point to the Attorney-General. Meanwhile, they recommended that the market part of the scheme be at once introduced:—

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[1] Nathaniel Kindersley married in 1792 Mrs. Hannah Wasey (*née* Butterworth), widow of William Wasey, late of the civil service.

First Report of the Committee of Police.

'We beg leave to recommend that some Central Spot of the Black Town be appropriated to the Sale of Butchers Meat, Poultry, Fish, Vegetables and Bread in particular. That these Articles be sold at this Place at certain Hours of the day, during which time provisions of the above description should not be exposed for sale elsewhere, unless for the convenience of the Inhabitants of the Adjacent Villages, in two or more of which it may be necessary to establish small markets subject to the same restrictions. Should Mr. Popham's Ground prove eligible, he proposes building thereon Sheds and Godowns for the convenience of those who may wish to supply this market, subject to such rent as may be deemed reasonable by the Honble Board. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxviii., 17th June, 1786.)

On receipt of the Attorney-General's unqualified opinion that Government had no power to assess the inhabitants, Colonel Capper's Committee submitted their second report, dated 8th July. After confessing their inability to decide a point on which men of the law, like Sulivan and Popham, were at variance, they remark that the expenses of a Police system may be met by the Quit Rent and Scavenger's Duty, which has been voluntarily paid 'almost ever since the Black Town has contained a tenth part of the present number of its Inhabitants.' While feeling themselves incompetent to deal with the question of the Bound Hedge, they consider that the authority of Government may be exerted to reduce the price of provisions and wages of servants to the figures ruling before the war. They deem the Cutwal and Scavenger proper officials to exercise Police functions in controlling markets and dealing with disturbers of the peace, and recommend that an executive Board of Police be appointed, with Popham as Secretary.[1]

Benjamin Sulivan feared that the use of the word Police might prejudice the home authorities, as it did others when Warren Hastings served in Madras, and Government acted on his suggestion when passing orders on the Committee's reports:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board, again taking into Consideration the abuses and Inconveniences experienced for want of a System of Police, or of interior regulations within the limits of Madras, Resolve that the Appointment of the Gentlemen nominated to enquire into Mr. Popham's Plan be abolished; and that a Committee of Regulation be established for fixing the Wages of Servants, the prices of Provisions, and for preserving cleanliness in the Black Town, to consist of the following Persons, Viz. Mr. William Webb, Cutwal, Mr. Francis Lind, Rental General, Captain James Campbell, Town Major, and Mess^rs^. Stephen Popham, Antonio de Souza and Edward Raphael. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxix., 5th Aug., 1786.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxix. 13th July, 1786.

The unfavourable opinion given by the Supreme Court of Calcutta on the vexed question of Government's authority to levy Quit Rent and Scavengers' Duty having been reported to England, the Directors submitted a case to His Majesty's Attorney-General and Solicitor-General. After enumerating the powers granted to the Company in 1698, they referred to the Conveyance of 1702:—

Case for the Company.

'In the Conveyance made by the Old East India Company to the present Company, the Settlement or Factory of Fort St. George is described as follows—

> '"On the Coast of Coromandel, Chingee and Orixa, Fort St. George, with the Castle and Fortifications and Territories thereto belonging, upon which a large City is built Consisting of Houses which are held of, and pay rent to, the said Governor and Company, together with the said City and its Dependencies."

'The Presidency of Fort St. George has always been under the Management of a Governor and Council, to whom, by Commission and the Company's Seal, all the Power of the Company has been delegated.

'It appears that a certain Quit Rent has been paid to the Company for all Houses and Buildings within the Town of Madras, but we are not able to trace the Original Grant thereof, so as to shew by Deeds that the Ground was Granted Subject to such Quit Rents. There has also always been a rate collected from the Inhabitants called a Scavenger's Rate, applied for the purpose of keeping the Town clean and wholesome. . . .

'Query 1. Will not the payment of Quit Rent for a long Course of years be considered as Evidence of the Original Grant being subject to such Quit Rent . . .?

'Query 2. Can the Company at Home, or their Governor and Council abroad, make Bye Laws for levying small Rates or Taxes upon the Inhabitants of Fort St. George for the necessary purposes of keeping the Town clean, and for the Safety of the Inhabitants?' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xc., 24th March, 1787.)

The Law officers replied to the first question in the affirmative, but stated as to the second that power could be obtained only by Act of Parliament. The Company accordingly resolved to apply to Parliament for authority.[1] Meanwhile the collection of Scavenger's Duty was suspended.[2]

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xc., 31st July, 1787.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxvi., 20th Dec., 1790.

THE COMMITTEE OF REGULATION.

The executive Committee of Regulation arose like a phœnix out of the ashes of the advisory Committee of Police. Its members were entitled 'Commissioners for regulating the Wages of Servants, the prices of provisions, and for preserving cleanliness in the Black Town.'

Instructions to the Committee of Regulation.

'It appearing that Mr. Popham's Ground in the Black Town is a convenient Situation for a public Market, the Board approve of his offer to build Shops and Sheds on it, subject to be let at such a rent as they may hereafter deem reasonable, for the sale of Butchers Meat, Poultry, Game, wild Fowl, Bread, Fish [and] Vegetables of the consumption of Europeans.

'Mr. Popham is under an Agreement with Government . . . to cut and preserve a Channel on his ground for the passage of the Water in the time of the Monsoon . . .; and it being a matter which now more materially concerns the health and convenience of the Inhabitants in general, the Board enjoin you to be particularly careful that sufficient Drains are prepared by him, and the Ground is in every respect put into a proper State before any buildings are constructed thereon for the purpose of a public market Place.

'It is the Intention of the Board, principally for the accommodation of the Troops in Garrison, that there shall be a Market in the Fort, and also five or six at least in the adjacent Villages of Madraspatnam. You are likewise to understand that the small Bazars within the Black Town and its Environs for the Sale of different Articles of the consumption or for the use of the natives are not to be removed. . . .

Mr. Webb is to be considered as your President, and to have a casting voice in case of equality on any difference of Opinion, and Mr. Stephen Popham is appointed to act as your Secretary.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxix., 8th Aug., 1786.)

The Committee of Regulation to Government.

'Mr. Popham produced a Letter, under date the 12th of May 1780, from Major Maule, then acting as Chief Engineer, wherein he approves of the Plan of the Canal as proposed by Mr. Popham. He also informed us that he should have long since finished the Canal according to that plan, and have raised the Ground throughout, as well as compleated such Cross Drains as might appear necessary, had he not lent his Carts and Bullocks to forward Necessaries for the Army during the last War . . .; but he begged leave to call to the recollection of those Members of the Committee who have long been resident in or near the Black Town that the Ground in question has been (as the Grant expresses) the Channel for the Waters during the Monsoon owing to its low situation, and that such Torrents come down from the Northward during the Monsoon thro' the Arches in the Black Town Wall as no Canal which can be made on the Ground, without occupying the principal part of it and incurring an enormous expence in its construction, will suffice for carrying of[f] the Floods as they are received during the heavy rains : that his Canal was always intended by him as amply sufficient in height and width for the Rains which fell within the Black Town Wall; and that, as the Stagnate Water which remained for some Months after the Monsoon on his Ground before it was raised, as well as on all the Ground to the Northward of it within the Black Town, had been a matter of great inconvenience to Passengers, and a Nuisance as well as injury to the inhabitants whose Houses were situated near it, he submitted to us whether it would not be proper to recommend to Government that the Torrent of Water which has here to fore passed through the Black Town Wall be diverted either to the Sea or to the West of the Black Town, provided the Chief Engineer has no objection to offer.

'Mr. Popham also observed to us that, before he purchased the Ground, the Water during the Monsoon had always rendered it difficult to pass from the Black Town to the Mahratta Town, which he had rendered accessible by means of Two substantial Bridges in Brick and Chunam, which he had built on the Ground without any Engagement to do so. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxix., 4th Sept., 1786.)

The Committee remark that, from the conformation of the ground, half the Black Town rainfall drains to the sea and river. The canal will suffice for the other half, provided the monsoon discharge from the northern suburbs be diverted, a course they recommend. Two months later the canal excavation was reported to be complete. In November the Committee took up the questions of wages and conservancy, fixing rates for coolies and servants on the old basis, with the proviso that specially good domestics might be rewarded with extra gratuities. The palanquin bearers were of three classes, Gentoos, Malabars, and Pariahs, who habitually received separate rates. They were to work in sets of eight, seven, and six, respectively, on wages ranging from 1¾ to 1¼ pagodas per month for each man. All the Committee's proposals were approved by Government:—

Report of the Committee of Regulation.

'We find that the Gentoo Boys object, in most families, to do any sort of House work, under a pretence that it is incompatible with their Religion. There is nothing which has subjected Europeans to more imposition than their ignorance of the real customs which the Religious Principles of different Tribes of Indians have attached to their Casts, when, from a dread of incroaching on their prejudices, they give implicit faith to the assertion of the native. It shall be our care to discover and expose this Species of imposition as often as We can, and since We understand that the Gentoo Palanquin Boys at the northern Settlements do the same House work which the Malabars and Pariars do at Madras, We recommend that the like be expected of them here. . . .

'As frequent Complaints have been made of the Nuisance occasioned by the number of Hogs which infest the Streets, We recommend that public notice be given to those who have Hogs to confine them within their own Compounds, else that they will be Seized and forfeited for the use of the Europeans in the Garrison of Fort St. George. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxl., 3rd Nov., 1786.)

Acting on the following suggestions made by Popham in August, the Government next issued a notification regarding the markets:—

Mr. Popham to Government.

'The utmost indulgence I now crave is that your Honor, &c., will be pleased to discourage the idea of any other Market in the neighbourhood of Madras (except Triplicane, Saint Thome, Trivatore and the Mount) for the first three Months after mine is opened; and if, at the expiration of that period, I do not establish it on so general a System as to answer expectations and meet the conveniences of Families living on Choultry Plain, Ellombore and Vipery, I must of course submit to the consequences which their Representation to Government will occasion. One General Market can controul all possible abuses, and be generally comfortable and useful; but if there be more than one, the Superintendence may not be uniform, and an opening left for the very abuses against which the System of Police is meant to guard. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol cxl., 10th Nov., 1786.)

Government Notification.

'Government having . . . resolved to establish a Market in a central Situation for the more convenient supplying the Inhabitants of Madras with the following Articles, Beef, Veal, Pork, Mutton, Lamb, Kid, Poultry of all Kinds, Hares, Rabbits, Fish, Bread, Butter, Eggs, Country Cheeses, and Vegetables of the consumption of Europeans, and Mr. Popham's Ground in the Black town being fixed on by Government as the properest place for the said Market,

'Notice is therefore given that those who wish to Supply the Market with any of the above Articles are, within one month from the date hereof, to give in their names to Mr. Popham with their Proposals, describing the Dimensions of such Shops, Sheds, Stalls or Godowns as they may have occasion to occupy, which Mr. Popham has undertaken to build under the inspection of the Chief Engineer and the Committee of Regulation, and at such Rents as shall hereafter be fixed by the Committee of Works, unless previously agreed on between Mr. Popham and the Dealers.

'Government do further give notice that, when the said market shall be reported by the Committee of Regulation as fit for the reception of the above Articles, the same is to be considered as the Public Market of Madras, and the Sale of the Articles above Specified will be prohibited at any other place in Madras, except in Fort St. George, where a Market is absolutely necessary for the accommodation of the Troops in Garrison, and except the Markets which have been heretofore held at Triplicane, St. Thome, Chinadrepettah, Trivatore and the Mount for the supply of the Inhabitants of those places respectively.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxl., 10th Nov., 1786.)

The Committee of Regulation reporting that the Choultry was in a ruinous condition, Government approved the 'building the

Cutwal's Choultry and Police Office on the Market Place' as recommended by Popham. The Committee next applied themselves to the regulation of the prices of provisions:—

Report of the Committee of Regulation.

'We found that the unauthorised demands exacted of the Importers under pretence of collecting the Duties charged by Government, the Custom of Dubashes and the Impositions of Compradores[1] were the Principal causes why the present price of Provisions was so exorbitant. As Government have been pleased to remit their customs, the exactions of collectors no longer exist; and as they have been pleased to establish a Publick Market, the imposition of Dubashes and Compradores will be effectually prevented. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxli., 9th Feb., 1787.)

The Committee had difficulty in regard to fish, though there were twenty-six fishing villages between Ennore to the north and Covelong to the south. Eventually they arranged with Polyconda Chetty, the head of the 'Malabar' fishermen, for supplies on a large scale. The dealers in meat and poultry agreed to a reduction in prices, the effect of which will be apparent from the following examples:—

	In 1786.	As proposed.
'Mutton, hind quarter - - -	12 f.	4 to 6 f.
„ leg - - - - -	7 f.	2½ to 3½ f.
Kid, hind quarter - - - -	6 f.	4½ f.
Veal, loin - - - - -	1 p. 9 f.	1 p.
Beef, per lb. - - - - -	2 f.	1 f.
Poultry, Cock turkey - - -	2 p.	1 p. 21 f.
„ fat fowl - - - -	6 f.	5 f.
„ chicken - - - -	2 f.	2 f.
„ fat duck - - - -	11 f.	10 f.
Country fowls - - - -	11 per pag.	18 per pag.
„ chickens - - - -	34 per pag.	45 per pag.'

Early in 1789 Popham stated that the Central Market was well advanced, and would be completed by the 1st March. He offered to supply meat and live stock to the shipping, and applied for ground outside the North-West Bastion of Black Town wall for the erection of cattle pens and a slaughter-house.[2] Mr. Webb, the Cutwal, reported his custody of seventeen native prisoners confined in his Choultry, who had been transferred to him by the

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[1] *Compradore*, from Port. *comprador*, a purchaser; a principal servant, who did his master's daily marketing.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cliii., 13th Jan., 1789.

Town Major. They were entered as thieves or spies, and had been in prison for periods of from one to twelve years. With four exceptions they were released by order of Government, and turned out of Madras.[1]

THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

On the death of Surgeon-General Pasley in 1781, Dr. Anderson was nominated his successor.[2] The Directors, however, refused to sanction the appointment, which they regarded as personal to Pasley. Anderson submitted a remonstrance showing that the Court's orders for his reversion to the post of Senior Surgeon were 'nothing less than restoring him [Pasley] to life.'[3] Macartney supported Anderson, and recommended him to the Directors in consideration of his long service and professional ability. The expectation that Sir Eyre Coote would appoint Dr. Colley Lucas to be 'Surgeon General of His Majesty's Forces' rendered the position of Anderson the more galling, and the latter urged Government to make Lucas 'Senior Surgeon in Camp.'[4] The request must have been acceded to, for in the list of Company's servants of December, 1782, we find both Anderson and Lucas entered as Senior Surgeons. There seems to have been no definite dividing line of medical control between the King's and Company's troops. In 1783, Anderson was directed to receive into the General Hospital as many as possible of the wounded of the King's forces, and himself to assist the surgeon of His Majesty's hospital at San Thomé.[5] The sick of the Hanoverian corps were accommodated in the temple of Chintadripetta.[6]

In 1786 Sir John Dalling, the Commander-in-Chief, proposed that, each regiment having its surgeon and assistant, the hospitals of district garrisons should be abolished, and the Presidency hospital become a general one for the reception of cases from the different regiments, and especially for recruits arriving sick from England. He urged the abolition of the contract system of dieting, and the formation of a Hospital Committee of Administration, consisting of the senior officer as Surgeon-General, a Surgeon-Major, and two Surgeons of whom one was to be responsible for medical stores, and the other was to control the General Hospital, and attend the inhabitants of Madras and its environs.[1] While the Government were commending this scheme to the home authorities, the Directors were themselves organizing a Medical Department for Madras. Under orders which arrived in April, 1786, the department was headed by a Physician-General as Director of Hospitals on £2,500 per annum, and the principal officers were a Chief Surgeon on £2,000, and the Head Surgeons of Hospitals, who were eligible for £1,500 or £1,000 according as the garrisons for which they were responsible consisted of more or less than 8,000 men. The regimental surgeons were to draw the pay and allowances of Captains of European infantry. The Department was to be administered by a Hospital Board comprising the Physician-General, the Chief Surgeon, and the Head Surgeon of the Fort St. George Hospital, the three senior posts being conferred on Dr. James Anderson, Mr. Colley Lucas, and Mr. Thomas Davies respectively.[2]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clv., 28th April, 1789.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 2nd March, 1783.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 22nd Nov., 1782.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *M.C.*, vol. xc., 6th July, 1783.

[6] *M.C.*, vol. xciv., 27th Nov., 1783.

The organization was evidently framed on a military basis, and no special provision was made for medical attendance on civil servants. Cases were ordinarily treated at the General Hospital, but there appears to have been a dispensary in Fort St. George, as we hear of a water supply being laid on to 'the Doctor's Shop in the Fort.'[3]

To the medical officers of the period Madras was indebted for the advancement of knowledge in natural science, especially in botany. On the death of Dr. Koenig in 1785, Dr. Patrick Russell of Vizagapatam was appointed to succeed him as Naturalist on the same salary of Pags. 40 per month, the payment of which was made contingent on his writing an annual bulletin for transmission to the Royal Society. Koenig's manuscripts and herbarium were forwarded to Sir Joseph Banks, to whom they were bequeathed.[4]

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. cxi., 1st Jan., 1786.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. cxii., 14th April, 1786. In a map of 1816 the house in the Mount Road, lately Nicholas's photographic studio, is marked 'Dr. Davise,' and the house now called *Palm Lodge*, in Edward Elliot's Road, is shown as 'Surgeon Davies.'

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxlvii., 15th Jan., 1788.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxvi., 4th Nov., 1785; *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 12th Jan., 1786; and *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxix., 16th Feb., 1787.

Russell's first memoir was prepared within a year. He stated that Koenig had contemplated the publication of a book illustrative of Indian plants useful in medicine and the arts, and that 'an accurate botanical description in latin and english, accompanied with an elegant engraving, was to have been given for each plant.' Russell proposed to take up this work, with the special object of 'facilitating the Study of the Younger Gentlemen in the Medical line.' He asked that 'the Gentlemen of the Faculty should be invited, through the Medical Board, to concur in communicating whatever they may judge condusive to the end proposed,' and suggested that the Company might bear the cost of publication.[1] This scheme was duly approved by the Hospital Board. Russell's next memoir was submitted in November, 1787, and Government resolved that it be published, and engravings made from the drawings. Russell wrote of his *Herbarium Coromandelense*,[2] and mentioned that he had sent home seeds for the botanical gardens in Great Britain, and 'in particular for His Majesty's Garden at Kew.' He reported that, before taking up his appointment, he had made 'considerable progress in describing and making drawings of the Fishes on the Coast,'[3] and that he was studying the subject of 'Serpents or Snakes,' especially in regard to remedies for snake-bite.[4] Russell left for England in 1789 after three years' work, handing over his duties to Dr. Roxburgh of Samulcotta, who was appointed to succeed him.[5]

William Roxburgh, who was born in 1751, had studied botany at Edinburgh University. At an early age he became Surgeon's mate of one of the Company's ships, and in 1776 was brought on the Madras establishment as Assistant Surgeon at the General Hospital. In 1781 he was posted to Samulcotta in the Godāvari District,[6] and five years afterwards reported the discovery there of indigenous pepper:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We informed you that Mr. William Roxburgh had discovered that the Pepper Plant was a native of the Hills in the Rajahmundry Circar under

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxl., 3rd Nov., 1786.

[2] The herbarium was presented to Government in the following year, and delivered to the care of the Hospital Board. (*P.C.*, vol. cli., 26th Sept., 1788.)

[3] Of fishes he had 170 drawings ready.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxlvi., 2nd Nov. and 18th Dec., 1787.

[5] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 6th April, 1789.

[6] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

Masulipatam, and that we had given directions in consequence to the Chief and Council there to assist him in procuring Plants and proper Ground for the purpose of making his experiments. By the Manship we have pleasure to send for the inspection of your Honours a small quantity of the Pepper lately gathered in that District.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 23rd Dec., 1786.)

During 1787 Roxburgh procured 400 slips of the pepper vine from the Rampa hills, and within twelve months raised upwards of 40,000 plants.[1] He also cultivated coffee, and formed a plantation of 40 young bushes, which were flowering well in 1788.[2] In the following year he sent home a collection of specimens of trees, shrubs, and herbs, consigned to Mr. Alexander Dalrymple for the Royal Society at Edinburgh.[3]

Meanwhile the Physician-General, himself an ardent naturalist, was prosecuting researches on cochineal:—

Dr. James Anderson to Government.

'Having found the Cochineal Insect attached to a Grass call'd by the Tamils Oopungeriki or Salt Grass, the common food of the Horses here, which is jointed and creeps along the ground . . ., I have fully examined it with the help of Magnifying Glasses. . . . The Insect, as it is found on the Grass, is in its Chrysalis State containing the Germ or Ova, and Multitudes of the young are daily Issuing forth of a red colour, with six Legs and two antennæ: some with wings are said to be the males. I have macerated them in water and Sperits of wine, and find it communicates to both a Color equal to the Cochineal of Mexico. As the expence however of collecting it in its present Scattered situation may prevent its becoming an Article of Trade from this Coast, I have planted a Small piece of ground with the Grass, on which I have Strowed a great number of the Insects, as well as Set out 1000 Opuntia[4] Plants for the purpose of culivating them in the Mexican method, with the Success of which I shall from time to time inform you. . . . JAMES ANDERSON, Physician General.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxl., 8th Dec., 1786.)

The Government attached a high value to the discovery, and, in sending home some ounces of cochineal prepared by Anderson, remarked:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'As the acquisition of so valuable a branch of commerce would be attended with advantages of the most important nature to your Interests, we shall be attentive in affording Mr. Anderson every suitable aid, and in acquainting you with the success of his experiments; and shall now only add we are satisfied that he is peculiarly well qualified, from his extensive knowledge and well known Zeal in researches of natural History, to prosecute the present pursuit.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 23rd Dec., 1786.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clv., 24th March, 1789.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxlviii., 7th March, 1788.

[3] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 6th Feb., 1789.

[4] *Opuntia*, prickly pear.

With the object of providing more stimulating food than grass or prickly-pear for the consumption of the insect, Anderson procured a specimen of the nopal shrub from Mexico, and plants resembling it from China. He wrote :—' Being thus in Possession of the Nopal, the identical Plant on which the Genuine Cochineal is cultivated, and it appearing to me that the Soil at St. Thomé is the most proper in the neighbourhood for the culture of this Plant, I am to recommend, in complyance with the instructions of Government, that a Garden be immediately occupied there and denominated The Honble Company's Nopalry.'[1] In proposing his nephew, Dr. Andrew Berry, as Superintendent of the Nopalry, Anderson indicated two alternative sites at San Thomé, of which one, ' an Area of about five Acres immediately on the Outside of the Western Gate of the Town, has been the Garden of an Adjacent house in the Mussalman Stile, which is now a Compleat ruin : the other piece of ground is that on which the Horses of the European Cavalry were picketed about three years ago.'[2] The situation ultimately selected was farther westward, and is judged, from the following description by Anderson, to have embraced the compound now known as Lushington's Gardens :— ' The ground I mean is bounded on the South East by the road leading to St. Thomas Mount, on the North East by the bank of the long Tank, on the West by the outlet of that Tank, and on the South by the Brooke of Marmalon.'[3] To shelter the insects from wind, different kinds of vegetable hedge were considered :— ' Of this description there are many on the Coast, such as the great Aloe in use in Mexico, but the Milk Hedge and Mirgosa Tree will prove sufficient, the acrid Juices of the one and bitterness of the other will not admit the generation of any Insects that can prejudice the Cochineal.' The imported nopal plants were doing well, and Anderson noted that the opuntia or prickly-pear was of the same genus.

Dr. Berry, having been appointed Superintendent on Pags. 50

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cli., 12th Sept., 1788. [2] *P.C.*, vol. cli., 23rd Sept., 1788.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cliii., 9th Jan., 1789. In a map of 1837-1839 the site now called *Lushington's Gardens* is marked ' General Campbell's or Botanical Gardens.'

per month, received instructions from his uncle to divide the land into squares of 100 yards side, or rectangles of 100 yards by 50 yards, by earthen banks topped with milk hedge (*Euphorbia aphylla*), and plant them with nopal from Anderson's own garden.[1] In some of the enclosures opuntia was cultivated. The Nopalry included 'the ruins of a Stone Choultry, the founder of which is dead, and no one now dispos'd to repair it.'[2] For the protection of cochineal insects expected from America a central 'Conservatory' was designed 18 feet square, having brick walls and a floor of polished granite.[3] Berry proposed that the coolies should use the choultry; but when an estimate of some Pags. 3,700 was submitted for buildings, Government decided that shelter was unnecessary for labourers but vital to insects, and resolved that the choultry should be put in order and fitted up as a conservatory at a cost of Pags. 500![4]

To the field of oriental language and literature a junior medical officer devoted himself. Dr. Henry Harris, who was admitted locally to the Madras establishment in 1785 as Assistant Surgeon,[5] announced in 1786 that he had been engaged for four years on a Hindustani Dictionary. Representing that he employed two 'European Artists' in the manufacture of Persian type, two Arabian munshis, and a Portuguese amanuensis, he asked for

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[1] Anderson's garden in Nungumbaukum became one of the sights of Madras, yet at the present time its exact location has been forgotten. The *Register of Grants of Ground* records an assignment of 1,524,745 square feet, or about 35 acres, to James Anderson in 1778 at a rent of Pags. 40. Information furnished by M. R. Ry. P. Narayana Menon, Deputy Collector of Madras, shows that this area comprehended the contiguous properties now known as Pycroft's Gardens and Tulloch's Gardens. Rao Sahib K. Rangachari, Superintendent of the Madras Record Office, finds that by 1791 Dr. Anderson had enclosed adjacent land for which he declined to pay quit rent. In January, 1792, Government recommended that the additional area (of about 76 acres) should be given him free of quit rent, and the Directors assented. In 1828, long after Anderson's death, it was decided that the exemption from rent applied to the whole area of about 111 acres, and was perpetual. It is judged that the boundaries of the extended garden were: N., College Road and the river; E., the river and Mackay's Gardens; S., a nullah; W., Hadow's Road. Evidence derived from various sources leaves no doubt that Anderson's residence was the house now called Pycroft's Gardens. The Physician-General's name is preserved in the present Anderson Bridge and Anderson Road.

[2] A Choultry still exists on the Mount Road next to Lushington's Gardens. Its situation corresponds with that of the structure described by Popham as Morse's Choultry in his proposals for a bound hedge. Nicholas Morse died in 1772.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cliv., 26th Feb., 1789.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. clv., 18th March, and vol. clvi., 22nd May, 1789.

[5] *M.C.*, vol. xc., 29th June, 1783.

Government assistance in meeting the cost of type-founding, advertising, paper, printing, and binding. He received a grant of Pags. 50 per month for seven months,[1] a period which was afterwards prolonged indefinitely. In 1789 Government pressed for visible results of his labours. Dr. Harris replied that the delay in the issue of the work was due partly to amplification of the original 'Vocabulary of the most useful words in the Hindostany Language' into a Dictionary, English-Hindustani and Hindustani-English, and partly to trouble with the printers. He stated that he had handed over his type to the publishers, and hoped that a recent transfer of the Press to other hands would result in rapid progress.[2] An advertisement in the *Madras Courier* gives reason for the belief that the work was published at the end of 1790.[3]

In 1787 the Humane Society sent out, a drag, and twenty-five tracts on the method of restoration of persons apparently drowned, for use at Fort St. George.[4]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxl., 3rd Nov., 1786, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 2nd Dec., 1786.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clvii., 4th and 11th Aug., 1789.

[3] In the map of 1816 a house on the Poonamallee Road, opposite to the Male Asylum, Egmore, is marked 'Dr. Harris.' It corresponds with the present *Lady Napier Villa.* Mrs. Penny states that Harris was thrice married, first in 1786 to Miss Jane Charles, secondly in 1805 to Mrs. Mary Baddeley, and thirdly in 1811 to Mrs. Jane Browne. Dr. Harris died in 1822, and was buried in the Cathedral cemetery. His portrait hangs in the Madras Medical College.

[4] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxix., 16th Feb., 1787.

CHAPTER XXII

1785—1790

THE POST OFFICE—GEODESY AND ASTRONOMY—THE CHARITY SCHOOL

THE POST OFFICE.

HITHERTO the Madras postal system had been worked mainly at the expense of Government, letters of all Company's servants being carried free. To Mr. John Philip Burlton, a junior civilian of eight years' standing, it first occurred that postage ought to be paid by correspondents rather than borne by the Company or the public:—

Mr. Burlton to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxxv., 15th July, 1785.)

'The proposal which I some time since delivered to Lord Macartney, and which I now have the honor to send you,[1] is to establish a regular Tapall[2] or Dauk[3] upon a Plan similar to that at Bengal, which will exclude the Company's Servants from the Previledge of receiving their Letters free of Postage.

'The numerous complaints which are daily made of the miscarriage of Letters and of the great inconveniencies which arise from their frequently laying at the main Guard and being there intercepted by curious and inquisitive Persons, plead strongly for the Interference of Government, and evince the necessity of establishing a regular Office for the receipt of Letters at Fort St. George, which may from thence be conveyed to every Part of this Settlement with certainty and expedition. . . .

'If Government should consider this Plan worthy attention, it will be proper, in order to its being carried into Execution, to weigh and Examine all Letters for one month at least, by which means an estimate may be made of the amount of Postage, from whence it will appear what appointments with proper Salarys may be charged upon it, and what will be the clear annual addition arising therefrom to the Company's Revenue. P. BURLTON.'

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[1] Mr. Alexander Davidson and Council.

[2] *Tapall*, letter-post. The use of the term is confined to South India.

[3] *Dauk*, transport by relays of men or horses; from Hind. *ḍāk*.

A Sketch of Regulations proposed for Establishing a General Post Office at Fort St. George.

'1st. That there be a regular Office allotted for the receipt of all Letters, which would be of Greater convenience if held in the Fort Square.

'2nd. That all letters, both Public and Private, are to pay postage.

'3rd. That all Letters put in the Office for Bengal, or any Place beyond the Limits of this Establishment, be paid for (as far as the authority of this Office reaches) when received by the Postmaster.

'4th. That at the different out settlements the Secretary to the Chief and Council of the Place is to act as Postmaster, and in the different Garrisons the Paymaster or commandant.

'5th. That every arrangement is to be made by the Postmaster General, and that all accounts relative to the department be sent to him.

'6th. That the Accounts of the Office are to be sent in to the Accountant once every Quarter. . . .

'7th. That all Packets from Europe, after having been examined by the Honble Governor and Council, be sent to the Post Office, and that all Packets for Europe be made up at the said office, and sent from thence to the Government house in order to be closed.

'8th. That the Quartermaster General be requested to send Notice to the Office of any changes which may take place in the Army.

'9th. That all expences relative to this department be paid from the revenue of the same.

'10th. That the Accounts of the Office be kept in such regulation as to be ready for the inspection of Government on Twenty four hours notice.

'P. BURLTON.'

Davidson's Government thereupon applied to Bengal for information respecting the Calcutta Post Office, and subsequently wrote to England as follows:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Having taken into consideration the establishing a regular Post Office, we directed our Accountant to prepare a Statement of the monthly charges of the Tappies[1] in the Carnatick and Northern Circars, and the same being laid before us, it appeared the annual expence to you is about Pags. 10,000; but, previous to our coming to any determination on the subject, we agreed to apply to the Governor General and Council to furnish us with a Copy of the Plan and Regulations established by their Government for conducting the Post Office at Calcutta, and our request having been complied with, we mean very soon to establish a Plan for the purpose, which will, we hope, prove to be a material saving to you.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 12th Jan., 1786.)

Mr. Thomas Lewin, a civil servant dating from 1770, then submitted a scheme based on the Bengal system:—

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[1] *Tappy*, *tappaul*, letter-post.

Mr. Thomas Lewin to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxxvii., 10th March, 1786.)

'*Orders and Regulations* (*proposed*) *for the Establishment of a Post Office throughout the Presidency of Fort St. George and its Dependancies.*

'1st. That the Tappies be formed into three Divisions as follows—

1st Division, from Madras North to Ganjam.
2nd „ from Madras Southward to Anjengo.
3rd „ from Madras West to Vellore.

'2nd. That no Tappies be appointed to the Cross Roads excepting those hereafter mentioned, but Hircarrahs[1] occasionally employed by the Chiefs of Factories or Commandants of Out Garrisons or Stations, to convey the Letters to the nearest stages of the Tappies. . . .

'3rd. That three Tappal Peons be appointed to each Stage, and to some Stages the addition of one Masaulchy,[2] namely—

	Miles.	Stages.	Hircarrahs.	Masaulchies.
From Madras to Ganjam -	700	78	234	22
„ Madras to Anjengo -	500	56	168	32
„ Madras to Vellore -	100	11	33	—
Cross Roads				
Ganjam to Aska - -	40	5	15	5
Sheally to Negapatam -	50	6	18	—
Masulipatam to Ellore -	45	5	15	5

'4th. That a Mootchy[3] be fixed at each Capital Stage who shall have charge of a certain Number of Stages.[4] . . .

'5th. That a Deputy Postmaster be appointed . . . at the following Stations . . . Masulipatam, Ganjam, Tanjour, Anjengo.

'6th. That a Post Master General be appointed at Madras, with one Deputy, one Writer or Native Assistant, five Sorters, One Head Peon, and Ten Peons for distributing Letters. He will have the Controul of the whole establishment. . . .

By Rules.

'1st. That all Letters shall Pay postage excepting such as are on the Public Service. . . .

'2nd. That the Postage on Letters to be dispatched from Madras shall be paid when the Letters are put into the Office, and at the following rates—Single Letter, for every hundred Miles 1 Fanam. Double, and other Letters in proportion according to their weight.[5]

'3rd. That Letters coming from Europe or elsewhere by Sea shall be charged on delivery agreeable to the following rates—Single Letters delivered from the Office to persons in Madras, 40 Cash; Double Letters, 1 Fanam; Treble Letters, 1½ Fanam. . . .

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[1] *Hircarrah*, messenger; from Hind. *harkāra.*

[2] *Masaulchy*, lamp-trimmer, torch-bearer; from Hind. *mash'alchī.*

[3] *Mootchy:* Rao Sahib K. Rangachari suggests that the word as here used may be a corruption of *mootsuddy*, a clerk or writer. The term *mootchy*, from Tel. *muchche*, ordinarily signifies a worker in leather, but this meaning is clearly inapplicable to the functionary mentioned in the text.

[4] Every twelve or fourteen stages.

[5] Single, double, and treble letters appear to have been missives not exceeding 2½, 3½, and 4½ tolas in weight, respectively.

'5th. That the Post Office in Madras shall be open every day from Ten o Clock in the Morning till one for the delivery of Letters, and from Six till nine in the Evening for the receipt of Letters. . . .

'THO. LEWIN.'

Sir Archibald Campbell took up the matter on his arrival, and after considering the Bengal system and the plans of Burlton and Lewin, advocated the adoption of Lewin's scheme with slight modifications:—

Minute by Sir Archibald Campbell.

'The Governor begs leave to recal the Attention of the Board to a Subject which some time ago, previous to his arrival, came under their Consideration,—the relieving the Company from a very heavy and, in his Opinion, unnecessary expence which has hitherto fallen upon them in conveying of Letters to all the different Districts under this extensive Establishment. It appears to him but just and reasonable that the Individuals under this Presidency, as well as under any other well regulated Government, should pay for the Conveyance of their Letters, and that the charge should not fall upon the public, except in the transmitting of the Orders of Government and on circulating Letters upon the public Service. . . .

'Sir Archibald Campbell therefore begs leave to propose that his private Secretary, Mr. A. M. Campbell, shall take Charge of the Post Office, with a Suitable Salary for his trouble, and that Mr. Robert Mitford be appointed deputy, to reside at this Presidency under the direction of the Postmaster General.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxviii., 16th May, 1786.)

Then follow 'Orders and Regulations' and 'By Rules' similar to Lewin's, save that the only letters passing free are those of the Members of Council and the two Secretaries, and that the rates of delivery in Madras are raised to one, one and a half, and two fanams for single, double, and treble letters respectively. Government approved this plan, and resolved that it should come into operation on the 1st June, 1786. The expenditure was calculated at Pags. 2,233 per month, but no estimate of revenue is recorded:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'The Plan laid before us by Sir Archibald Campbell appearing to be well adapted to the situation of this Coast, and nearest to the Bengal model which had been found, after an experience of some years, to answer every expectation, we established the General Post Office throughout this Presidency and its Dependencies.

'Entertaining a very favorable Opinion of Mr. Archibald Montgomery

Campbell[1] and being sensible of his confidential situation at this Settlement, but which was unattended with any Emoluments, we took the opportunity of conferring upon him the Office of Post Master General, and at the same time nominated Mr. Robert Mitford to be the Deputy, which measure we hope will meet with your approbation. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 14th Oct., 1786.)

Mr. Alexander Davidson desired to see Bombay embraced in the new postal scheme:—'In addition to the Arrangement for a Post Office, Mr. Davidson recommends and proposes Cossids or Pattamars be appointed to proceed weekly for Bombay. He thinks Six pairs might be sufficient. That it be recommended to Bombay to appoint the same number. The packets to be changed mid-way. By this mode the Political and Commercial interests of Bombay and Fort St. George will no doubt be considerably benefitted.'[2]

The new Postmaster-General reported in October that letters for Bombay were usually sent on by sea from Anjengo, a precarious method during the monsoon. The shortest land journey was by way of Cudappah and Poona, 'but there the Cossids would be obliged to pass through a great part of Tippoo's Country, which I fear is a sufficient Plea for us to abandon this route.' He therefore advised that letters be carried to Ongole, and thence to Poona:—

Mr. A. M. Campbell to Government.

'This admitted, I would propose that two Men of the Patamar Cast should be dispatched from the General Post Office once a fortnight on the Wednesday night at 8 O Clock. That their pay shall be adjusted according to the Custom that has always been followed here, vizt. to advance them one half or ⅔rds of their pay at their Outsett, and the remainder to be paid them on the delivery of the Packet at Bombay. I would propose to limit them to a certain stated time in which they are to perform this Journey, varying from 25 to 30 days according to the Season of the Year. . . . I would, with Submission to your Honble Board, propose that the Expence attending the Cossids should be equally borne by the two Presidencies. The Charges attending this System, as far as I can judge at present, will be 1,300 Pagodas a Year. . . .'[3] (*P.C.*, vol. cxl., 20th Oct., 1786.)

Government, in approving these proposals, suggested that a half-way point might be fixed, where the Pattamars from each presidency could meet and exchange letters.

In 1787 the Directors arranged for the establishment of a post between England and the East via Suez, but the project was not immediately executed owing to the disturbed condition of Egypt. They forbade the engagement of special packet vessels in India except in cases of urgency, when a burden of 140 to 170 tons was prescribed:—

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[1] Cousin of the Governor. He married Miss Ann Humphries in 1788.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxviii., 16th May, 1786.

[3] Campbell considered that Rs. 1½ to Rs. 2 would be a suitable minimum rate of postage to Bombay.

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Being fully sensible of the great Advantages which would result from a regular intercourse between England and the British Possessions in the East Indies through Egypt, we have appointed George Baldwin, Esq^{r}., His Majesty's Consul in that Country, to be the Company's Agent at Cairo for forwarding their Dispatches that may pass by that Route. . . .

'In order to carry the purposes of Mr. Baldwin's appointment into effect, we have formed a Plan which has been approved by His Majesty's Post Master General; and in consequence thereof we have given directions to our Governor General and Council of Bengal that, on the 30th November annually, they dispatch one of the Company's armed Cruizers to Suez, with orders to call at Fort St. George, where she is not to remain more than two days, from whence she is to sail to Bombay, where likewise she must not remain more than two Days. She is then to proceed to Suez, from whence Mr. Baldwin will return her with the Company's Dispatches to India, agreeably to such orders as he may receive from us.

'Private Letters to and from India may be permitted to be forwarded with the Company's Packet; but we strictly enjoin you to make the private Letters a separate Parcel from the Company's Packet, and not to include in the latter any Letters from Individuals. Both the Packets must be directed to the Court of Directors, and after taking those belonging to the Company, we shall send the others to the General Post Office here, from whence they will be distributed. . . .

'We have received only one Letter from Mr. Baldwin since his arrival in Egypt, which was dated the 19th February last at Alexandria. From the then unsettled State of the Affairs there, he had not made any final Settlement with the Beys and Bashaws for opening the communication through Suez to the English, but appeared confident he soon should: he had however appointed Hagi Dervish, a Native of Cairo, his Agent at Suez, and James Wifferman, a German, his Agent at Alexandria.

'The Plan has been communicated to His Majesty's Post Master General, who has been pleased to promise us his concurrence for the conveyance of the Letters from London to Leghorn and from thence hither.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xc., 31st July, 1787.)

At the same time the Court signified disapproval of the employment of Messrs. Campbell and Mitford as Postmaster-General and Deputy, those gentlemen not being in the Company's service. They ordered that the salaries of the two posts be limited to Pags. 100 and Pags. 50 until higher rates were justified by profits, and they suggested the appointment of Mr. Burlton. Fort St. George, however, objected to Burlton, and nominated Mr. Richard

Legge Willis to be chief of the Postal Department.[1] After a few months' employment, Willis, who had been recommended for a salary of Pags. 300, was succeeded by Mr. Oliver Colt.[2]

Colt reported that he maintained a separate account of the cost of the Bombay post. The route from Ongole was by Hyderabad and Poona. At first the same cossids travelled the whole distance in from 28 to 33 days; but by substituting two sets and transferring the letters half-way, the time was reduced to 20 to 25 days.[3] A few months later a modification was made in consequence of the inauguration by Captain John Kennaway, Resident at Hyderabad under the orders of the Governor-General, of a post between Bombay and Masulipatam. Madras letters for Bombay were then despatched weekly to Masulipatam, and forwarded thence 'with the Bengal *packet*'[4]:—

Captain Kennaway to Fort St. George.

(*P.C.*, vol. clix., 20th Nov., 1789.)

'The Post will set off from Bombay every Wenesday at 3 p.m., and from Masulipatam every Monday.

'Tho, in the infancy of such an Established [Post] thro so large a tract of unexplored and foreign Territory, it is impracticable to ascertain with precision the exact time of carrying letters between Bombay and Masulipatam, it is on good ground hoped it may be effected in 12 days; so that, allowing the regular post to go from Masulipatam to Calcutta in 14 days, and to Madras in 5, the letters between Bombay and those places will be conveyed in 26 and 17 days.

'The Postage . . . will be as follows [for] a single Letter 2½ Rupees weight[5] and under—

'Between	Bombay and Poona - -	- 52 Coss[6]		2 Annas
Do.	do. Hydrabad -	- 222 Do.		8 Do.
Do.	do. Masulipatam	- 331 Do.		12 Do.
Do.	Masulipatam and Madras -	- 323 Miles	3 fanams	4 Do.
Do.	do. Ganjam -	- 428 Do.	4 Do.	8 Do.
Do.	Ganjam and Calcutta -	- 305 Do.		5 Do.

'JOHN KENNAWAY.'

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 1st March, 1788.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 4th Aug., 1788, and 6th Feb., 1789. Willis and Colt were civil servants dating from 1778 and 1780, respectively.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. clv., 28th April, 1789.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. clviii., 15th and 24th Sept., 1789.

[5] The rupee, according to its variety, weighed generally from 175 to 180 grains. The Sicca rupee weighed 192 grains. Under Kennaway's scheme, letters between 2½ and 3½ rupees' weight were to pay double rates; between 3½ and 4½ rupees' weight, treble rates; between 4½ and 5½ rupees' weight, quadruple rates, and so on.

[6] *Coss*, about 2½ miles; from Hind. *kos*.

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We have the pleasure to observe that the communication with Bombay is now carried into effect by the establishment of a weekly Post. The Court of Poonah and the Nizam have granted their assent to its accomplishment through their territories, and Captain Kennaway has expressed his hope that Letters will be conveyed from Bombay to Calcutta in 26 days, and to Madras in 17 days.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 15th Jan., 1790.)

GEODESY AND ASTRONOMY.

The Directors having intimated to Lord Macartney's Government that a comprehensive survey of Southern India would be of value, Colonel Ross was desired to formulate proposals. He supplied a review of what had been done in the past, together with a scheme for future operations:—

Colonel Ross to Government.

'A General Survey of the Countries immediately belonging to and dependant upon the Honble Company in this part of India has been long an object of attention, and its not having been attained has been an Evil greatly felt. The political, the Commercial, the Military Departments of the State have laboured under very serious Inconveniences from the want of that Knowledge which the possession of just and authentic Charts of the several Countries would have bestowed. Some attempts have been made at different Periods to attain this desirable End: these, not having been undertaken with that spirit and on that scale which a Work of so Extensive a nature requires, failed almost in their Origin.

'In the year 1772 the Honble Company directed that a Survey of the Circar should be undertaken. . . . In consequence of this, Captains Stevens and Pittman were appointed for this service, and their Divisions of the Countries to be surveyed allotted to them. Captain Stevens continued thus employed until his services were required at the siege of Tanjore in 1773, to which Garrison, after its Capture, he was appointed, and never again resumed the Survey. Captain Pittman was employed for some Time, with Lieutenant (the present Major) Johnstone under him, in the Cicacole Circar, but soon fell a Martyr to the Climate.[1] Lieutenant Johnston continued on this service for some further time, but not long enough to make much progress in what had been undertaken.

'Exclusive of these, some of the Gentlemen in the Civil Branch of the Service who had turned their thoughts to surveying were occasionally employed in different parts of the Country making detached plans, as the Knowledge of any particular spot might at the Moment be required. Some of them were compleated and are produced: some were not, and a considerable Expence was incurred without gaining one essential Step towards the great End proposed.

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[1] Captain Philip Pittman, of the Madras Engineers, died at Vizagapatam in 1775.

'The Loss of several plans, and many other Inconveniences have arisen from the Changes of System that have at different times been adopted, by which they have occasionally fallen into the hands of a variety of People; and such want of Arrangement has there existed that I can almost venture to assert we are at this moment possessed of less materials towards furnishing a complete Chart of the Southern Part of India than we were at the period of ten years back. . . .

'I beg therefore to propose to your Lordship, &c., the following arrangement as what I apprehend you want to enable you to carry into Execution the Orders of the Court of Directors—

'That a Corps of Surveyors should be selected and put under the Orders of a Surveyor General, to whom Government should give the entire Charge, and from whom they are to expect ultimate responsibility. . . .

'That the Surveyor General be authorized to employ such other people as can be found to Copy, and reduce to the proper Scales, the plans ordered by the Court of Directors, whoſe Business it will hereafter be to prepare the fair Copies of all plans sent in by the Different Divisions of Surveyors when corrected by the Surveyor General. . . .

'There were formerly several Draughtsmen employed in the Drawing Room, and without them I apprehend the Business cannot be conducted. At present there is but one, and he, though of considerable merit in his Lore, at five Pagodas a Month only, a sum certainly not sufficient in this time of scarcity to keep him above want. . . .

'The Survey directed by the Honble Court to be made of the Coast and Shoals from Madras to Masulipatam may be undertaken when the monsoon breaks up, if proper People, proper Instruments, and proper Vessels for the purpose are provided. . . . The Plans ordered to be copied and sent home are collecting. General Sir Eyre Coote's marches in the Carnatic, and Colonel Harper's marches in the Guntoor Circar I have never seen. Perhaps the Captain of the Guides or the surveyor to the Bengal Detachment may be able to give some Information respecting them. . . . PATRICK Ross, Lieut.-Colonel and Chief Engineer.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxi., 28th Oct., 1783.)

Ross's plan was warmly approved by Government and recommended to the Court for execution. Nothing, however, was done until 1786, when Sir Archibald Campbell ordered an astronomical survey. In September, 1787, he informed the Council that he had, in the previous November, engaged Mr. Michael Topping, 'a person of very considerable Mathematical and Geographical knowledge,' to fix the latitude and longitude of the principal coast stations north of Masulipatam. The observations made by Topping during his overland journey to Calcutta were submitted, and the Council resolved that he should prosecute his work southward to Cape Comorin, and, after determining the exact coast-line, ascertain the position of the principal places in the Carnatic. He was to receive

Captain's pay and batta for the period of his past work, and the pay of a Captain of Guides for the future.[1] Topping began the southern survey in 1788, and secured the services of Mr. John Goldingham to make correspondent observations at Madras:—

Mr. Michael Topping to Government.

'A young Gentleman, Mr. John Goldingham, who has had a regular Mathematical Education, and who is every way qualified for the trust, I would beg to recommend on this occasion. . . . Mr. Goldingham has assisted for several Months past in making many Astronomical Observations at a private Observatory lately erected by William Petrie, Esq^r.;[2] and Mr. Petrie has permitted me to make an offer of that advantageous situation for our future operations at the Presidency.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxlvii., 15th Jan., 1788.)

This step led to the establishment of the Madras Observatory:—

Mr. Michael Topping to Government.

'The Astronomical Observatory built by William Petrie, Esquire, for his own private use, but which by his permission . . . has, since the commencement of my operations, been occupied in the public service, becomes liable, by the expected departure of that Gentleman, to be transferred to other hands; and by thus continuing private property it is in danger of being no longer accessible for the purposes of its original Establishment. Should these consequences ensue, the Geographical work I am conducting will hazard a total deprivation of the Correspondent Astronomical Observations which . . . are essential to their confirmation and perfection. . . .

'I presented this probable inconvenience to Mr. Petrie, who very liberally assured me that the Building in question was at my entire disposal for the public Service, and that I was at liberty to remove it to wherever I might obtain permission from Government for that purpose. To this, permit me to add that the principal materials of which it is constructed are of a nature to be removed without the least injury to them, being composed chiefly of timber and Iron work, and that the whole may be rebuilt at an inconsiderable expence.

'The Honble Company possess at this Presidency several very valuable Astronomical Instruments. They have a very capital Astronomical Clock, an Astronomical Quadrant, and a large and excellent Telescope, besides other Instruments of inferior consequence. To render these of the smallest utility, such a Depositary as I am now proposing should be erected, as it is by such an Establishment alone that these Instruments can be secured from the hazard of injurious usage, if not total demolition. . . .

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxlv., 11th Sept. and 30th Nov., 1787. Topping said he used an excellent instrument, 'on the Hadlean principle,' by Stancliffe, an artificial horizon by Dollond, a chronometer by Arnold, and a telescope by Dollond for observing the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites. His chart of the Bay was sent home in 1788. (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 1st March, 1788.)

[2] William Petrie, a civil servant of 1765, was about to leave for England. He returned to Madras in 1791, and entered the Council.

'Astronomy has ever been acknowledged as the Parent and Nurse of Navigation; and it is doubtless from considerations of this nature that the Honble Court have come to the resolution of thus affording their Support to a science to which they are indebted for the Sovreignty of a rich and extensive Empire.' (*P.C.*, vol. cliii., 27th Jan., 1789.)

Government accepted the structure offered by Mr. Petrie, and desired Topping to select a site for its re-erection.[1] Eighteen months later the Astronomer mentioned that the Company's instruments were in Portuguese Square in the Fort, and he was soon afterwards directed to report on the cost attending the installation of an observatory.[2] Topping had previously represented that 'Mr. Reuben Barrow in Bengal, a Gentleman out of the regular line of the Service,' received Rs. 1,500 a month for astronomical work, alone, while he himself had undertaken 'laborious Geometrical Mensuration' in addition. The question of salary was referred to the Directors.[3] Early in 1789, after twelve months of satisfactory work at Petrie's observatory, Goldingham went to England, when he was succeeded by Lieut. Walter Caulfield Lennon.[4]

While Topping was engaged on geodetic measurements on the coast, other servants of the Company were extending the knowledge of commercial geography in less familiar regions. The journey to and from England overland by way of Bussorah was frequently undertaken, but Mr. George Forster, a Madras civilian, made a more enterprising excursion in 1784. He travelled 'from Calcutta to Jumbo, a territory lying about 200 Miles to the South East of Cashmere, and from thence to England through Tartary and Russia.'[5] Mr. James Strange, another Madras civilian, was inspired by the deeds of Captain Cook. Returning to India in 1785 after a period of leave in England, he wrote as follows from Bombay:—

Mr. James Strange to Government.

'The Perusal of the published Account of the last Voyage of the late Captain Cook first suggested to me an Idea of the advantages which might be derived to Individuals, and more particularly to the Company, by forming an Establishment in the Countries newly discovered in the North Western Coast of America, with a view to benefitting by the valuable Furrs which, it seems, may be procured there;—a branch of Commerce hitherto unenjoyed by the world, or at least only very partially entered into by a few Traders in the limited discoveries made by the Russians previous to the exploring that Coast by our late Celebrated Navigator. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxvi., 11th Feb., 1786.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cliii., 27th Jan. 1789.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxiv., 17th Aug., 1790, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 21st Jan., 1791.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cliv., 30th Jan., 1789.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cliii., 27th Jan., vol. clv., 17th March, vol. clvi., 16th June, and vol. clvii., 10th July, 1789.

[5] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxviii., 11th April, 1785. Jammu or Jamu, which is perhaps meant, is about 100 miles south of Srinagar.

In conjunction with his friend, Mr. David Scott of Bombay, Strange fitted out two vessels of local build, and, having obtained leave from Fort St. George, set sail from the Western Presidency in December, 1785. After an absence of eighteen months, Strange, who was in sole charge of the expedition, reappeared in Madras. From a commercial point of view the voyage was not a success, but Strange, nevertheless, advised the Company to form a settlement at Nootka Sound to develop the fur trade. Writing from Tanjore in 1788, he forwarded his 'Journal and Narrative of the Commercial Expedition from Bombay to the North West Coast of America . . ., together with a Chart of the Tract of the Expedition.' Copies were sent to the Directors.[1]

THE CHARITY SCHOOL.

It may be remembered that a 99-year lease of the school premises in the Fort was granted in 1780 to the Vestry. That body undertook to repair and maintain the buildings, which were then in a ruinously unsafe condition. The structure was restored in 1783 under the supervision of the Civil Architect, Mr. Stowey,[2] who built a new front; but three years later it became necessary to enlist the services of Mr. Stringer for entire reconstruction. The situation of the school appears to have been between Middle Gate Street and Portuguese Square:—

The Ministers and Churchwardens to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxxxvii., 31st March, 1786.)

'Mr. Stringer, the Honble Companys Mastry Bricklayer, Who is now rebuilding the Charity School under our direction, having reported to Us that he is of Opinion the Walls between the Honble Company's Building and the school house, forming the Cookrooms of the Portuguese Square, and Colonel

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxlvii., 15th Jan., 1788.

[2] Stowey resigned in 1786, and went to England.

CHAPTER XXIII

1785—1790

THE ASYLUM FOR ORPHAN GIRLS—THE FIRST MADRAS NEWSPAPER—THE EXCHANGE

THE ASYLUM FOR ORPHAN GIRLS.

ON the arrival of Sir Archibald Campbell in 1786, Lady Campbell was impressed by the number of girl orphans of European parentage whose upbringing was neglected. The Church Fund was unequal to the support of the multitude, and Lady Campbell issued an appeal for subscriptions which was liberally responded to by the community. With the fund so raised an Asylum was founded in 1787[1] on a plan which the following minute by the Governor elucidates:—

Minute by Sir Archibald Campbell.

(*P.C.*, vols. cxliii. and cxliv., 24th July, 1787.)

'The Benevolent Sentiments contained in the Honble Company's General Letter of the 14th March 1786 . . ., shewing their Disposition to countenance a charitable Institution for the Maintenance of the Orphans of European Officers, convinces me that they will derive much Satisfaction from the Progress that is made by the Voluntary Contribution of Individuals in raising a Fund for the Relief of Female Orphans, the Children of British parents at this Presidency.

'Individually the Members of Government and the Bulk of the Community have contributed to this laudable Charity, and I would not hesitate to recommend it to the Consideration of the Board how far we are warranted in giving any immediate Support to this Charity were I not averse to shewing a Disposition to be charitable at the Expence of the Honorable Company without their special Orders for that purpose.

'I conceive, however, that We may countenance the Charity so far as to assist the Managers to furnish the House appropriated for the Reception of the Female Orphans with Cotts, Tables, Stools, Chairs, and the necessary Cooking and Eating Utensils they may require; in which the Board will be the more readily disposed to acquiesce as His Highness the Nabob has most generously given a House and Garden[1] for the use of the Asylum, exclusive of the very liberal Subscription of 1,500 Pagodas.

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[1] The Asylum was opened on the 1st June, and 21 children were admitted in that month, and 36 more in July. In the following February the total number stood at 62. (*P.C.*, vol. cxlviii., 4th March, 1788.)

'The Honble Company have laudably ordered the Supreme Council to provide a House for the Bengal Orphans, which cost 89,687 Current Rupees, and have also ordered the Payment of 6 Sicca Rupees monthly for each child. I beg leave to propose that a copy of the Plan for the Female Asylum at Madras may be transmitted to the honble Company by the first Dispatch, and that the same be recommended to their Protection as the Means of preserving Numbers of Infants, the Offspring of British Subjects, from Misery and Want, and from all the horrors that are too apt to attend the Situation of Female Orphans if Suffered to wander abroad, equally destitute of the Means of Support and of an Opportunity to acquire those Principles of Education likely to render them useful Members of Society.'

Plan of the Asylum.

'The wretched Situation of the many Orphan Children of the Soldiers who perished during the late War on this Coast first suggested the necessity of establishing an Asylum to secure their Offspring from immediately perishing by want, or at least from struggling with such hardships as would render them wretched in themselves, and a disgrace as well as a burthen to their Country. Bengall offered not only a noble Example, but even a Plan for us to follow by which these real objects of Charity might be effectually relieved; but unhappily the Situation of the Army and the Company's Affairs in general on this Coast rendered the adoption of that Plan, at least for some time, impracticable.

'At the conclusion of the War great Arrea[r]s were due to the Officers on this Coast, and those] have since been slowly paying off, not in ready money, but in Bills on the Bengal Treasury which were discounted at the rate of at least 40 or 50 per Cent, by which means many of them have incurred very heavy Debts. To require Officers in such circumstances to relinquish any portion of their Pay would be very unjust. . . . If the Bengal Plan was adopted, the Company's Officers only would be put under Stoppages[2] to maintain the Children of His Majesty's Soldiers in India, who are generally more numerous than the European Corps in the service of the East India Company.

'As, then, the exhausted State of the Treasury on this Coast, the Distresses of the Army, and other obvious causes precluded any hope of a general Remedy being readily found for this Evil, and the distresses of the Children required immediate relief, recourse was had to a private Subscription to provide for those who were the greatest Objects of Charity. The sum already collected is found sufficient to maintain and Educate about 50, and the Girls being considered as the most helpless, the first fruits of this Charitable Donation have been applied to their relief. Besides, the funds of the Church are sufficient, with good management, to maintain and Educate at least 50 Boys.

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[1] Situated, it is believed, in Poodoopet.

[2] The pay of King's officers was inalienable.

'The School opened for the reception of the Girls is called the Asylum, and the Funds . . . are managed by a Treasurer acting under the Superintendence and Direction of the Governors, consisting of the Governor and Council and 8 other Gentlemen of the Settlement, amongst whom are the two Clergymen.

'The House in which the Children reside was given for the purpose by His Highness the Nabob, an act of generosity imputable not only to the natural benevolence of his disposition, but also to his Gratitude to the Memory of those who have fallen in the defence of his Country. The children are put under the management of proper Governesses and carefull Nurses, subject to the Orders and Controul of 12 Directresses, Ladies belonging to the Settlement, who have not only generously contributed to the subscription, but likewise paid unwearied attention to the Charge they have undertaken.

'It is much to be wished that the funds may hereafter allow the admission of all female Children of European Parents who have not the means of providing comfortably for their Families, but at present it was found necessary to confine the number to those who are the principal objects of Charity of the following descriptions—

'*First Class.* The Orphans of the Officers and Soldiers who have been left destitute of any Provision, and of course have hitherto Subsisted on the Bounty of Individuals; and of these a Preference of Admission has been given to those whose Parents have perished in the Service of their Country.

'*Second Class.* Those Children who have lost one of their Parents, and the Survivor is incapable of attending to the Care of them either from Ignorance, ill health, or being engaged in such Occupations as may occasion the Child or Children being left to the care of Strangers.

'*Third Class.* The Legitimate female Children of European Soldiers and their Wives, and the same of non Commissioned Officers and their Native Wives, the preference of Admission of course to the former.

'*Fourth Class.* The Legitimate female Children of an European Father and Mother, Inhabitants of Madras and its Dependencies, not Military, but who are in distress and incapable of Supporting and Educating their own Children.

'*Fifth Class.* The Legitimate female Children of an European Father and Native Mother; but, as before observed, Orphans of . . . the above descriptions will be first provided for.

'These five Classes are thought to include all Children that can become proper Objects of admission to this asylum on the principle of Charity. But besides these, it is intended to receive Orphans and other female Children who have some small property of their own, and whose Parents or Guardians may wish to vest their Money in this Fund, to remain there as a Deposit while the Children are educated at the School, and the remainder (after the Expence[s] of the Education are deducted) is to be returned to them when they are brought up and settled in the World.

'The Children who are entirely Subsisted and Educated from the Public Fund will all be placed under the same Teacher, wear a neat, plain and uniform dress, and be brought up in such a manner as to render them honest, intelligent and usefull Servants in private families; whilst those who have Money sufficient to defray the Expence of their own Education will be considered as Parlour Boarders, and have such Masters as shall be deemed necessary to qualify them for that Station of life in which their fortune and connections are likely to place them. As their Money will be kept in Company's Bonds or some such Public Security, the Interest of it will of course be the lowest that is paid in this Country, and therefore it is necessary that every Parlour Boarder should at least possess 1,000 Pagodas. Those who have less must in part be maintained by the Fund; and it will be more for the Interest of such Children that for the first two or three Years at least they should be kept at the Free School, and as their fortune accumulates and they advance in life, they may finish their Education with those of the Superior School, or be put out apprentices to some creditable Trade.

'For the care and education of the Children, proper persons of known abilities and unexceptionable character will be appointed by the Ladies acting as Directresses, one or more of whom will occasionally visit the School to observe that the House and Furniture are in good order, the Children cleanly dressed and properly fed, and the Rules laid down for their Education strictly observed. . . .

'Although the Orphans of Officers may not bring any Money into the Asylum, great exertions will be made in their favour, especially for those of European Parents, when they are grown up, in order to settle them in a line of Life superior to those of Soldiers; but it is hoped that the situation of these Children will plead with the more affluent surviving Officers of the Army, and procure for them occasionally a moderate Subscription sufficient to answer this purpose. . . .

[Then follow the Asylum Rules, from which the following are extracted]:—

'1. The Asylum to be under the Superintendence and Direction of Twelve Ladies who are to be called Directresses, who have unanimously appointed Lady Campbell the Patroness or President. . . .

'5. One Governess to have a Salary of 100£ per Annum, who is to have the sole Management and Direction of the House under the immediate Superintendence and Controul of the Directresses. . . .

'7. One Teacher is to be appointed for the present, with a Salary of 10 Pagodas per Month. . . .

'16. The Cloathing for the Children to consist of 6 striped Gingham Gowns to each for common wear, Two White Gowns, six Shifts, six Petticoats, Two White Bonnets with a white Band round them, Two Tippets, Six Pocket Handkerchiefs and Six Pair of Shoes. . . .

'28. For the Satisfaction of the Subscribers and the Public in general, the Treasurer will publish in the Madras Courier an annual Account of the State of the Funds at the close of every Year.

'Such are the rules layed down for the present by the Patroness and Directresses of this Institution. Government also has recommended to the Church Wardens and the Vestry to augment the number of Boys to be admitted into the Free School belonging to the Church, and likewise to make some Alterations in the Plan of their Education; so that, when proper attention has been paid to this recommendation, 100 Orphans at least, including both male and Female, will be rescued from Sickness and Poverty, and be carefully brought up and rendered happy and useful Members of Society.

'But by the Return of all the European children on this Coast it appears that there still remain upwards of 500 unprovided for. . . .'

In the following February the Managers asked for a contribution from Government towards the support of each child. The application was sanctioned with retrospective effect from the dates of admission of the 62 children then in the Asylum :—

From the Asylum Managers to Government.

'As the funds of the Asylum are found to be very inadequate to the expences of the institution, We request that your Honble Board will be pleased to afford us some Assistance to defray those which are unavoidably incurred for the maintenance, cloathing and education of the female Children : and as, by the resolution of the Court of Directors, it has been agreed to allow the Orphan house at Bengal the sum of Five Sicca rupees per Month for the support of each child, We trust you will not deem that sum too great an allowance for this Charity, which has hitherto subjected neither the Honble Company or their Service to any expence whatever. ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JAMES CAPPER, B. MILLINGCHAMP, RICHARD LESLIE, CHARLES OAKELEY, JOS. DU PRÉ PORCHER.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxlviii., 4th March, 1788.)

Fort St. George to the Company.

'In our address of the 20th September we acquainted you of an institution at this Settlement called the Asylum for the Relief of female Orphans, the Children of British Subjects.[1] The Managers have lately addressed us a Letter, representing the inadequacy of its funds, and requested some assistance to defray the expences attending their maintenance, cloathing and education; and as your Honble Court had agreed to allow the Orphan House at Bengal five Rupees for the support of each Child, they trusted this would not appear too great an allow[ance] for a Charity which hitherto had subjected neither the Company or their Service to any expence.

'In consideration of the utility of this institution, and conceiving it to have an equal claim to your bounty and humanity, we complied with the application of the Managers, and make no doubt you will be pleased to confirm the monthly contribution Abovementioned.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 30th March, 1788.)

Shortly before Sir Archibald's departure, Lady Campbell suggested that the Asylum Governors be regularly constituted a corporate body :—

Lady Campbell to Government.

'Finding on my arrival in this Country that great numbers of Female Orphans, the Children of European Parents, were in a State of wretchedness, I was induced to set on foot a subscription for their relief, and was happy in having my views warmly and liberally supported by the benevolence of the greatest part of this Community, who, sensible of the danger to which these Children were exposed, contributed considerable Sums towards establishing a Fund for their Cloathing, Maintenance and Education.

'Countenanced as the Asylum has been by your Honor, &c., and supported as it now is by a sufficient Fund, nothing remains wanting to give it effect and permanency, and to enable the Gentlemen who act as Governors to call such People as may be entrusted with the Money and Effects of the Charity to account, and to establish Rules for the good Government of it, than some public Act of your Honble Board whereby they may be formed into a Fraternity for the management of all it's external Concerns, and by which the Ladies who, under the name of Directresses, have undertaken to see that the Children are properly Cloathed, Boarded and Educated, may be authorized to retain, pay and dismiss such Domestic Servants and Teachers as they may think fit, independant of the Governors.

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[1] This cumbrous designation was afterwards modified to *Military Female Orphan Asylum*.

'I am informed that your Honor, &c., possess sufficient Powers under the Charter of 8th January 1753 to grant these Authorities by an Ordinance or By Law; and under this persuasion I beg leave to sollicit you, on behalf of these Orphans and distressed Children, that you will be pleased to form into a Fraternity the present Governors, or such others as you may think proper, for the purposes I have above stated, and with such Powers as you may think necessary and proper for such an Institution.

'I have requested Mr. Casamaijor, a Member of your Honble Board and one of the present Governors of the Asylum, to lay before you a State of the Funds and of such other particulars as your Honor in Council may desire to be informed of. AMELIA CAMPBELL.'

Government Order.

'Resolved That Lady Campbell's Letter be referred to the Attorney General; and if it be his opinion that her request can be lawfully complied with, That the present Governors be formed into a Fraternity with Power to make Rules and Orders for the good of the Institution, to appoint all proper Officers, and, when by them deemed necessary, to dismiss any Person so appointed.

'That as a mark of the approbation of Government, and of the high sense they entertain of the obligations the Public lie under to the great and successful exertions of Lady Campbell in this benevolent undertaking, That she be declared perpetual Patroness of the Asylum, and that the Election of all other Governors be on her Birth day.

'That on some convenient day after their Entrances into Office, the Governors do elect, by close Ballot, 12 Ladies or Directresses, who with the Patroness shall have the exclusive management of everything relative to the Diet, Cloathing and Education of the Children, and the appointment and dismission of the Servants and Teachers to be employed within the House, together with the appointment of their Salaries or Wages.

'That the Governors have power to put the children out Apprentices to proper Persons after they have attained their tenth year, but the apprenticeship not to last for more than 4 Years.

'That a Power be reserved to Government to visit and correct any abuses that may creep into the Asylum, and that the Attorney General be instructed to introduce any other clauses he may think necessary, and to prepare the proper Instrument.

'Mr. Casamaijor, as one of the Vice Presidents, lays before the Board an Account received from the Treasurer, by which it appears that the Funds of the Female Asylum now amount to Pags. 34,578-20-79.

'The number of Orphans now on the Establishment amount to 108. Nine have already been taken as Servants by Ladies of the Settlement, and one very well married.' (*P.C.*, vol. cliii., 13th Jan., 1789.)

Mr. Benjamin Sulivan, the Attorney-General, being of opinion that a Government ordinance constituting the Governors a fraternity would be valid if confirmed by the Directors, was instructed to draw up the instrument.

Towards the end of the year, at the request of Mr. Robert Richards, Secretary to the Asylum, who explained that the Governors had already expended Pags. 3,000 on additional buildings, Government applied to the Nawab for delivery of the title deeds of his gift-house.[1] The building and site are said to have formed part of the estate of the late Colonel John Wood, and to have been acquired by the Nawab for Pags. 8,000.

Mr. James Wooley, a free merchant of Madras, died in May, 1789, leaving a large estate. His executors, Messrs. John Balfour and Nathaniel E. Kindersley, reported that, after the payment of £40,000 in legacies to relations and friends, the balance was to be devoted to charity. The residue proved to be considerable, and the Asylum for girls probably benefited by it:—

'*Extract of the late Mr. James Wooley's Will,*
Dated 27th February 1789.

'And it is my desire that [the] Balance of my Fortune, after all Legacies are paid, shall be Assigned to and vested by my Executors in the hands of the Governor and Council of Madras for the time being, as a Charitable Fund appropriated to the Education and provision (in such manner as they may think proper) of the Children of distressed Europeans, Male or Female.' (*P.C.*, vol. clvi., 5th June, 1789.)

In 1790 the number of girls was increased to 150, and the Company's contribution to Rs. 750 per month.[2]

With little alteration in its rules, the 'Military Female Orphan Asylum' survived as a separate institution for upwards of a hundred years. Early in the twentieth century it was merged in the Lawrence Asylum at Ootacamund and the Civil Orphan Asylum at Madras, the European inmates being transferred to the former and the Eurasians to the latter.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clix., 20th Nov., 1789. A survey of Madras and its environs, made in 1814, and published in London by W. Faden in 1816, shows the Female Asylum in Poodoopet, on the bank of the river near the west end of the present Harris Bridge. The Male Asylum is depicted close to the old Egmore Redoubt. The Female Asylum was moved, probably about 1838, to extensive premises in Kilpauk, formerly the property of Brigadier-General T. H. S. Conway, who was for many years Adjutant-General, and who died in 1837. A fine statue of Conway adorns St. Mary's Church.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxii., 26th March, 1790, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 18th Sept., 1790.

The following curiously worded entry seems to indicate that the Nawab remained a regular contributor to the Asylum:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Head to be raised for the Nabob's payment on account of Lady Campbell. Ordered that a Head of Deposite by the Nabob on account of Lady Campbell be raised in the Books for the purpose of bringing to Account his Highness's Salary to her Ladyship.' (*P.C.*, vol. clxxxii., 22nd March, 1793.)

THE FIRST MADRAS NEWSPAPER.

The *Madras Courier* was founded in October, 1785, by Mr. Richard Johnston, the printer employed by Government. The earliest reference to the paper appeared in the following month, when the journal was officially recognized as the medium for those Government notifications which were formerly posted at the Sea Gate:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Ordered that the following Resolution be published in the Madras Courier:—It has been resolved and ordered that all advertizements which appear under the Official Signature of either of the Secretarys of this Government, or of any other Officer of Government properly authorized to publish them, in the Madras Courier are meant and must be deemed to convey Official and Sufficient notification of the Boards Orders and Resolutions in the same manner as if they were particularly Specified to any Servants of the Company or others to whom such Orders and Resolutions have a Reference.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxvi., 11th Nov., 1785.)

In the following March the Company was asked, at Johnston's instance, to grant freight facilities for his printing plant[1]:—

Mr. Richard Johnston to Government.

'The Protection and indulgence you have been pleased to grant me in the Office of Printing has encouraged me to hope you will allow me to address you particularly on the subject, and intreat the favor of your further Goodness.

'Since I first engaged in this pursuit the Honble Company's business has multiplied considerably, and is now much more extensive than it ever was. To carry on its common routine in the same manner as it is conducted by

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 18th March, 1786.

Mr. Gladwin, the Company's Printer at Calcutta, Types of all sizes are absolutely necessary. Those used at present are also employed in the Courier, and will soon become unserviceable. I have therefore written to my Agents, Mess^rs^. Gray and Collyer, for a quantity of Types, a press compleat, and every other necessary Articles.

'As there will be a difficulty in getting those things sent out in the manner of private property, I humbly beg, as my Office is in fact the Honble Company's, that you will grant me a letter of recommendation to the Court of Directors, which I may transmit to my Agents, that the above Articles may be embarked on board one of the Honble Company's Ships. RICHARD JOHNSTON.'

Government Order.

'Agreed that a Copy of the above Letter from Mr. Johnston be sent a number in the Packet by the Eagle, and in Consideration of the great convenience of the printing Office conducted by him in this Settlement, and the General utility afforded, particularly to persons in a mercantile way, by the publication of the Weekly Paper called the Madras Courier, it is further Resolved to recommend to the Honble the Court of Directors that, on application being made by the Agents of Mr. Johnston in England, they be permitted to ship on his Account such Articles as may be necessary or useful to him in the business of printing at this Place.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxvii., 10th March, 1786.)

On the reorganization of the postal system, a further concession was granted by permitting the circulation of the *Madras Courier* free of postage within the Presidency :—

Mr. Richard Johnston to Government.

'In consequence of the Establishment of a Post Office, I beg leave to approach your Honble Board to entreat the extension of your Goodness, that as the Madras Courier has so far obtained your Sanction as to be the channel for the conveyance of your orders, you will be pleased to allow it to pass postage free. I should not have thus presumed had not Mr. Gladwin's paper obtained the same generous Priviledge, and which is also prevalent throughout Europe.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxviii., 26th May, 1786.)

The Governor-General, Mr. Macpherson, was asked to accord a similar concession in regard to the paper's circulation in Bengal :—

Fort St. George to Fort William.

'We have the honor to enclose to you Copy of a Letter from the Editor of the Madras Courier, with a Memorial delivered to us at the same time to your address. In consideration of the great convenience of the printing Office conducted by him at this place, and the utility afforded, particularly to Persons in a commercial way, by the publication of his weekly Paper, We beg leave to recommend his request to your favor, and that he may be indulged in sending the Madras Courier free of postage to Calcutta and to the different Provinces under your Government. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxviii., 29th May, 1786.)

In November the Bombay Government asked that the *Courier* might be sent them regularly, as well as 'a compleat set from the first publication of this paper at Fort St. George.'[1]

Early in 1788 Dr. Henry Harris, with whom were associated Messrs. Thomas Chase and Joseph Shawe, proposed to establish 'a New Printing Office, which we hope to render extremely useful by the Introduction of the Persian and other Oriental Characters.' Harris's principal object was the publication of his Hindustani Dictionary. The Company's Printers, Messrs. Richard Johnston and Co., protested against the project as likely to prejudice their interests:—

Messrs. Richard Johnston and Co. to Government.

'The Publication of a Newspaper having originated a little more than two years ago[2] solely from Mr. Johnston, one of the present Proprietors, and, having been carried on by him, and those whom he admitted to a Share of it, with great trouble and heavy expence, by conferring a Property in the thing itself, as the right of sole suggestion and discovery is allowed to, necessarily implies an exclusive privilege in the exercise and use of it. . . .

'When Mr. Johnston stated his original Proposals to Government, they were pleased to receive them with favor, and to transmit them to the Honble the Directors with approbation, and on the 18th March 1786 to recommend that the Presses and Types and Materials, which Mr. Johnston ordered from England at a great Expence in consequence of the approbation of Government, should be permitted by the Honble the Directors to come out to this Country Duty free. . . .

'Other Proprietors have purchased Shares at a great expence and hitherto with little profit. With unremitting industry, however, . . . they have just begun to place the business on some advantageous and promising ground. . . . RICHARD JOHNSTON AND CO.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxlviii., 22nd Feb., 1788.)

Government's concurrence in these views evoked a further representation from the rival promoters, who stated that they too had embarked on great expense on printing presses and founts of 'Malabar and Persian types':—

Messrs. Chase, Shawe, and Harris to Government.

'Permit us to add . . . that specific application has even been made to us by the Bramins of Madras to have the Gentoo Character cut, founded and adapted to the Press in the same manner as the Persian and Malabar Letter

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxl., 24th Nov., 1786.

[2] The issues were numbered consecutively from the beginning. The earliest which is preserved in the British Museum is that of Wednesday, the 12th May, 1790, which bears the number 240. Hence, assuming that no hiatus occurred, the first issue must have been published on Wednesday, the 12th October, 1785.

We possess, with a view to publish some *Comments on the Shasters* by Poonacoorty, an ingenious Bramin lately deceased; . . . and to conclude by stating very respectfully to your honors that, as all such curious and interesting acquisitions to the republic of Letters must be entirely forfeited, and the hidden Treasures of Indian Learning continue buried in the oblivion of past Ages unless redeemed by the light and activity of the present, We hope these avenues of Science will soon be unbarred under the auspices of a liberal and a British Goverment; in addressing ourselves to which We look with full confidence that our representation and request will not be disregarded. THOMAS CHACE, JOSEPH SHAWE,[1] HENRY HARRIS.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxlviii., 4th March, 1788.)

In the following year the *Courier* became involved in a difference with Sir Paul Jodrell, Physician to the Nawab. Sir Paul, who came out in the *Barwell* in 1788 with his wife and child,[2] complained that libellous statements regarding him and his family had been published in the *Courier*, and asked that the Editor's 'base career' might be checked. The complaint was forwarded by Government to the Editor, Mr. Hugh Boyd,[3] who wrote as follows:—

Mr. Hugh Boyd to Government.

'I cannot find any particular allegation or specific charge against me in the paper of Sir Paul Jodrell. He confines himself to general terms of invective without adding any instance or argument to support it. He says, "the Editor of the Madras Courier has been proceeding in an illegal, scandalous and base Career of publishing Libels against him and his Family," that the Madras Courier of the 21st October last contained the grossest reflexions on him and his family, and that the Editor, in the Paper of the 9th instant, "has added falsehood to falsehood, and has discovered more cruelty and persecution than was ever before possessed by calumniating Assassin."

'These General assertions would seem hardly to require a particular refutation, even if the terms in which they are couched were not so illiberal as to create disgust in the discussion. They are, however, so easily disposed of by a short State of the Fact that I beg leave to lay it before you as follows—

'The Madras Courier of the 21st October announced to the Public two Facts, vizt. that the Directors of the Female Asylum had unanimously resolved to signify to Sir Paul Jodrell by their Secretary that it was desired Lady Jodrell should retire from her situation as Principal Directress of the Asylum, and that the Managers of the Public Rooms[4] had also unanimously resolved to require, by their Secretary, that Sir Paul Jodrell and his family should absent themselves from the Public Rooms untill they vindicated themselves from the reports generally prevalent against them. But from these facts the Madras Courier drew no inferences, nor formed, as Sir Paul Jodrell imputes, the grossest reflexions, or any reflexions, on him or his family. The Editor published these Occurrences according to what, Sir Paul very well states in another part of his letter, "ought to be the intention of a Newspaper, vizt. to be the Vehicle of interesting intelligence."

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[1] Thomas Chase and Joseph Shawe were civil servants of 1782. In 1789 the former was Clerk to the Justices and French Translator, and the latter was Registrar of the Choultry Court.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xc., 22nd Nov., 1787. Paul Jodrell, M.D., was knighted in 1787. He married Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Bewicke, and died at Madras in 1803.

[3] Boyd combined with his journalistic functions the duties of Master Attendant.

[4] *The Public Rooms*, afterwards known as the Pantheon.

'The Madras Courier of the 9th Instant contained a defence of the Editor against the publications of Sir Paul Jodrell in Calcutta, charging him in violent terms with the most criminal conduct. The Editor defended himself, as I have now had the honor of doing, by stating the fact. When Sir Paul, instead of generally asserting that "falsehood was added to falsehood," shall endeavour to point out any departure from truth in the Editor's publication, the Editor will be ready to meet and repel the charge. . . . Hugh Boyd.'

Government Order.

'It has been unusual to admit of the Public Records of the Company being made the Channel of private altercation and personalities in Language of much intemperance; and in consequence [the Board] return him [Sir Paul Jodrell] his last letter of the 21st Instant—for which there appears a further inducement, as Sir Paul Joddrell has avowed his intention of having Recourse to the Laws of his Country with respect to the matters in question between him and the Editor of the Madras Courier.' (*P.C.*, vol. clix., 22nd Dec., 1789.)

In 1790 Boyd asked that the *Courier* might go postage free to Bombay as to Calcutta. The request was declined on the ground that the post between Masulipatam and Bombay was under Bengal management. The real reason was apprehension lest the post should be delayed, as seems to have been the case with the northern mails in consequence of the demand for the *Madras Courier* in Bengal.[1]

THE EXCHANGE.

From time immemorial the Sea Gate had been the general resort of merchants trafficking in sea-borne goods. To Mr. Peter Massey Cassin, a free merchant of Madras, it occurred that a special building to serve as an Exchange would prove a convenience, and he proposed the following scheme to Government:—

Mr. Peter Cassin to Government.

'The great inconvenience which the Merchants and other Traders of this Settlement labour under for want of a Public meeting-place to transact business in, as well as the repeated and glaring impositions practised by a Set of Native Brokers, called Ship Dubashes, in the disposal of Investments entrusted to their management by the Commanders and Officers of the Europe Ships as well as of Country Trading Vessels, who (for want of a place where they could themselves expose their Merchandize for Sale by Sample, as is the Custom in most trading Cities in Europe) are obliged to submit to frauds they have not as yet any means of preventing, has induced me to Suggest a plan for erecting and Conducting a Mercantile Exchange, Brokers Office, Coffee-Room, and a Committee Room for the Merchants to meet, and adjust and determine disputes or differences respecting Commercial Transactions by Arbitration (as is the custom in the City of Dublin); which would not only be means of preventing many ruinous and litigious Lawsuits, but would also save much time and trouble to the Judges of the established Courts of Judicature here.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clxii., 30th April, 1790, and vol. clxiv., 23rd July, 1790.

'The Plan I now humbly beg leave to Submit to your perusal and consideration has been shewn to Some of the most extensive and intelligent Merchants and Gentlemen of this Settlement, who have so fully approved thereof that a Sufficient number of them have engaged to become Subscribers thereto, should it have the good fortune to obtain the Sanction of Government.

'As it is proposed to have the lower part of the Building Bombproof, in time of War or any other public emergency it might become useful to the Honble Company as a repository for Stores, &c., for immediate Consumption.

'Should your Honor, &c., deem this undertaking worthy your Patronage, and permit such an Edifice to be erected in such part of the Fort as might be most convenient to grant, or Sell a piece of Ground one hundred feet by sixty, it will remain a lasting Monument of that Liberal and Patriotic Spirit which is the true Characteristic of British Legislators; and whilst it would claim the warmest Gratitude of those who would be more particularly benefited by it, it would (if possible) reflect new Lustre on that Government whose well known Zeal for the Public good outweighs every other Consideration. PETER MASSEY CASSIN.'

Enclosure.

'We whose names are hereunto Subscribed, having perused Mr. Cassin's Plan for erecting and Conducting a Mercantile Exchange, &c., are of opinion that, should it meet the approbation of the Honble the Governor and Council, it will be productive of general use and Convenience to the Merchants &c., of this Settlement and to the Seafaring people in particular. ANTONIO DE SOUZA, MAROOTH JOSEPH, GREGORY ABRAHAM.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxliii., 29th June, 1787.)

Viewing Cassin's scheme with approval, Government desired the Chief Engineer to find a site near the Sea Gate:—

Colonel Ross to Government.

'I have the honor to acquaint you that on examining the ground about the Sea Gate, and on comparing it with the Plan of the Fort Square and Cisterns intended to be carried to the distance of the fives Court[1] round it, there will not then remain a passage of an hundred feet between them and the opposite

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[1] The Fives Court was outside the north face of the Fort Square.

Buildings on either side, a space much less than could have been wished for the convenience of Trade. I therefore do not think a single inch of the Communication can be dispensed with; neither do I know any vacant place within the Fort that can be Spared for an Exchange. I would therefore recommend the purchase of the House formerly occupied by Mr. Peasly,[1] or that now inhabited by Mr. Porcher, as well situated for the purpose.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxliii., 13th July, 1787.)

Mr. P. M. Cassin to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxliv., 17th Aug., 1787.)

'I informed Colonel Ross that there was another House equally eligible in point of Situation on the Sea Line, now the Property of Mr. Robert Hughes, and which he is willing to Sell, and asked Colonel Ross if he had any objection to an Exchange being erected there, and he was pleased to say he had not. As the purchase of private Property enhances the Expence of the Building, I have (with the approbation of the principal part of the Subscribers) taken the liberty to propose to your Honour in Council an Augmentation of the Lottery Fund; and that the Money be deposited in the Honble Company's Treasury, to remain there without any Interest till after the drawing of the Lottery, and then to be applied to the discharge of the Prizes agreeable to the accompanying Memorandum.

'Should these alterations meet the approbation of the Honble Board, the Plan may be carried into execution without further loss of time, and the lottery Tickets issued in the course of the ensuing Month. PETER MASSEY CASSIN.'

Memorandum.

'Lottery Fund, Star Pags. 100,000 to be divided into 10,000 Shares or Tickets at Pags. 10 each.

1	Prize of Pags. 5,000	5,000
2	„ „ 2,500	5,000
5	„ „ 1,000	5,000
10	„ „ 500	5,000
20	„ „ 250	5,000
50	„ „ 100	5,000
100	„ „ 50	5,000
3,212	„ „ 20	64,240
	First drawn Ticket	500
	Last drawn „	260
3,400	Prizes Amounting to Star Pagodas	100,000
6,600	Blanks	
10,000	Tickets	

'N.B. Not 2 Blanks to a prize, and the lowest Prize is equal to the price of 2 Tickets.

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[1] The late Dr. Gilbert Pasley, whose house was on the sea-front, south of the Sea Gate.

'The Lottery Tickets to be immediately issued by an Agent under the Committee. . . . The Prizes are to be discharged immediately after the Drawing is finish'd, deducting ten per Cent. for prompt payment, as is the Custom on paying prizes in the English Lottery.'

The profit on the lottery was thus Pags. 10,000, of which half was to cover expenses, and the remainder devoted to the Exchange Fund.

Approving of the scheme, Government assigned the land occupied by Mr. Hughes's house, which lay at the south end of the easternmost line of buildings north of the Sea Gate. The house was acquired for Pags. 10,000. A Company was formed on the 8th September with a capital of S. Pags. 25,000 in twenty-five shares. The Managing Committee consisted of Messrs. Robert Hughes and Josias Du Pré Porcher, civil servants, Colonel Ross, Major Maule, and Antonio de Souza, free merchant. The old house was to be replaced by a new structure containing warehouses and offices on the ground-floor, and above them the Exchange or 'place of public, free, open and uncontrouled resort for all Merchants, Dealers, Commanders of Ships or others having any concern in trade,' together with a Broker's office, a committee-room for the managers, and a public coffee-room.

In October two letters, signed *Z* and *Y*, appeared in successive issues of the *Madras Courier*, stigmatizing the lottery as illegal. The indignant Committee passed the following resolution :—

Resolution of the Exchange Committee.

'Resolved that it is the Opinion of this Committee that the above mentioned Letter[1] is an indecent and Malignant Production :—Indecent, as unreservedly implicating Government in the Authorizing and protecting an Act contrary to the Laws of the Constitution by their Sanction given to the Exchange Lottery . . . ; Malignant, as Accusing the Individuals of the Exchange Company, acting under the Authority aforesaid, of illegal Gambling, "of a Display of Sinister projects for the promotion of interested Views, and of being Guilty of a Public Nuissance of a most Dangerous Tendency."' (*P.C.*, vol. cxlvi., 6th Nov., 1787.)

As the Editor refused to reveal the name of his second correspondent, the Committee appealed to Government 'with the confident hope of your interference for the discovery of the Writer of the Letter signed Y, and that you will be pleased to mark with your displeasure so malignant and disrespectful a Member of Society.' They also asked that the opinion of the Attorney-General on the lottery should be obtained, so that the public mind might be set at rest. The Government passed the following order:—'The Board having, previous to their former Resolutions respecting the Exchange Lottery, satisfied themselves fully that none of the Statutes against private Lotteries extend to this Settlement, do not see occasion to call on the Attorney General for his opinion.'[1]

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[1] The second letter, signed *Y*.

The records are silent regarding the progress of construction of the Exchange, funds for which were raised by successive lotteries. The *Madras Gazette*[2] of the 24th January, 1795, makes mention of 'finishing the Exchange by contract,' but part of the building was certainly in use in 1790, and the Exchange Coffee Tavern was opened in January, 1792. Mrs. Fay, who visited Madras in 1796, wrote:—'I found this town much improved since my former visit [in 1780], and was particularly pleased with the Exchange, which is a noble building, ornamented with whole length pictures of Lord Cornwallis, Sir Eyre Coote and General Meadows.'[3] These paintings, which had been obtained by public subscription, were afterwards supplemented by portraits of the Marquess Wellesley and Sir Arthur Wellesley. The fine hall in which they were hung, known as the *Long-room*, was not only used as an Exchange, but served also for public meetings, lottery drawings, and occasionally for entertainments. The apartments on the ground-floor were employed at different times as auction rooms, a subscription library, and the *Madras Bank*.[4] Part of the building was fitted up as *The Exchange Tavern*. In 1826 Government rented the Exchange for public offices, and in 1882 bought out the shareholders. Since 1861 the edifice has been the Officers' Mess of the British regiment quartered at Fort St. George.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxlvi., 23rd Nov., 1787.

[2] The *Madras Gazette*, another local newspaper, was founded at the beginning of 1795.

[3] *Original Letters from India*, Fay, 1817.

[4] The *Madras Bank* was located 'under the Exchange' in 1807. The *Carnatic Bank* is alluded to in 1788 as issuing notes of its own. (*P.C.*, vol. cl., 11th Aug., 1788.)

CHAPTER XXIV

1785—1790

LAND AND BUILDINGS—BAKER'S PLAN FOR WATERING SHIPS—THE MINT AND CURRENCY—COURTS OF JUSTICE

LAND AND BUILDINGS.

THE office of Superintendent of the Company's Grounds having been conferred on Major Maule, Sir Archibald Campbell prescribed the Major's duties in the following minute:—

Minute by the President.

'The conducting the Repairs of the Roads, the Charges of planting and keeping in order the Several Avenues in the Environs of Fort St. George, together with the other matters contained in the Instructions to the Superintendant of the Company's Lands and Roads, were originally in the Department of the Engineers, who, previous to the Creation of that Employ in the Year 1771, had laid out and formed the Several Roads that now exist, which have received no alteration except the erecting some Drains for the Conveyance of the Water, which, from their original Insufficiency of construction, are now fallen so much into Decay as to require being rebuilt.

'The Several other Charges committed to the Care of the Superintendant have, from a variety of Causes, never been carried into Effect: that prescribed him of ascertaining and fixing the Boundaries of certain Lands, and the precise Districts annexed to Madras have never been even undertaken, from the Gentlemen appointed to this Office not being qualified for surveying.

'Another important duty required from the Superintendant of the Company's Lands is the ascertaining and protecting the Honble Company's property in the Black Town and Environs of Madras from unjust Assumption and illicit Sale. This, it appears, he has never been able to carry into Effect from a Deficiency of a most essential nature, Viz. a Want of Information of the particulars of all the Bills of Sale applied for previous to the measurement.... The Superintendant is directed to report to the Committee of Works all Grounds for which no Bill of Sale could be produced after the Year 1758, the Period fixed for the Commencement of his Researches.

'Since the Year 1771 the Evil has increased in a great Degree, for the Company's ground in every Quarter has become the prey of all who chose to make it their own; and the variety of villainous practices to procure possession of it would be, if detailed, hardly credible. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxl., 29th Dec., 1786.)

In approving of these instructions, the Directors remarked that 'it will be further satisfactory to us to receive from Major Maule an Accurate Survey of the Lands and Grounds belonging to the Town of Madras, St. Thomé, Chaupaukam and the Environs, distinguishing all improper Encroachments.'[1] With regard to highway maintenance, the Superintendent reported that, under special instructions from the Governor, he had assisted 'Colonel Sydenham in the completing the Mount Road.' The funds available from Quit Rent being inadequate to road repair, Mr. Philip Burlton suggested a Wheel Licence. The inhabitants, however, 'could not be brought to consent to the payment of a tax on Carriages, which is further confirmed by the resistance they have invariably made to the collection of any demand in the nature of a Tax; and the Government do not possess authority to enforce such an assessment.'[2]

The old Playhouse on the Island having been dismantled for military reasons, the Madras Theatrical Society applied for ground for a permanent Theatre near the north wall of Black Town, a position which at the present day would be regarded as singularly undesirable. The application was sanctioned subject to payment of the usual Quit Rent,[3] but the land was not taken up, and the site was ultimately utilized for a widely different purpose[4]:—

The Committee of the Theatrical Society to Government.

'Being appointed by the Managers of the Theatrical Society a Committee for choosing a proper place whereon to erect a permanent Theatre, and having found a piece of ground belonging to the Honble Company near the Jail Bastion in the Black town the fittest for our purpose, We take the liberty in their name to request a grant thereof, as such a Building, We flatter ourselves, will in all cases of public Emergency be an Advantage to the Settlement. A. DAVIDSON, P. ROSS, P. BENFIELD, HUGH VAUGHAN.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxix 11th Aug., 1786.)

A request for land on which to build a flour-mill met with less success. Mr. John Bell desired an area 200 feet square, 'part of that ground known by the Name of Dupre Petta near the

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xc., 28th March, 1788.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 21st Jan., 1791.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxl., 24th Nov., 1786.

[4] The building of St. Mark's Church.

Stockade of the North East Bastion [of] Black Town Wall.' The application was rejected because grants of land within the wall were unusual.[1]

In 1787 Government received a letter from ten gentlemen resident in the Luz, of whom Benjamin Sulivan was one, complaining of the nuisance caused by kilns in the locality:—

Residents of the Luz to Government.

'We, the underwritten Inhabitants of the Luz, humbly beg leave to represent to you that between the Houses of Major Alexander and Mr. Sulivan there is a small Village of Potmakers, who are constantly employed in burning Pots and Tiles to the common annoyance of all the Neighbourhood.

'We are informed that some years past there was a representation of this Nuisance made by the late Dawson[ne] Drake, Esq^{r}., and that the kilns were in consequence destroyed by order of the Honble Board, but that these people, understanding the Order was not entered in the Minutes of Consultation, had the boldness, on the first subsequent change in Government, to re-erect them. . . . HENRY ALEXANDER, JOHN D'FRIES, jun., BENJAMIN SULIVAN,[2] FRANCIS LUIS DES REMIDS, JOHNSON KENNEDY, RICHARD COLE, J. MITCHELL, R. HOWDEN, JOHN JAMES DURAND, LIEUT. DURAND, jun.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxlii., 6th April, 1787.)

Government referred this letter to the Superintendent of the Company's Grounds, directing him to enquire also into a similar nuisance caused by brick and tile kilns 'on a Spot of Ground immediately between the Gardens of Mr. Haliburton and Mr. Call.'[3]

A complaint from Messrs. Corbett and Boyd, the joint Masters Attendant, regarding the condition of their office on the beach by the Fort was referred to the Chief Engineer:—

Colonel Ross to Government.

'I have been favoured with your Commands by Mr. Secretary White[4] respecting the Beach House, which, on examining, I found allmost washed down, and the Sea beating against it and against the Ramp and Wall leading from the Sea Gate to the Beach. Under these Circumstances nothing can be attempted towards reinstating it. A more favorable time, when the Beach gains on the Sea, must therefore be embraced to establish the accommodation the Masters Attendant require without the Fort. In the mean time I imagine the Casemate next to the European Guard Room at the Sea Gate the properest Place for the present reception of their Servants.' (*P.C.*, vol. clii., 2nd Dec., 1788.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clix., 13th Nov., 1789. Dupre Petta, the name of which is no longer in use, must have been near the present Clive Battery.

[2] Sulivan doubtless lived in, and probably built, the house in Moubray's Road which is still known as Sulivan's Gardens. The highway, so called after George Moubray, the Government Accountant, conducted to Moubray's Gardens, at present the Adyar Club. The name is now erroneously spelt Mowbray. In the map of 1798 both Sulivan's and Moubray's Gardens are depicted, but not named. In the map of 1816 the latter residence is called Moubrey's Cupola.

[3] The present *Haliburton's Garden* lies off the Pantheon Road, Egmore; but the map of 1822 shows that its site was included in a large area between Marshall's Road and Pantheon Road which belonged to the Hon. Basil Cochrane. The same map marks Tulloch's Gardens, Nungumbaukum, as the property of 'Mr. Haliburton.'

[4] Charles Nicholas White was Secretary to Government in the Civil Department. He married Miss Letitia Williams in 1792.

Though the *Beach House* was close to the Fort, the *Marine Yard*, controlled by the Masters Attendant, was situated farther north at the limit of the Esplanade. Formerly known as the *Coir Godown*, it held marine stores for sale to shipping. Adjacent to it was the *Granary*, a large and lofty pile with pitched roof and dormer windows.[1]

Mr. Robert Henderson, a free merchant, proposed to establish a public sale room for the convenience of merchants. Under the prevailing system of traffic, buyers had no opportunity of inspecting the wares they wished to purchase. The goods, moreover, were removed, after sale, to the Sea Gate, where they remained at the buyer's risk. Henderson's offer was rejected by Government on the ground that its acceptance would interfere with the office of Register of the Sea Gate, held by a covenanted civilian.[2]

In 1790 a reappropriation of rooms in the Fort Square and Portuguese Square was made. Six rooms in the north face of the Fort Square were allotted to the Assistants of the Civil Department Secretary, and as many in the south face to those of the Secretary in the Military Department. Excepting these rooms, and four others in the basement of the Fort House which were devoted to the Board of Revenue, all apartments in both squares were made available as quarters for civil servants.[3]

The post of Steward continued to be held by a covenanted civilian. The incumbent was responsible for the Company's plate, and for all furniture and fixtures in 'the Government Garden House, The Fort House, Admiralty or Government House, The Commander in Chief's House, Company's House in St. Thomé Street, and of all Quarters in the Fort, the property of the Company, that are occupied by any other Civil Servants.' The

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxlviii., 4th March, 1788, and vol. clxi., 12th March, 1790. The *New Granary* was situated farther north, on the site now occupied by the Custom House.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxii., 26th March, 1790. [3] *P.C.*, vol. clxiii., 29th June, 1790.

Steward received a commission on all new furniture purchased; and Sir Archibald Campbell expressed disapproval of the conduct of Mr. Hugh Vaughan in making extravagant charges. Vaughan was accordingly dismissed, and Mr. Joseph Garrow appointed in his room. Garrow reported the book value of furniture and plate to be about Pags. 50,000.[1]

Rents ruled high. Houses being wanted in 1789 for the Commodore and naval captains, the Steward stated that for the 'large House situated on the Sea line formerly occupied by Mr. Paisley,' a monthly rent of Pags. 180 was demanded. Two captains, but not more, might find accommodation in a house near the North Gate which was to be let for Pags. 60 a month.[2]

From a return of 132 Garrison globe-lamps the following items are extracted[3]:—

'Fort House	7
Fort Square	9
Post Office	2
Near the Old Jail in St. Thome Street	1
Second's Lodging	4
Apothecary's Shop	2
Town Major's Lodging	2
Admiral's Lodging	2
Wallaujau Gate	15
St. George's Gate	15
Portuguese Square	5
North Gate Street[4] opposite Mr. Mackay's house	1
North Gate	11
York Street,[5] South Corner	1
East Curtain Street,[6] South Corner	1
Town Goal[7] at the Bound Hedge	1
At the Company's Pagoda in Black Town[8]	2

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxli., 3rd March and 4th May, 1787.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clvi., 23rd June, 1789. Eventually Mr. J. M. Stone's house in St. Thomé Street was taken for the Captains.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. clxiii., 29th June, 1790.

[4] *North Gate Street*, a new name for the old *Middle Gate Street*. The Choultry Gate had been closed, and *Middle Gate* had become *North Gate*.

[5] *York Street*, euphoniously called *Bandicoot Alley*, was parallel to, and east of, North Gate Street.

[6] *East Curtain Street*, the street next the eastern rampart, north of the Fort Square. It was formerly known as York Lane.

[7] In a bastion of Black Town Wall, near the present Civil Jail.

[8] *The Company's Pagoda*, or Town Temple, in Peddanaikpetta, at the junction of Nainiappa Naik Street with China Bazar. Consisting of twin structures called Chennai Kesava Perumāl and Chennai Mallikeswarar, the Town Temple was built on ground granted by Government in 1762 as compensation for the site of the demolished Perumāl Temple in old Black Town.

Bridge opposite to Walaujah Gate	4
Bridge leading to the Hospital	2
Bridge Leading to the Garden House at Chapauck	6
Opposite to Mr. Turing's house	3'

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Baker's Plan for Watering Ships.

The Court of Directors having animadverted on the difficulty and delay experienced in watering the Squadron at Madras, Mr. George Baker was asked for a detailed report of the scheme he had adumbrated when he first took the Fort water-supply in hand.[1] In November, 1786, Baker explained his views at great length, his observations covering fifty folio pages. He estimated that water might be needed for twenty sail of the line simultaneously, carrying 12,000 men, at 3 quarts per man per day for four months, or 4,320 tons at a time. He proposed to store this quantity in tank-lighters moored outside the surf, and to supply water to them by a pipe from the Fort cisterns or from special reservoirs constructed on the beach. With a delivery of 500 tons in 24 hours, and using eight tank-vessels, he calculated that the fleet might be watered in ten days. Baker is reticent about the mode of carrying the pipe through the surf, but he seems to have contemplated the alternatives of laying it on the sea bottom, or leading it above water surface along a jetty. The total annual consumption by shipping he took at 20,000 tons, viz., 12,960 for the squadron, and the balance for other vessels, and estimated the cost of delivery from the Fort cisterns at about Pags. 20,000 per annum. The following extracts from Baker's report, couched in characteristic language, are of interest:—

Mr. George Baker to Government.

'I came to India first in 1743, made Two voyages Out and Home, and Came out the Third Time with Mr. Boscowen [as] Chief Mate of a Companys Packet in 1747. I have been present at, Though not always Active in, Three Sieges of Pondicherry in Three Different French Wars, as well as at the Siege of Madrass in 1758. The greatest Mar[i]time Force of the British State at any one Time in India During those three National Contests was that under the Command of the Gallant Sir Edward Hughes in the last War: and it may be that in another General War with our old Enemies, and more particularly so

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 14th Oct., 1786.

If our new ones of the Netherlands (for I say nothing of America) are, As I think they Should Be, Taken into the Account, A Less Force than the greatest that Sir Edward had at any One Time under his Command may not Suffice. Nay, a yet greater may perhaps become Necessary. . . .

'I, in my humble way and according to my Poor abilities, have long Deliberated on, and so far Back as 1761 in England, and 1762 in India, Urged to Men in Power the Propriety of Undertaking some such Work for the Purpose Refer'd to, &c., and have within 'the Last Fifteen Years made some Experiments at no Small degree of Trouble and Expence which may never be Refunded to me, relative to it. But the Collecting, Comparing and Digesting the Result of those, and some Observations respecting them, Require more Time, Attention and Application than my Advanced Time of life and ill State of Health Does just now allow me to Bestow on it ; Though, if I may hereafter be able to Reduce the Whole to a Tolerable Clear Statement, I shall not . . . Scruple to Submit it to the Discerning Eye and Better Judgement of this Government, and Possiably to the Scrutinous Examination of an Impartial Publick. But this with all that Diffidence, Defference and respect due from an Unlettered and Unscientifick Man Appearing before such Solemn Tribunals. . . .

'I leave a Jetty, Pier or any other work of whatever Denomination, of Solid Masonry or of Piers of Masonry, to the Consideration of those who may be Better Judges or think more favourably of it, and Suppose for the Present that the Work which I have Hinted at were a Construction of Wooden or other Piles on which to Lay a Pipe from the Beach to the Back of the Surf for Delivering the water by there. The means by Which I meant to have tryed to Effect the Purpose, When I Offer'd the Honble the Court of Directors to undertake it at my own Proper Expence and Risk, Was to have Laid a Pipe from the Cisterns in the Fort (which I was then Vain Enough to think might have stood at a Place and Heighth Suited to my Purposes for Public Use) Through the East Rampart to the Beach, and from thence to pass out on the Ground through and under the Surf, and to Rise at the Back of it by a Fixture or Stand in Twenty Feet at Low and Twenty Four feet at High Water Spring Tides ; And if it Should have been Required, To have Exhausted the Pipe of Air and Forced the Water through it with an Engine. I had Piles driven both in and without the Surf, and a Sufficient Length of Pipe Laid ready on the Beach to have made the Experiment. But the Revolution in Government, and the Breaking Down the East Rampart of the Fort to Rebuild it, Prevented me from Proceeding. Before those Impediments were removed We all know what a Calamitous War ensued and bid Defiance to any Attempt of the kind while it Raged. In the Heigth of this Scene of Desolation The French Squadron appeared in February 1782. This Spur, After a Seven Years Delay, loss of Time and Expence to Me, Produced at last the Hasty Mandates,—" Mr. Baker, you are Directed to fill the Cisterns with all Possiable Dispatch "; From the other Quarter,—" Mr. Baker, the Exigencies of his Majesty's Squadron Requiring it, You are desired to Furnish Water for Compleating its Store of that Article with all Possiable Expedition." Every Body was now on Tiptoe to Get that Done Instantly which they Appear'd to be Perfectly Indifferent About before.

'The Cisterns being fill'd, and Containing in the whole Six Months Water for Six Thousand Men, That is some Two months Water for Six Thousand men more than I was obliged either to Put or Keep in Store, Those Cisterns Lying too Low for my Purposes, All the Work being at my own Risk, and the War still continuing its Ravages, I treated with Government for the whole, and Yielded it up to the Company at the needless Loss of Ten Years of my Life, and more than Ten thousand Pagodas of my Money, Leaving such Improvements as may be made on it To Men who might not be so much Embarrass'd in the Execution of their Designs as I had been, or Possiably, if they will have it so, better disposed to render it more Generally usefull.

'The work of Timber Piles which I just mentioned will Require much Care and Expence to Preserve them from Destruction by the Worm. It will also be Subject to Accidental Damage in a Greater or Less Degree by Violent Storms, and by Ships or Vessels which may be in Such Storms driven from their Anchors in the Road on that Work. . . .

'It was with the View of Obviating those Inconveniences that I was Induced to think of Trying to Lead a Pipe from the Beach on the Ground through and under the Surf To a Stand at the Back of it, and notwithstanding the Difficulty and Degree of Precariousness that must attend it, I am not yet satisfied of the Impracticability of Effecting it to good Purpose For Delivering water thereby to Craft without the Surf. And if that can be Effected, the Expence of it will be abundantly less than by Delivering it there in the other Way. . . .

'I have now not only to Wish But to Pray That if what I have said be Vissionary or Illusive, It may, like other visions, Pass away and be no more regarded than as any Part of it may Perchance Coincide with the Sentiments of Government, or with those of such Gentleman as it may Please to appoint, if it Shall resolve To carry any Scheme of the kind into Execution. For We may fairly conclude that such Gentleman will be more Attentive to and Zealous in the Execution of his own Plans Than he will be in Perfecting any other, Particularly if he does not approve of them. It has happened that even a Promising Child (I Don't say this is such) has been lost in the Hands of a Lukewarm Nurse.

'In the course of these Sheets I have said that I would Endeavour to Prepare something more on the Subject. But I feel myself so unwell and so unable to attend to it, and finding it so Difficult to get any Body that Can Copy my Scrawl or write what I would have him, And being therefore so little Pleased with what I have here Done, And Perswaded that any other Body must be less so, that I am afraid I shall not be able to write more; Or Rather No Body has much Reason to Fear that I shall again Pester them with such Imperfect Cr other Sketches. GEORGE BAKER.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxl., 10th Nov., 1786.)

The report, a copy of which was sent to England, was laid aside for future consideration, but the scheme was never carried into effect.

THE MINT AND CURRENCY.

The nominal head of the Mint was the President as Mint-master, who, though his office was a sinecure, received a fixed allowance of Pags. 2,000 per annum in lieu of commission on profits. The real controller was the Assaymaster,[1] who was responsible for the weight and fineness of the coins struck. Under him was a native Manager, who employed a staff of goldsmiths and silversmiths. The value of the metal issued to the Manager was in excess of that of the coins he was bound to produce. Out of the balance he found fuel, paid the mintage due to Government and the Mintmaster, and remunerated his staff of workmen. The Manager at this period was Teperumāl Cheṭṭi, who had succeeded his father, Linga Cheṭṭi, in 1757. The following petition from the Mint goldsmiths throws some light on the methods in vogue, and on the hereditary character of the various posts:—

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[1] Mr. James Taylor held the office at this time. He was succeeded in February 1790, by Mr. James Landon.

Petition of the Mint Goldsmiths.

'Ever since the Settlement of the Mint in this place, your Petitioner's Ancestors, together with the Bramins and sifting people, jointly and unanimously were in Possession of the Employment and of the Care of Assaying Gold and Silver; and after paying the Sifting people out of the Incomes, and Perquisites, the remainder was divided among your Petitioners' Ancestors and Bramins in equal Shares.

'That in the time of Governor Benion, Esq^r., his Dubash Audapah Naick,[1] who owed a Grudge to the Bramins, insinuated his Master, and caused the Bramins to be suspended from their Heriditary Service, and conferred the same upon one Linga Chitty (who was utterly a stranger and had no manner of right to the said Service). He further directed your Petitioners to submit to the said Linga Chitty, and that he would use your Petitioners well. Accordingly the said Linga Chitty during his life time carryed on the said Employment agreeable to your Petitioners' Satisfaction, and paid your Petitioners' Ancestors their Cooly hire, &c., average of Melting in Pagodas at 3 pagodas per 1,000, and in Rupees at 11¼ Rupees per 1,000.

'Your Petitioners further beg leave to inform your Honor that, after Linga Chitty departed this Life, his son Tapermaul Chitty held the said Employ, and transacted the same to the great Detriment of your Petitioners. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxl., 20th Oct., 1786.)

They go on to say that a considerable sum was due from them to Teperumāl Cheṭṭi, which they were gradually paying off. From their remuneration, however, there was a first deduction on account of 'one fifth Share of your Petitioners' Priviledges which your Petitioners' Ancestors sold to one Barry Timmapah Naick, since Deceased.'

Government ordered the Assaymaster to investigate the complaint, but nothing further is recorded. From a previous consultation it appears, however, that Beri Chinnatambi Naik, son of Beri Timmappa, attempted to recover the goldsmiths' fees from the Mint Manager, Teperumāl Cheṭṭi. The dispute was decided by arbitration in favour of the latter.[1]

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[1] Elsewhere called Audeapah Narrain (Ādiappa Nārāyan).

The Gold Mint was still located in the Fort Square. Civilians whose rooms overlooked the Mint yard were in the habit of removing the iron bars of their windows until Government forbade the practice.[2] Mr. John Smith, occupant of one of the chambers, complained of the intense heat radiated from the Mint fires, and the obstruction of the north-east breeze.[3]

Specimens of the various silver and copper coins current on the Coast were sent to England in 1788.[4] The gold coins are not enumerated, but the number of varieties of silver and copper money must have been productive of some inconvenience:—

At Masulipatam fourteen kinds of rupee were current—viz., those of Masulipatam, Madras, Jaganaikpuram, Surat, Adoni, and Bombay—all of which bore the stamp of 'Ālamgīr—besides those of Arcot, Pondicherry, Calcutta-Arcot, Bengal Sicca, Raichore, Nagpore, Aurangabad, and Benares, having the stamp of Shāh 'Ālam. Half and Quarter rupees of silver were in use, and four kinds of copper Dubb.

At Vellore were current the Arcot Rupee, coined at the Nawab's mint, value 356¼ per 100 Star pagodas; the Pondicherry Rupee of the same value; the Old Arcot Rupee, value 358 per 100 S. Pags.; the Arcot Rupee struck at Madras, of the same value; and the Madras Single Fanam, value 46½ per S. pagoda. The Copper coins were the Pice, Half Pice, Quarter Pice, and Eighth Pice. The Pice value was 3¾ per Madras Fanam.

At Tanjore silver fanams were in use, struck at Negapatam, Tanjore, Kumbhakonam, 'Maderapatam and Mannercoil.' Copper cash were current.

At Nagore and Negapatam, the silver coins were the Rupees of Madras, Pondicherry, Surat, Arcot, Bengal Sicca, and Bombay, the Double Fanams and Single Fanams of Madras and Pondicherry, and the Tranquebar Fanam. The copper coins current were the Pondicherry Duccane of 7 cash; the Tanjore Double-Cash, valued at 6 cash; the Negapatam Jelly Cash, valued at 7 cash; the Nagore Double-Cash of 3½ Cash, and the Nagore

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxvii., 23rd June, 1786.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxix., 21st July, 1786.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. clxvi., 24th Dec., 1790.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxlviii., 29th Feb., 1788.

Single-Cash of 1⅝ Cash. The Jelly Cash were imported from Colombo.[1]

The Governor of Tranquebar claimed the right to strike pagodas under a grant of 1753 from the Rajah of Tanjore. The Council of Fort St. George, however, refused to recognize a Danish gold-mint, on the ground that it would interfere with the circulation of Porto Novo pagodas.[2]

COURTS OF JUSTICE.

Whatever deficiencies there may have been in the mode of administering justice in Madras, the number of Courts at least was ample. For civil cases there were the Mayor's Court and Court of Appeals, and for criminal causes the Justice of the Peace for the month, a quorum of three Justices assembling once a week, and the Quarterly Court of Sessions. There were Commissioners of a Court of Requests for the hearing of petty causes, and a Court of Admiralty was convened when required. The Mayor's Court sat, of course, in the Town Hall or Court-house in Choultry Gate Street. The Quarter Sessions and Admiralty Court were held in the Hall of the Fort House, and the Court of Requests was accommodated in one chamber or the other as convenient. Where the sitting Justice of the week executed his functions is uncertain, but it may have been at the Choultry. The Court of three Justices sat at first in the Hall of the Admiralty House in Charles Street. All decisions were thus made ultimately by one of two authorities—viz., (1) the Mayor and Aldermen, or (2) the President and Council, or their nominees. Hence none of the judges had enjoyed regular legal training. Solicitors practised in the Courts, and the Government possessed a trained adviser in the Attorney-General. The Directors had shown great reluctance to sanction the appointment of this professional assistant, and it was not until the 28th April, 1786, that they confirmed Mr. Benjamin Sulivan in the office.[3] They assigned a salary of Pags. 300 a month, but on the representation of Government that the Attorney-General was precluded from private practice, increased the emoluments to Pags. 500.[1] The Court of Requests had replaced the old Choultry Court, and the duties of the Registrar of the Choultry were confined to the preparation and verification of Bills of Sale of houses and lands. Mr. Joseph Shawe, the Registrar, complained in 1786 that the functions of Major Maule, Superintendent of the Company's Grounds, clashed with his own in regard to the investigation of title to property,[2] and the Superintendent's duties were then defined. Bills of Sale were signed by two Justices, who for upwards of a century had received the fees prescribed.[3]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clii., 23rd Dec., 1788.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 27th July, 1789. Porto Novo pagodas, which were struck by the Nawab, were in 1786 brought up to the same standard of weight and value as Star Pagodas. (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 14th Oct., 1786.)

[3] Ten more years elapsed, however, before Sulivan received a regular commission as Attorney-General. (*P.C.*, vol. ccvi., 22nd Jan., 1796.)

During Lord Macartney's rule, charges were made against the Hon. Basil Cochrane in connexion with the death of a servant named Vaidyanādha. The circumstances were reported to the Directors, who dismissed Cochrane from the civil service, and ordered that he be brought to trial.[4] Before these orders reached India, Cochrane had been tried at the Quarter Sessions. The details are not recorded, but he was evidently acquitted :—

Minute by Sir Archibald Campbell.

> 'There is reason however to presume that the Dismission of this Gentleman was owing to a belief entertained by the Court of Directors that the Charges sent to the India house against him respecting the Death of a Servant named Vidy Nadda had every Appearance of Truth to support them. . . . I am as thoroughly convinced as the Jury who tried him that the Accusations were unjust and nugatory. . . .'
>
> 'I think it my Duty to declare that, from every Inquiry I have made concerning Mr. Cochrane, as well as from my own Observation of his Conduct for the thirteen months I have had the Honor to preside in this Government, I look upon him as an able, a zealous and faithful Servant of the Company. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cxliii., 25th May, 1787.)

A representation in Cochrane's favour was accordingly made to the Court of Directors, and he was eventually reinstated. A year or so earlier this civil servant had submitted a 'Plan of a Tontine for the benefit of Survivors,' which was carried into effect under the ægis of Government.[5]

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xc., 28th March, 1788.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxl., 15th Dec., 1786.

[3] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 6th Feb., 1789.

[4] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxix., 22nd Dec., 1786. Cochrane had been a member of the civil service since 1767.

[5] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 12th Jan., 1786.

The trial of one Shekh Sulaimān at the Quarter Sessions in December, 1786, displayed some unusual features:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

> 'At the Quarter Sessions held by adjournment in December last Shaick Solyman was tried and convicted of Murder. Being put on his defence, the Prisoner acknowledged that, not having received any pay for a great length of time, he and his family were reduced to a state of misery which they could not bear up against. That he agreed with his wife it were better to die, and first to kill their daughter and then themselves; but that afterwards his wife said she could not bear to see her Child die, and was afraid she should not have fortitude enough to kill herself. That he did accordingly kill his wife, and was in the act of killing his daughter when he was interrupted and taken Prisoner.
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> 'In consideration of which, the Manner of delivering it, and the known preference Moormen give death to a state of misery, the Petit Jury brought in their Verdict "Guilty without Malice," thinking they must find him guilty of having put his wife to death, but at the same time to acquit him of any malice. The impropriety, however, of this Verdict being explained to them, they retired again, and after some little time brought it in "Guilty, but with a strong recommendation to Mercy"; and in consequence we were induced to respite him from execution, and to mention his situation to your Honors with a view of obtaining for him the benefit of the Royal Pardon. We however take the liberty to suggest that some punishment instead of death might be inflicted to deter others from such horrid acts; and could it with propriety be annexed as a condition of his Majesty's Pardon that Shaick Solyman should be employed on the public Works here during life or for a certain number of Years, such an example would without doubt have a good effect. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 24th Feb., 1787.)

The man was ultimately condemned to penal servitude for life on the fortifications of Madras.

The year 1788 saw a conflict of opinion between the two judicial authorities. At a Court held at the Town Hall on the 2nd September, at which were present the Mayor, Mr. Edward Garrow, with Aldermen James Call, William Webb, Sir John Menzies, George Savage,[1] Josias du Pré Porcher, Andrew Ross, and Robert Mitford, the Mayor represented that the course of justice was impeded by resort to appeal against interlocutory orders. The Court accordingly framed a rule forbidding appeals from such orders to the Court of Appeals without the previous sanction of the Mayor's Court.[2] Fortified by the opinion of the Attorney-General, Government regarded the rule as an infringement of the authority vested in the Appeals Court, and therefore repugnant to the Charter, and they warned the Mayor's Court against putting it in force.[1] The Mayor's Court then addressed the Company, setting forth that the President and Council had no authority under the Charter to interfere with the Court in matters of procedure.[2] The Government expressed the hope that the Court would, on reconsideration, see the necessity of suspending their rule pending the receipt of instructions from home.[3] The whole matter was then referred to England.

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[1] George Savage was a civil servant dating from 1780.

[2] *P.C.*, vols. cl., cli., 12th Sept., 1788.

Sir John Menzies, mentioned above, was a free merchant and alderman, who seems to have occupied part of the site of the old Town Hall in St. Thomé Street :—

Sir John Menzies to Government.

'I take the liberty to propose to your Honble Board to purchase the Tenement adjoining to my House which was formerly part of the Jail, and the Small shade[4] attached to It. The remains of the Jail, as it now stands, is applied to no useful purpose, and is rather a Nuisance at present. I am willing to pay the authorised value of the Premises ; and as the Top of it has been in the Occupancy of the proprietors of my House since it was built, I hope this will have some Weight with your Honble Board in considering my proposal.

'I also take the liberty to mention that I intend building a Veranda to the East side of my House on my Ground, which is now enclosed by Palmiras, and to prevent any difficulty, I shall confine it some feet within what has been in the Occupency of my House for almost a Century past. JOHN MENZIES. (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxvii., 10th March, 1786.)

The Committee of Works, however, considered that no Company's ground in the Fort should be alienated, nor any building be permitted to encroach on the prescribed eastern limit; and Menzies' application was refused.[5]

In October, 1788, a Court of Admiralty was summoned to meet at the Fort House. Besides the President and Council, Messrs. Hugh Boyd and Vincentio Corbett, the Joint Masters Attendant,[6] Sir John Menzies, Mr. Robert Ewing, and Mr. James Amos were directed to attend as members of the Court.[7]

The Town Hall, though employed almost exclusively as the

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cli., 14th Oct., 1788.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cli., 8th Dec., 1788.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cliii., 9th Jan., 1789.

[4] *Shade*, shed.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. cxxxviii., 30th June, 1786.

[6] Boyd became sole Master Attendant in January, 1790, when Corbett resigned.

[7] *P.C.*, vol. cli., 18th Oct., 1788.

Mayor's Court-house, was the actual property of Government. The use of the Hall for public meetings consequently required the sanction of the Governor, not the Mayor. Writing to England in 1789, the Council reported:—'The President at our last meeting informed us that, application having been made him by the Inhabitants to obtain permission for their meeting at the Town Hall to consider an address of congratulation to his Majesty on his restoration to health, he had been happy to express his most willing consent to their assembling for a purpose so loyal and dutiful.'[1]

In 1790 Government prohibited all traffic in slaves:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Taylor,[2] the Acting Justice, acquaints the Board that, it having come to his knowledge that several Children had been brought hither from the Northern Settlements on Country vessels now in the Roads for the purpose of Traffick, he ordered them to be landed, and being now in Charge of the Cutwall to the number stated in the following List,[3] Mr. Taylor requests the Sentiments of the Board in regard to the future disposal of them. . . .

'Resolved that any Traffic in the sale or purchase of Slaves be prohibited by public Proclamation. . . .

'Resolved that the Children mentioned by Mr. Taylor be maintained by the Cutwal at the Company's Expence until they can be returned to the places from whence they were brought. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clxi., 5th March, 1790.)

Fort St. George to the Company.

'It being reported to us that a number of Persons intended for sale had been brought hither from the northern Settlements on several Country Vessels, we resolved that they should be landed, and maintained at the Company's Expence until they could be sent back to their former Places of residence, or that such of them as were Capable of gaining a livelyhood should have it at their option to be liberated at this Place.

'We likewise issued a proclamation throughout the Districts dependent on this Presidency prohibiting any Traffic in the sale or purchase of Slaves, and with a view more effectually to prevent a practice so detrimental to the Country and injurious to the rights of humanity, we offered a reward of 30 Pags. for the discovery of every offender, to be paid on conviction, and of 10 Pags. for each Person of either Sex who should be delivered from Slavery in consequence of such Discovery.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 18th Sept., 1790.)

Two years and a half later Mr. Popham proposed to apprentice the children for a term of years, 'in Order to assist in the Cotton

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 27th July, 1789.

[2] Mr. James Taylor, a civil servant of 1764, who had just been relieved of the duties of Assaymaster.

[3] There were 20 girls and 21 boys.

Establishment,' promising to clothe and feed them. Government objected to apprenticeship, but permitted Popham to employ the waifs on condition of restoring them whenever it should be determined to send them back to their homes.[1]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clxxxii., 15th March, 1793. The 'Cotton Establishment' embraced a considerable area of land, twenty miles south of Madras, leased by Government to Popham, and devoted by him to the cultivation of cotton.

CHAPTER XXV

1785—1790

CASTE DISPUTES—THE CAPUCHIN MISSION—VARIETIES

Caste Disputes.

It has probably occurred to the discerning reader that a quarrel between the Right and Left hand castes is long overdue. Differences indeed arose shortly after Sir Archibald Campbell's arrival in 1786, and they culminated in serious rioting in 1787 and 1790. The dispute originated in the old question of passage across the Esplanade:—

Petition of the Left hand Caste.

'The Humble Representation of all the Left hand Cast Inhabitants residing within the Limits of Madraspatnam [Sheweth] That, from the Establishment of the Honble the English East India Company at Madras, Our Ancestors were by them called from the Interior parts of the Country, and were, with good and civil Treatment, encouraged to Trade and Assist them in their Mercantile Business when the said English Company had no other Territories but Madras alone, and their Transactions went no further than in the Disposing of their Europe Goods, Wares and Merchandizes, and in the providing of their Investments for the Europe market. . . .

'Soon after the arrival of the Honorable Sir Archibald Campbell There was a Great Disturbance between the Right and Left hand Casts, and the same was referred to James Henry Casamaijor, Esq^{r}., who was pleased to hear both parties, and ordered us to settle Amicably among ourselves. . . .

'The Right hand Cast assumed a mark of distinction to which they are not entitled, going to the Fort, when sent for by the Honorable Governor, with Tom Tom and spoon and bell, Contrary to Custom ever since the Settlement [was] Established.'

Government Order.

'Resolved, for the prevention of future Disturbance, that each Cast shall have liberty of performing their Ceremonies according to their respective Customs: that neither Cast shall have a Claim and preference on the Ground of the Esplanade, which is to be common for all Persons of whatever nation or sect; but that the Inhabitants shall conform to such rules as have been usual in all other places within the Black Town and the Villages adjacent.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxxxix., 5th Aug., 1786.)

In the following year a fresh pretext for quarrelling was found in connexion with Trivatore Pagoda, a temple which, though managed by Teperumāl Cheṭṭi of the Left hand, was open to both castes. The Left complained of interference with their ceremonies at Trivatore, and of assault on one of their number named Kuppu Cheṭṭi 'when he was in his way near his Garden at Tandavadoo from Tevatore. Some of the Tandavadoo Inhabitants sent Pariars, and Stoped him violently in the high and common Road to all the Casts in general, and got him out of his Hackery, and not permitted him even to go with his Shoes, which inhumanity and disgrace is very great infringement, never known to have been ever attempted.' Teperumāl Cheṭṭi supplied the names of the disturbers of the peace at Trivatore, and of those who assaulted Kuppu Cheṭṭi 'at Tandore on the Road to Trevatore.'[1] On the 26th March there was a riot in Black Town. Casamaijor reported that 'a Seapoy, who was sent as one of the Guard to quell the Tumult, was shot through the Leg, and a right hand cast Man was killed and others Wounded, all by Musket Balls. The Rioters that have been Seized are mostly left hand Cast Men. It is also known that many Houses were plundered, and that the property plundered belongs in General to the Left hand Cast.' Government directed the Committee of Regulation to make an exhaustive enquiry, and furnished them with extracts from the records relating to the disturbances of 1707, 1708, 1716, 1728, 1750, 1752, 1753, and 1771. The disposal of the matter does not appear in the consultations.

The next dispute occurred at San Thomé in November, 1789, after Campbell's departure, on the subject of the flags used at a Temple feast. In this case the Right complained of interference, and a general strike resulted.[2] The difference came to a head in the following April, when the Left wrote to explain that they were entitled to use silk pendants of five colours on cords stretched across the streets, while the Right could display only white banners. They stated that when, in 1771, the Right had the insolence to adopt colours, Governor Du Pré ordered that, for the future, 'the Company's color of fflag' only might be used by both parties. On the 4th January, 1790, a riot occurred, in which serious damage was done and many arrests were made:—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxlii., 13th and 23rd March, 1787. Hence it appears that Tondavoodoo, a name which has been mentioned elsewhere, was identical with Tandore.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clix., 27th Nov., 1789.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It is resolved that the following Advertisement be in consequence published throughout the Settlement.

'Whereas disturbances having lately happened at St. Thomé betwixt the right and left hand Casts concerning the Flags used by them in the performance of their Festivals, &c., Notice is hereby given that, to prevent the like irregularities and disputes, the Governor[1] in Council has resolved that in future no flag be used by either Party at St. Thome during their Feasts and Ceremonies, or at any other time, except St. George's Flag, as ordered by this Government in the Year 1771, and according to the custom observed throughout the Black Town of Madraspatnam and in other places. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clxii., 13th April, 1790.)

The implied suggestion that Madras was law-abiding in its discrimination of flags proved ill-founded. At the Krishnaswāmi Temple feast on the 5th September, the Right not only hoisted the white flag, but flaunted the very colours which the Left claimed as their own. Disturbances ensued, and Government reissued the proclamation, *mutatis mutandis*, forbidding the display of any ensign but St. George's. Tumultuous assemblies were proscribed, and strikers ordered to return to work. Mr. Morgan Williams, who was acting as President during General Medows's absence, held Council meetings on the 17th, 18th, and 20th, to consider the situation, and to dispose of the petitions with which Government was by both castes bombarded.

The Right asserted that their houses had been plundered, and one of their party shot dead; that the Left carried arms, and 'employed a European artillery man to assist them.' They entreated Government to maintain the peace, and said that the Company's guards had arrested about ninety of the Left hand rioters. The Left, on the other hand, protested that on the 15th and 16th their opponents 'committed the most dreadful depredations and the most wanton and violent outrages,' killing one of the caste, beating others, and plundering houses. The complainants' old men and children had been dragged from their homes and carried by the Right hand caste to the Main Guard, where they were detained. On the 17th the following order was passed:—

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[1] General Medows.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It being reported to the Board that the tumults have increased in the Black Town between the Casts and that two men had been killed, The heads of the right and left hand casts are ordered to attend the Board: and upon enquiry, the right hand cast state that the present dispute had immediately been brought on by the circumstances mentioned in their Petition, by some of the left hand cast assaulting a person of the right Cast yesterday morning at 10 o Clock, which was resented by some people of their party, and in the disturbance some of the left hand people killed a man of the Pariar Cast, upon which the Pariar Cast assembled in great numbers and proceeded to violence and plunder.

'It appears also that some disputes had happened about 13 days ago concerning the Flags used by the right hand Cast at the Pagoda of Kistnaswamy, that they had made use of small Flags with a figure of a Monkey and Kite.

'By the confession of both parties it appears that both Casts had transgressed the orders of Government in using other Flags besides St. George's Flag, the left hand Cast having at different times used Flags with the figure of a peacock and Bull, and the right hand Cast having used those Flags, besides the Monkey and Kite.

'Upon which the Board resolve to confirm the orders of Government that only St. George's Flag shall be used by either right or left hand Cast. . . .

'The Right hand Cast also alledge that the left hand Cast had, within these few Years, used brass Cups over their Carriages, which they complain of as an innovation; and it is agreed that this matter be more particularly enquired into.

'The heads of both Casts are then admonished, and told they are to be held responsible for the behaviour of their respective Casts. They are ordered to attend tomorrow morning at twelve O Clock for the purpose of entering into Penalty Bonds. The Acting President is requested to give directions to the Town Major for furnishing the necessary number of Guards of Europeans and Sepoys for the preservation of peace and the protection of the Inhabitants of the Black Town.' (*P.C.*, vol. clxv., 21st Sept., 1790.)

The 18th brought more petitions. The Right claimed justice for the murder committed; the Left prayed for the release of their people, 89 in number, confined at the Main Guard, some of whom 'are about 70 years old, and some of 12 years.' On the recommendation of the Clerk to the Justices, this request was granted, and the Left then signed the penalty bond in Pags. 20,000. A further petition, signed by Tambi Cheṭṭi for the Left hand caste, set forth that ancient rules regarding the building of temples had been transgressed:—

Petition of the Left hand Caste.

'[Governor Saunders] ordered that all Pagodas and Churches that stood [at] that time belonging to either party shall have the liberty of performing their usual Ceremonies and Feasts, and that no new Pagoda being Permitted to be built at any time thereafter within the Bounds of Madras without the leave of the Government. But your Petitioners most humbly observe that this very Kistnaswamy Pagoda, the Feast of which has given an Opportunity to the Right hand Cast to create so much disturbances, have been built within these few years, and the Feasts thereat began to be performed only for these three years past. . . .

'Your Petitioners humbly shew there is a Pagoda called Calleteesvarah's Pagoda[1] which stands in the Heart of the said part of the Street,[2] which Pagoda has been built by one of your Petitioners [ancestors] about one hundred and fifty years ago, and the Ceremonies and Offerings of the said Pagoda are still performed by your Petitioners. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clxv., 21st Sept., 1790.)

At the same time the Right hand caste, in a petition signed by Bālakrishṇa Cheṭṭi and S. Krishṇama Cheṭṭi, claimed reparation for injuries sustained, and had the assurance to ask for the return of their confiscated flags for the completion of their interrupted procession. They concluded by asserting that, 'from the period of Governor Pitt's Administration, the left hand people never have been allowed in Madras to have Pyramid Chariot adorned with Brass Cups . . . for Cauleyana Pagoda.'[3]

Government Order.

'The above Petitions tend to confirm the Board in their opinion already recorded that the late tumults in the Black Town have in a great measure been brought on by the disputes between the two Casts concerning their Flags used at their festivals. The left hand Cast having agreed, and actually signed the Penalty Bond required by Government, the right hand Cast are now Ordered to attend for the same purpose.' (*P.C.*, vol. clxv., 21st Sept., 1790.)

A full enquiry was promised after the order had been complied with.

The Brahmans of Triplicane displayed greater decorum in their disputes. A difference of long standing between the Vaḍakalai and Tenkalai sects concerning a certain invocation had been referred to Government in 1780. Pending enquiry, the use of the prayer was interdicted altogether; but investigation had been arrested by Hyder's invasion, and no settlement had since been effected. In 1790 the Vaḍakalais petitioned as follows:—

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[1] The Kālahastesvaran Temple in Muthialpetta.

[2] Coral Merchants' Street, a northern continuation of Armenian Street.

[3] The Kalyāna Temple.

Petition of the Vaḍakalai Brahmans.

'The Humble Representation of Wadagala Braminies of Triplicane Humbly Sheweth That a Dispute hath been subsisted between us and Tengala Braminies at Triplicane, concerning certain Prayer or Oration to be used in the said Triplicane Pagoda, for a long while; which at length was determined by the Honble Board during the Government of Mr. Saunders in the Year 1754. But the said Tengala Braminies found means to violate the said Decree of the Board in Governor Boucher's time, through the interest of his Servants, which Grievance at last hath been represented to the Board during the last Government of Lord Pigot. The Board then confirmed the same Decree, the contents of which was that, as there are two Pagodas in the said Place under the Circumference of the same Wall, one fronting to the East and the other fronting to the West, we to enjoy that which fronts to the West, and Tengalas that which fronts to the East, all which will appear to your Honor, &c., by the accompanying Copies of the said Decrees.

'That during the revolution of Lord Pigot, Tengala Braminies found means to usurp the Pagoda which hath been allotted to us by the above Decrees, and Clandestinely procured an order, during the Government of Sir Thomas Rumbold, which mentioned that the ancient Prayer shall be read, not particularly whose prayer was Ancient. Wherefore, after Sir Thomas Rumbold's departure, We addressed our Case to the Board, who, upon examining the matter, thought fit to suspend the prayer in dispute till further examination, which will also appear to your Honor, &c. by the Company's record of 1780.

'And now, as the Feast of our Pagoda comming on, and the said Tengala Braminies understanding that We have lodged a Petition to your Honor, &c., concerning this business, they, without taking leave from your Honor, &c., as they use to do every year, gether up a multitude of Bramnies, and by force and violence hindred our Prayer and turned us out the Pagoda, and have irregularly performed their own prayer, which is in disobedience to the Order or Decree of the Government aforementioned. We beg to observe unto your Honor, &c., that the said Tengala Bramnies have already performed their Prayer in the month of April last in the Pagoda which is allotted to them. . . . We therefore humbly Pray Your Honor, &c., that a Tom Tom may be beated at the said place for performing our Prayer as usual without the hindrance of any person or Persons whatever. . . .'

Enclosure. Order of Mr. Saunders's Government, 2nd Sept., 1754.

'A Dispute having long subsisted between the Tengala and Wadagala Bramineys at Triplicane in relation to the saying of Certain Prayers or Orations, which, though they do not in the least touch the fundamental Principle of their Religion, yet the Controversy hath been carried on with the greatest Warmth, especially on the side of [the] Tengala Bramineys: for the putting an end to which, many of the principal Inhabitants have . . . besought the Board that one of the Pagodas at Triplicane (there being two) may be assigned to the use of the Tengala Bramineys and the other for the Wadagala

Bramineys, and that they be ordered not to interfere or molest each other in the Performance of their respective Rites.

'The Board, having considered the nature of the Controversy, are of opinion that the means proposed by the said Request of determining it are the most reasonable, the Dispute itself being very immaterial, as it consists in nothing more than this:—The Tangala Bramineys maintain that Sarasayala was the Translator of the Widdam from the Sancrit Language, and therefore insist that he should be prayed for as such; and the Wadagala Bramineys contend that Ramarauze was the true Translator, and ought to be prayed for. This Spark hath, by a Zeal not uncommon in Ecclesiastical Disputes, been blown up into a Flame which is now become necessary to quench. It is therefore Agreed that the said request be granted in all its Particulars. . . '

Enclosure. Order of Lord Pigot's Government, 23rd May, 1776.

'The Board, on reference to the Consultation of 2nd September 1754, are of opinion that this Regulation ought to have been observed, and therefore now confirm it, and direct that in time to come the Wadagala Bramineys accordingly have the free use of the Tellesinga Swami Pagoda and the Chapels belong [ing] to it, and the Tangala Braminies the free use of the Venkata Kistna Swamy Pagoda and its Chapels, and that public notice be given thereof by beat of Tom Tom. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clxiii., 29th June, 1790.)

No record of Mr. Morgan Williams's disposal of the difference of 1790 has been traced; but five years later the Vaḍakalais complained that the Tenkalais, in contravention of Lord Pigot's decision, occupied both temples. Lord Hobart's Government, however, declined to intervene. They said:—'The Board do not think it adviseable to interfere in the religious Disputes of the natives, lest, by giving a Decision on grounds of which they are not certain, it might become the Cause of Dissensions serious in their consequences to the peace of the Inhabitants.'[1]

The year 1795 saw some recrudescence of trouble between the Right and Left hand castes. Vaidyanādha Piḷḷai, 'Churchwarden of Yagambaraswara Pagoda,' represented that the pagoda was common to both castes, and that during the last hundred years the processions of this and the Town Temple had been admitted without opposition to the streets of the two parties. On the 29th March, however, a mob of Left hand people 'attempted to pour yellow coloured Water over the Dancing Women of the Pagoda,' and the following day came with swords, sticks, and other weapons, and created a disturbance during the annual festival. The shopkeepers, on the other hand, complained that, during the 'Festival of Yagambrah Swamy in Peddenaig's

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxcix., 10th April, 1795.

Pettah,' some of the Right hand people broke into their shops, beat the owners, and plundered their goods. Government directed Captain Alexander Allan, the Town Major, to notify that any disturbers of the peace would be apprehended. The warning being treated with contumely, the following order was issued:—'The Town Major having represented that the people sent by him to publish the notice, as ordered by the minutes of this day, in regard to the disturbance in the black town, had been beaten and insulted by the left hand cast: Ordered that the heads of that cast be confined in the main guard, unless they shall produce the offenders by Wednesday at noon.'[1] The period of respite having elapsed, the heads of the Left hand caste, 'Tomboo Chitty, Cavelcherry Poonapah Chitty, Chinna Tomboo Naig, Nella Moota Achary and Chunga Butten,' were arrested and imprisoned. Their friends delivered up two offenders, and stated that the assault on 'the Tom Tom men and Seapoys' was committed by irresponsible vagabonds during the absence of the head men in the Fort. The prisoners were then released and peace was restored.

THE CAPUCHIN MISSION.

The Roman Catholic laity of Madras having complained to Sir Archibald Campbell of alleged maladministration of funds by the Capuchin Fathers, the Governor deftly turned the occasion to political account. The situation is explained in the following minute:—

Minute by Sir Archibald Campbell.

'The Disputes which broke out among the Roman Catholics soon after my arrival at this Presidency first attracted my attention towards the Affairs of that Church; a Desire of Settling those Disputes naturally led me to enquire into the Cause of them, and in the Course of those Enquiries I have made some Discoveries which merit our attention at present, and may hereafter be useful to our Successors. I shall therefore beg Leave to enter them on the Company's Records, together with what measures I have taken in this Business. . . .

'The Roman Catholics form a considerable Part of the population of this Coast, and, it is said, amount in the whole to about 100,000 Souls. Of these We have nearly 17,000 within the Walls and about the Environs of Madras. It must therefore be of great Consequence to this Government to attach Such a considerable Body of people to our Interest by every Tie by which Society is held together. . . .

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxcix., 31st March, 1795.

'When the Power of the Portoguese began to decline, many of the Inhabitants of St. Thome removed from thence to Madras, which occasioned the Introduction of Catholic Churches here; and as no pains were taken by us to furnish them with priests, the French, availing themselves of our Negligence, sent some Capuchin Friars to officiate, who were subsisted by the liberal Contributions of their Followers, and have since, by the Means of considerable Legacies left them, built a House and a Church, and collected together a Fund of 50,000 Pagodas. It is now become a regular convent under the Management of a Superior who pretends to receive his Appointment from the Superior of their Order in the province of Touraine in France, and in fact is generally appointed by the Superior of the Capuchins at Pondicherry, with whom they always keep up a regular Correspondence. But the French were not contented with their secretly acquiring an Ascendency over the Minds of the Roman Catholics who immediately reside at this Place; they aspired at extending this Influence from Cape Comorin to Ganjam, and finding the power of the Bishop of St. Thomé a considerable Obstacle to the progress of their Scheme, they have lately sent out an Ecclesiastic from France with Title of Bishop in Partibus, and armed with every power and Authority that the Church could deligate to a person of that rank. Notwithstanding these Appearances, Doubts might have arisen concerning the real Designs of the French had not this Bishop, besides the usual Exercise of his Episcopal Authority, taken some steps that at once opened my Eyes, and, I am persuaded, will convince the Board of his Intentions. It is well known to us that the Jesuits have long Since been expelled France, where their Property was confiscated and their Order abolished; but the Bishop, immediately on his Arrival, entered into a very strict Correspondence with those who were wandering about India, and offered them even pecuniary Assistance as well as every other Support in his power, provided they attached themselves to him and obeyed his Orders. This, in my Opinion, developed the whole Mystery. The French never distribute their money in this Manner unnecessarily, nor would they think of taking a Set of People by the hand in India whom they continue to oppress and insult in all other parts of the Globe, did they not promise themselves some temporal Advantages from the Exertions of these intriguing people, at least equivalent to the Expence of maintaining them.

'In this Situation I found the Affairs of the Roman Catholic Church when Some Disputes amongst the Fathers . . . were referred to me. I therefore readily embraced Such an Opportunity of defeating this Project, which I found it very easy to do without giving any just Cause of Offence to the French, or even alarming the Roman Catholics in general by the Interference of a Protestant Government with their Church.

'The Bishop of St. Thomé has been, time immemorial, the Roman Catholic Metropolitan on this Coast. He resides amongst us, and his Nation is firmly bound in Alliance with ours. For these Reasons I recommended the Regulations which I had the Honour of laying before the Board on the 17th of March last, by which the power of this Bishop is restored and declared to extend over all places belonging to the Honble the East India Company or His Highness the Nabob of Arcot, so that no Roman Catholic Priest shall be allowed to officiate in any such Places without first obtaining a Licence from him. By this Single Regulation the power of the Bishop in Partibus is entirely annulled, and the Bishop of St. Thomé is made the first Link of a great Chain on which depends 100,000 useful and valuable people. To eradicate the power of the French, which has taken deep root in the Convent here, was not so easy. The Board therefore thought it expedient to call in the Aid of Persons in that Communion in whom Government might repose implicit Confidence, and the Catholics consider as persons who would carefully watch over their Rights and Privileges.

'Four Merchants of respectable character and considerable Fortune were appointed Syndics or Church Wardens, who were directed by Government to call upon the Capuchins for an explicit and particular account of their Finances, and likewise to manage and controul the Affairs of that House in Future. The Friars, who probably were in the Interest of the French, proved at first refractory; but a[t] length the Good Sense, prudence and Firmness of the Syndics prevailed, and all the Money belonging to that House and Church will, in the Course of a few Days, be lodged in the Company's Treasury.

'To the Exertions of Colonel Capper,[1] whom I employed to accomplish this essential Object, I consider myself exceedingly indebted. His Information respecting the Roman Catholic Fathers was complete, and the manner in which he conducted the Adjustment of this delicate Business does honour to his Zeal and Abilities.

'As the Catholic Church of Fort St. George has, Time immemorial, been dependent on the Convent in Touraine, it would be rather an irregular Exertion of Authority, and might create Jealousies or give rise to Altercations with the Government of Pondicherry, were we to compel all the French Capuchins to leave this Convent, or even to refuse Admittance to any other of the same Nation; but it will be prudent at all Times to get from Goa as many Portoguese and Italian priests of the Same Order as will nearly Suffice for the Establishment; and thus, without Violence or Injustice to the Order itself, preclude many Applications from France or Pondicherry.

'Mess^{rs}. J. Defries, A. De Souza, Edward Raphael and Miguel Johannes are the present Syndics, and whilst the Affairs of the Roman Catholic Church are under their Management, no Doubt can be entertained of their being conducted with the greatest Regularity, and in a manner the most consistent with the Honour and Interest of the Company. At present there is no regular Bishop; the Head of the Church at St. Thomé has only the rank of Vicar General, but he is to embark for the Malabar Coast in the Course of a few weeks, and will return here in the Spring with full powers after having been consecrated by the Arch Bishop of Goa.[2]

'In answer to the Letters now before us from the Vicar General and the Syndics, I would propose, if the Board think proper, to express our Approbation of what has been done by them, and earnestly recommend that they Shall mutually assist and Support each other; That they shall on no Account permit any vagrant priest to officiate who does not bring proper Credentials along with Him, and whose Character and Conduct are either perfectly known or will bear the Strictest Scrutiny. ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxlvi., 30th Oct., 1787.)

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[1] Colonel Capper was at this period Auditor of Military Accounts. The Auditor of Civil Accounts was Mr. Robert Woolf.

[2] The Vicar-General was duly consecrated at Goa as Bishop of Mylapore. (*P.C.*, vol. clv., 14th April, 1789.)

The effect of the Madras measures was soon noticed at Pondicherry, and the French Governor wrote as follows:—

The Comte de Conway to Sir Archibald Campbell.

'I have the honour to address your Excellency the Copy of a Letter from the Grand Vicar of St. Thomé to the Bishop of Dolishe, the Superior of the French Missionaries.

'This grand vicar, who believes himself Still in the fourteenth Century, has not ceased to harrass the mildest and most peaceable of Men, a Bishop respectable for his years and his Virtues, the Bishop of Dolishe: his Successor, dreading similar importunities, which he is threatened with by the last Letter from this Grand Vicar, has requested me to present it. I cannot do better than address the whole to your Excellency, requesting you to moderate this grand Vicar, who is not an Angel of Peace.

'The Bishop of Dolishe's Letter will prove to your Excellency how ill founded are the Grand Vicar of St. Thomé's Pretentions. It would appear that this Grand Vicar is more actuated by the Spirit of the Koran than of the Gospel. He has lifted his Arm against the french Missionaries, and he threatens to Strike them with that thunder which even the Pope does no longer allow himself to wield.

'I hope your Excellency will be kind enough to prevent the effects of the menaces of this warlike Grand Vicar, who appears to be at least two hundred and fifty Years in Arrear of the true Principles of his Profession.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxlvi., 28th Dec., 1787.)

At the request of the Capuchins, Father Ferdinand was appointed by Government to be Superior of the Roman Catholic Church at Madras:—

The Capuchin Fathers to the Governor.

'Be so kind as to give leave to your most humble Subjects, the Capuchins of the Portugueze Church of Madras, to offer to your honour their most humble respects, and to make you observe that our predecessors have been put at Madras by the Honble Government hundred and fifty years ago in order to have a care of the few Christians there were in it. This circumstance has been the reason why the said Government honored us always with a Special protection, even in some unhappy changes wherein they declared we had no orders to receive but from them; and this Government, for good reasons, reserved to themselves the right of approving the Superior chosen in the Order of the said Capuchins for the Portugueze Church of Madras. . . . We Beseech the granting of your approbation to the R. P. Ferdinand, a German Capuchin, whom our Superiors in Europe have elected to direct us as well as our church. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clvi., 19th May, 1789.)

The following letter shows that one at least of the San Thomé churches was long in use as barracks for Madras troops:—

Memorial of the Vicar of St. Dominic's Church.

'The Memorial of the Reverend Fre Vincente Fereira, Vicar of St. Dominick's Church at St. Thome, Sheweth That your Memorialist was appointed at Goa to accompany the Bishop to St. Thome, and there take possession of the Church of St. Dominick, to which Order he belongs. Under such appointment your memorialist left his Convent, and arrived at St. Thome in February last. He found the Church in a very ruinous State, and was informed that it was occasioned by Troops having been quartered in it during the War by order of Government. Your memorialist therefore, in order to repair the injuries it had sustained and render it fit for Divine Worship, did, at the Suggestion of Friends, offer a plan of Subscription, and about 400 Pagodas was subscribed; but as the Church was again taken for the use of the Recruits that arrived from Europe this Season, the Major part of the Subscribers have refused to pay their respective Subscriptions under the Idea that the Church never would be restored, but continued as a Barrack. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clvii., 18th Aug., 1789.)

Government replied that the troops had been already withdrawn, and observed that, as the place was deserted when the church was first occupied as barracks, they could not now contribute towards the restoration of the edifice.

VARIETIES.

Steps were taken during Campbell's administration to improve the position of the civil service in more than one way. Increasing competition for a diminished trade rendered the covenanted civilian more dependent than heretofore on his meagre official salary, and the attention of the Company was drawn to the need for a higher scale of pay. For the benefit of prospective widows and orphans a number of members of the service formed an association which agreed to submit to periodic deductions from salaries in order to establish a Civil Fund. The Trustees elected to administer the fund were Charles Oakeley, Charles N. White, and Thomas Cockburn, and Government heartily supported the scheme:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We cannot, in duty to you or in Justice to ourselves or the Servants employed under us, omit observing that few of them on this Coast derive from your Service sufficient to maintain them in a decent situation of life, and many are indeed left without even a bare subsistence. The expences of living are from various causes greatly increased, whilst from the decline of Trade and constant influx of free Merchants who have advantages over your Servants by not being confined to any particular Spot, the benefits of commercial pursuits are to them considerably decreased and rendered more precarious. Your Servants therefore in such a situation must almost entirely depend on you for their support and a just reward of their services and a course of years spent in this climate.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxx., 14th Oct., 1786.)

Fort St. George to the Company.

'An original Deed, containing articles and Regulations for the Establishment of a Fund to be appropriated to the relief of the Widows and Orphans of such of your Civil Servants on this Coast who may die in indigent circumstances, or of those Servants who are labouring under particular Misfortunes and may chance not to be provided for by the Company, was lately laid before us by the Trustees nominated by the Subscribers, together with a power authorising us to deduct the Sums therein specified from their respective annual Salaries.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 20th Sept., 1787.)

When Stringer Lawrence died in 1775, the Nawab transferred his pension of Pags. 3,750 per annum to General Joseph Smith. For ten years, however, Smith received nothing, and at last the Company desired Fort St. George to jog Walajah's defective memory.[1] The General's son, Matthew Joseph Smith, had been entertained in the Secretary's office, and the Government recommended that he be brought on the permanent establishment of covenanted servants.[2] Mention is made at this period of two other retired soldiers, Caillaud and Barker. They were consulted by the Directors on the qualifications of Major Thomas Geils, who had submitted a memorial about his position in the service.[3]

A proposal to promote timber trade in the Godāvari was considered impracticable:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Mr. Thomas Parkinson, formerly private Secretary to General Joseph Smith, and whom you permitted to return to India in 1785, addressed us a Letter in regard to the situation of the Port and River of Bandermalanka, and the advantage of encouraging the Trade in Teak Timber, and clearing the Woods bordering on the Goodavery which supply this Article . . ., and requesting that we would appoint him to be Superintendent of the Port of Bundermalanka and the Woods of the Rajamandry Circar. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 17th July, 1787.)

The matter was referred to the Chief and Council of Masulipatam, who were not in favour of the scheme, remarking that the teak forests were in the Bhadrāchalam country outside the Company's territory.

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxix., 22nd Dec., 1786.
[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 30th March, 1788.
[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxix., 16th Feb., 1787.

Paul Benfield's Indian career terminated in 1788. After a final suspension, he was permitted to resign the service and return to England for the benefit of his health. His application was supported by a medical certificate from the Hospital Board, signed by James Anderson, Physician-General, Colley Lucas, Chief Surgeon, and William Duffin, Head Surgeon, which set forth that Benfield 'had for some years past laboured under Nervous Affections of the Head and Stomach and other symptoms of Hypochondriasis.'[1]

A link with the past was severed by the demise in 1785 of Samuel Troutback, free merchant. He was born in 1700, shipwrecked on the Coast at the age of nineteen, and had lived ever since at Madras. He acquired money by investment in houses in the Fort, and left his property to the London charity school which had given him his education. By his will of the 21st July, 1780, he appointed Lord Macartney, the Hon. Edward Monckton, Edward Cotsford, and Thomas Pelling to be his executors. At the time of Troutback's death, Pelling, as the only executor on the spot, proved the will. The Company subsequently directed Fort St. George to receive Pags. 12,000, part of the estate, from Pelling, and remit it at the most favourable rate, since it was to be used for a charitable purpose.[2] The house next to the Exchange, which was part of Troutback's property, was not disposed of till 1801. It had a frontage of 66 feet on the sea face, and extended back to Gloucester Street.[3]

In his will Troutback says that he has outlived all his kindred, his son and wife[4] being the last deceased, but he directs that a sum of Pags. 5 be paid to every person claiming it who can prove that he is the son of a Troutback. While disclaiming relationship to Mr. John Troutbeck, lately surgeon of the Company's ship *Speke*, he leaves him Pags. 5, in recognition of the similarity of name. He gives freedom and legacies to all slaves, male and female, who may be in his service at his death. He continues :—'And whereas it is Natural for all Men to have a Regard for their Native place, and where the Seeds of their Education were first planted and Imbibed, and more especially When they have no Kindred or Relations alive or in Being, which is the Case with me, who came on shore Naked and Shipwreckt in India at same Time I lost my only Brother who was drowned; But it having pleased God to Cloath me and prosper my honest Endeavours, and to raise me in the East Indies, I do therefore Order, Direct and Bequeath all and every my Real and personal Estate' for the benefit of the Charity School in the parish of St. John's, Wapping, near the Tower of London, 'being the School where I got my first Education, but not boarded at, in the years seventeen hundred and six, seven and eight, and During the Tutorship of my Godfather, the late Samuel Jefferies, Gentleman, the Head School Master.' Troutback allots £2,000 for an extension of the buildings, to be called *Troutback's poor Orphan Hospital or Blue Coat School*, and to accommodate twenty to thirty boys and perhaps ten girls. A silver medal of the value of one guinea is to be given to each of his boys and girls annually on All Saints' Day. He bequeaths £700 for an organ and gallery in St. John's Chapel in Wapping, adjacent to the Orphan Hospital. 'In the Front of the said Intended Organ I woud have the following words Cut and Guilt—*The Gift of Samuel Troutback, Merchant, Born in this Parish Anno Domini* 1700.' The uniform of the boys is to be a blue cloth frock coat, waistcoat and breeches, with metal buttons stamped *Troutback's Orphan School, Wapping.* He appoints a multitude of Trustees, Guardians, and Overseers of the Charity, among whom are the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Chester; the Earls of Derby and Sefton; Admirals Sir Robert Harland, Hugh Pigot and Sir Edward Hughes; Generals Joseph Smith and Sir Hector Munro; Sir Robert Palk, Alexander Wynch, Sir Thomas Rumbold, the Hon. Edward Monckton, John Whitehill, Charles Boddam, Henry Powney, etc.[1]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cl., 2nd and 5th Sept., 1788, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 6th Feb., 1789.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxix., 27th March, 1787.

[3] 'Gloucester Alley,' according to *Bills of Sale*, etc., No. 102, dated 16th April, 1801. In the plan accompanying this Indenture the street is called 'Bandicoot Alley.' Under the Indenture the property passed from Edward Dent, who had succeeded Pelling as Troutback's executor in India, to Walter Grant for Pags. 3,000. On Grant's death the house was sold by his executors, Robert Orme and George Arbuthnot, in 1808 to Lieutenant Thomas Fraser, of the Engineers. Arbuthnot signs the document by his attorneys, 'Arbuthnot, D'Monte, M'Taggart and Co.' From Fraser the property passed in 1816 to Robert Sherson, a civilian, for Pags. 3,500, and in 1818, for Pags. 4,000, to Richard Thompson, cabinet-maker. In 1827 it was conveyed to George Lys, trustee for the late firm of John d'Fries and Co. (*Bills of Sale*, etc., Nos. 103 105, and 113.)

[4] Troutback married Susanna Morgan in 1726. She died in 1775.

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[1] *Bills of Sale*, etc., preserved in Strong Room of the Record Office, Fort St. George, No. 73.

St. John's Charity School, Wapping, was founded in 1695, but the present building dates only from about 1760. Two effigies, borne in niches on the front, represent a boy and girl in the habit formerly prescribed, but the use of the uniform was discontinued some thirty years ago. A copy of Troutback's will is preserved in the school, but its provisions have not been carried out. Local tradition asserts that, owing to the action of the Rev. Francis Wills, who was Rector of St. John's from 1748 to 1800, and also Physician to King George III., two-thirds of the bequest, the full value of which is said to have been £30,000, was diverted to the use of the King, and utilized in the embellishment of the town of Brighthelmstone. The true state of the case, however, as ascertained by reference to the Board of Education, is that Troutback's will was found to be of no effect, and that his property passed legally to the Crown. On the 11th July, 1829, the Charity Commissioners reported as follows:—

Report of the Charity Commissioners.

'About the year 1780, Samuel Troutbeck, then residing at Madras, left the residue of his real and personal estate for building either an additional wing or a separate new building for the School in this Parish (Parish of St. John of Wapping).

'This bequest being void, and no persons being able to substantiate their claim as next of kin, after repeated advertisements, the Crown took possession of the property under the directions of the Court of Chancery, in which court a suit had been instituted to which the attorney-general was a party.

'About the year 1822, upon a petition from the parish, the Lords of the Treasury granted the sum of £5,000 from the proceeds of the estate, payable by instalments of £1,000 a year, to two trustees appointed by the Parish and two by the Crown, for the use of the parochial school of St. John, Wapping. This money was laid out in the purchase of £6,081-18-10 Three and a half per cent. South Sea Stock, in the names of the Rev. John Parsons, Richard Mount, George Harrison and the Hon. Washington Shirley, now Earl Ferrers, and the dividends are carried to the general funds of the school.'

The institution now maintains about fifty boys and forty girls. It is administered by Trustees appointed in pursuance of a scheme devised by the Charity Commissioners in 1900.

In 1783 died Adrian Fourbeck, another old resident of Madras. He lies buried in the Roman Catholic church in Armenian Street. Born in the East in 1712, he became in due course a member of the Gunroom Crew at Fort St. George. In 1740, when 'a hundred-fanam man,' he was reported 'disabled, and Superannuated' on a monthly pension of Pags. 1-14-0.[1] He then turned his attention to mercantile pursuits, and in 1741 we find him, in company with Samuel Troutback, bidding for remnants of the Company's velvets and broadcloth.[2] Becoming, like Troutback, a successful merchant, he left a legacy to build a bridge on the Mount Road across the surplus channel of the Long Tank near Saidapett. The work was erected in 1786 by his executors Thomas Pelling, John De Fries, and Peter Bodkin,[3] from designs by Colonel Ross. Before the gate of Lushington's Gardens, a short distance north of the channel, stands an obelisk whose square base bears an inscription in English, Latin, Persian, and Tamil setting forth the origin of the bridge, 'a monument useful as lasting of a good citizen's munificent liberality.'

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 30th May, 1740.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 1st May, 1741.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. clxxix. 30th Oct., 1792.

Macartney

John Turing

Eyre Coote

Wm. Williams

Alex. Davidson

Cornwallis

Archd. Campbell

Hobart

John Hollond

Alured Clarke

Arthur Wellesley

Edwd. Jno. Hollond

Geo: Harris

Jn. Melvor

Chas. Oakeley

Mornington

Clive

CHAPTER XXVI

1790—1794

GOVERNORS MEDOWS AND OAKELEY—NATURAL SCIENCE—THE LUNATIC ASYLUM

GOVERNORS MEDOWS AND OAKELEY.

WILLIAM MEDOWS, son of Philip Medows or Meadows, was born in 1738, and entered the army at the age of eighteen. From 1760 to 1764 he served in Germany, and subsequently, as a Lieut.-Colonel, in the American War, when he distinguished himself at the Battle of Brandywine. In 1778 he took part in the capture of St. Lucia, and two years later he was placed in command of a secret expedition against the Cape. French action preventing the attainment of the desired object, the transports proceeded to India, and arrived at Madras on the 13th February, 1782. Medows placed himself at Sir Edward Hughes's disposal, and was present at the naval actions fought against Suffrein. Returning to England, he was in 1788 appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, and two years afterwards was transferred to Madras in a corresponding capacity.

Major-General Medows assumed charge of Fort St. George on the 20th February, 1790, and held office for two years and a half. He was Governor, however, in little more than name, for his duties as Commander-in-Chief during the war with Tippoo Sultan compelled his absence from the Presidency on active service during almost the entire period of his nominal rule. On his arrival, the Council consisted of Mr. E. J. Hollond, the Acting President, who had relieved his brother, Mr. John Hollond, only a week earlier, and Mr. James Taylor. Following instructions from the Supreme Government, Medows's first act was to suspend both gentlemen, and summon Messrs. John Turing and Edward

Saunders to the Council. When the campaign opened on the 17th May, Turing became Acting President, but he was relieved by Morgan Williams, a senior officer, on the 14th June. On the 15th October Sir Charles Oakeley returned from England and assumed the duties of Acting President, having Messrs. William Petrie and John Hudleston as his Councillors.

The Mysore War was the result of the invasion by Tippoo in December, 1789, of the territories of the Rajah of Travancore. Mr. John Hollond had been directed by the Governor-General to regard such an act as a *casus belli*, and his Government's disobedience was the cause of the suspension of Messrs. E. J. Hollond and J. Taylor. Other charges were afterwards preferred against all three Councillors:—

Government Notification.

'*Fort St. George*, 5*th Nov.*, 1790. Government having judged it expedient to appoint a Committee consisting of Colonel Capper, Commissary General, Mr. George Hoar, Mr. Benjamin Roebuck, Military Paymaster General, Mr. George Moubray, Accountant General, and Mr. Joseph Garrow, for the purpose of investigating Charges of Corruption and Peculation against Mr. Hollond, late Governor of Madras, his Brother Mr. Edward John Hollond, and against Paupiah, the Dubash of Mr. Hollond;—hereby notify that the said Committee will from this time be ready to receive information upon Oath from all Persons who can give them Intelligence respecting the objects of Enquiry, and that the said Committee are empowered to require the Attendance of such persons as they may think proper, who will be sworn to depose the Truth. . . . J. CHAMIER, Secretary.' (*Madras Courier*, 10th Nov., 1790.)

Medows, having assembled the army, commenced operations against Tippoo in Coimbatore and Dindigul. His intention of invading Mysore was not accomplished, and the results of the campaign were so indecisive that Lord Cornwallis resolved to come to Madras and himself assume command. The Governor-General, who had previously arranged for the co-operation of the Marāthas and the Nizam, reached Madras with a substantial reinforcement on the 12th December, 1790:—

Arrival of Lord Cornwallis.

'Last Sunday Evening The Right Honourable Lord Cornwallis, K.G., Governor General and Commander in Chief of the British Forces in India, arrived in His Majesty's Ship The Vestal Frigate, commanded by Sir Richard Strachan. . . .

'His Excellency the Governor General landed on Monday morning the 13th instant, and was received by Sir Charles Oakeley, Bart., and The Nabob Omdat ul Omrah, amidst a numerous concourse of the Gentlemen of the Settlement. His Lordship then proceeded to the Council House under a Salute of 19 Guns from the Fort, and the Troops of the Garrison, Hanoverians and Sepoys, under Arms.' (*Madras Courier*, 15th Dec., 1790.)

On the 28th January, 1792, Cornwallis inspected the Bengal detachment at the Long Tank. Here he was met by General Medows, who came in to confer with him from Vellout, where the army was encamped. The *Madras Courier* of the 2nd February announced that 'General Medows, it is expected, will return to the Army next Saturday, and the whole Force will then move—a Force certainly unequalled ever in this Country, and perhaps never surpassed in Europe.' The *Courier* of the 9th February reported that Medows, attended by his Staff and the Body Guard, left the Government Gardens at 5 a.m. on the 5th to join the army at Vellout. The force, which consisted of some 18,000 men, accompanied by about ten times as many followers, marched on the same day. The enemy was reported in force between Pondicherry and Cuddalore. With the details of the operations we are not concerned.[1] It will suffice to say that Cornwallis moved on Bangalore, and after delivering an assault on the Pettah in which Colonel Moorhouse was killed, took the Fort by storm. Moorhouse's death was universally lamented:—

Government Notification.

'*G. O., Fort St. George, 22nd March*, 1791. Government having received advice of the Death of Lt. Colonel Moorhouse, who was killed in the Assault of the Pettah of Bangalore the 7th Instant, it has been resolved, as a Testimony of Respect to the Memory of an Officer who has served the Company many Years with distinguished Zeal, spirit and ability, that his Remains, with Permission of the Ministers and Church Wardens, be publicly interred in the Church of Fort St. George at the Company's Expense, and a marble Tablet fixed over his Grave with a suitable Inscription in commemoration of his merits. . . .' (*Madras Courier*, 23rd March, 1791.)

The interment was delayed until the 17th December, when the remains were carried from the 'Free Masons' Hall' at Madras to St. Mary's Church, attended by the Acting Governor, the members of Council, the 'Grand Lodge of Madras with their Jewels,' and an imposing procession. 'The body was deposited under the Gallery, close to the spot where Sir Eyre Coote was buried.'[1] The memorial tablet was placed on the south wall.

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[1] A full account will be found in the *Narrative of the Campaign*, Dirom, 1793.

After the fall of Bangalore, the reduction of Nandidrūg, Savandrūg, and other hill forts was effected, and in February, 1792, the army found itself before Seringapatam. A successful night attack on the north side, led by Cornwallis in person, opened the way for siege operations. Tippoo, however, then accepted terms, agreeing to cede half his dominions to the allies,[2] pay a war indemnity of three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees, release all prisoners, and give two of his sons as hostages for the performance of his engagements. The hostage princes, 'Abd-ul-Kilak and Mūsā-ud-dīn, boys of ten and eight years of age, remained in Madras upwards of a year. Under the definitive treaty, which was signed on the 18th March, 1792, the British obtained possession of the districts of Salem, Dindigul, and Malabar, and control of the province of Coorg.

Cornwallis returned to Madras in May, and left for Calcutta three months later. During the interval he concluded a new financial agreement with Walajah, the old terms proving too onerous. The settlement provided that in time of war the Carnatic revenues should be received and administered by the Company, but while peace subsisted their management would rest with the Nawab, provided he paid nine lakhs of pagodas annually to the Company for military services and upwards of six lakhs to his creditors.

Cornwallis was received with enthusiasm by the people of Madras. A public meeting was held at the Town Hall on the 21st May under the chairmanship of Mr. David Haliburton, at which it was resolved to erect a statue of the Governor-General in Fort St. George, and secure portraits of both Cornwallis and Medows for the Town Hall.[3] Major Maule and Messrs. Charles N. White, Josias Du Pré Porcher, Benjamin Roebuck,[4] Benjamin Sulivan, and Thomas Cockburn were elected a Committee to carry out the resolution:—

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[1] *Madras Courier*, 22nd Dec., 1791. The Masonic Hall appears to have been situated in the Poonamallee Road, where St. Andrew's Church now stands.

[2] The Nizam and the Peishwa were co-operating with the British.

[3] *Madras Courier*, 7th June, 1792.

[4] Benjamin Roebuck, a civil servant of 1776, married in 1790 Catherine Taylor (*née* Maitland), widow of John Taylor and granddaughter of Captain John De Morgan. Roebuck died at Vizagapatam in 1809.

Fort St. George to the Company.

'A Letter has been addressed to us by several Gentlemen appointed a Committee for carrying into execution a resolution of the Inhabitants of this Settlement for erecting a statue of Lord Cornwallis, requesting that we would give them Bills on your Honble Court for £1,000 at the exchange of 8 shillings per Star Pagoda. As we have not drawn any Bills on you for some time past, we declined giving Drafts at any particular exchange, but have issued Certificates specifying the sum paid in, and for what purpose the Money is intended, and we beg leave to recommend that the amount (Pags. 2,500) be paid, agreeable to the request of the Committee, to Sir John Call, Bart., or his order, at such rate of exchange as you may think proper.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 6th Oct., 1792.)

The statue, executed by Thomas Banks and sent out in 1800, represents the Governor-General in peer's robes over military uniform. Placed on a cylindrical pedestal which bears a relief depicting the delivery of the hostage princes, it was erected on the parade-ground west of the Fort Square.[1] On the demolition of the square in 1825, it was moved eastward so as to stand before the enlarged Fort House or Government Office, and a stone canopy was built over it. Brass guns of Spanish, Danish, and Indian origin[2] were disposed around the monument. Early in the twentieth century, when the marble had weathered through exposure to the sea air, the statue was transferred to the interior of the Connemara Library in Pantheon Road, where it now remains.

The portrait of Cornwallis was certainly, and that of Medows probably, painted by Robert Home, who was in Madras at the close of the campaign. The pictures were first hung in the Town Hall, but were afterwards transferred to the Exchange, and in 1822 to Government House, Chepauk, where they are still preserved.

Medows had resumed the office of President on the 21st April, 1792, but he resigned on the 1st August and sailed for England in the *Dutton*.[1] The knighthood of the Bath was conferred on him, and in 1801 he served for a short time as Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. Sir William Medows died in 1813.

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[1] See plan of the Fort Square.

[2] The two Spanish cannon, which have already been mentioned in an earlier note, bear date 1604, and are believed to have formed part of the old Manila Trophy. The Mysore guns have their muzzles, trunnions, and cascables fashioned as tigers' heads, and were probably among the 922 pieces of ordnance captured at Seringapatam in 1799. The Danish guns display the monogram of Christian VII., and the inscription: FRIDRICS WÆRCK 1787. SUB MINISTERIO COMITIS DE SCHIMELMANN. They were perhaps acquired on the cession of Tranquebar to the British in 1801. The records show that the Danish ship *Treasure* was commanded by 'Count Schemelman' in the year in which the pieces were cast (*P.C.*, vol. cxliii., 25th May, 1787). All the guns above-mentioned have lately been transferred from Fort St. George to the Museum.

Sir Charles Oakeley, who succeeded as permanent Governor under the orders of the Court of Directors, had passed his career in the Madras civil service. Son of the Rev. William Oakeley, a Staffordshire rector, he was born in 1751, and came to Madras as a Writer in 1767. He worked under the Civil Secretary, and eventually became Secretary, first in the Civil and afterwards in the Military Department, where he remained until 1782. In 1786 he was appointed to the newly constituted Board of Revenue, and two years later returned to England.[2] In 1790, on accepting the position of Second in Council at Madras with succession as Governor to General Medows, Oakeley was created a baronet. He acted as President during Medows's absence on field service, and assumed office as Governor on the 1st August, 1792. The chief event of his rule was the third British capture of Pondicherry, in 1793, by Colonel Brathwaite, consequent on the outbreak of war between France and England. Other and more domestic features of his administration are dealt with in the following pages. Owing to the state of his health, Oakeley applied in 1792 to be relieved, and he resigned on the 7th September, 1794, on the arrival of Lord Hobart.

Oakeley resided at Shrewsbury and afterwards at Lichfield, where he died in 1826. A monument was erected to his memory in Lichfield Cathedral. He married at Madras in 1777 Helena, daughter of Robert Beatson. A reproduction of a portrait of Sir Charles Oakeley, after J. Barber, will be found in Sir Charles Lawson's *Memories of Madras.*

NATURAL SCIENCE.

In April, 1791, Dr. Anderson announced that the Nopalry at Marmelon[3] was ready for the reception of 'the best kind of Cochineal Insects from America, where alone they can be found.' Finding that mulberry-trees, which he had planted twenty years before in his own garden, throve well, Anderson turned his attention to sericulture, and procured silk-worms' eggs from Bengal. He remarked that 'the Lady Governess has directed the Plantation of Mulberry Trees at the Female Asylum,' and that several of his friends in Madras and other places were experimenting with silk-worms.[1] His correspondence with Government on this subject was published in the *Madras Courier* of the 18th May, 1791. Anderson suggested that the cultivation of the mulberry should be encouraged by the Board of Revenue, and that Mr. Robert Spencer Corbet, who possessed Italian experience, should be deputed to inspect the plantations:—'I hereby mean the Garden at the Public Rooms,[2] at the Play House,[3] and his Highness the Nabob's, commonly called Old Mackay's Garden,[4] as well as several smaller Gardens at Vipare and St. Thomé, where there are altogether about five hundred Mulberry Trees. I do not include Mr. Chase's garden on the plain, Mr. Hall Stewart's in the Black Town, nor Mr. Pophams . . ., as these gentlemen are taking care of Silk worms themselves.'

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 1st Aug., 1792.

[2] *Memories of Madras*, Sir Charles Lawson.

[3] Now *Lushington's Gardens.*

Further correspondence was published in the *Madras Courier* of the 11th June. Announcing that he had secured the co-operation of many district officers, including Mr. John Philip Burlton, Anderson urged the adaptation of the Female Orphan Asylum to the silk industry. He wrote:—'Could the Governors and Governesses therefore of this Asylum be perswaded to forego the Idea of Educating Ladies-maids, you might consider this Charity as a sufficient establishment for the Filature of Madras and its environs, conformable to the practice in Italy; and the young women would thus acquire the possession of an art that would be sufficient to preserve them independant through life.'

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Doctor James Anderson addressed us a Letter, representing the success he had experienced in the introduction of Silk Worms at this place, and the superior quality of the Silk made from them. He has also stated the public utility of establishing such a manufacture on this Coast, and having recommended that ground should be allotted for plantations of Mulberry Trees, we have desired the Board of Revenue to give instructions to the Collectors to appropriate at first a small portion of ground in a suitable situation for the purpose, and to afford every proper encouragement to the cultivation of Mulberry Trees.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 28th April, 1791.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clxix., 19th April, 1791.

[2] The *Public Rooms*, also known as the *Assembly Rooms* or *Pantheon*.

[3] The Playhouse was at this period on Choultry Plain. 'The Theatre on Choultry Plain, which always affords great pleasure to the Audience, gave particular satisfaction last Saturday evening. The justly popular little Comedy of the *Citizen* has seldom appeared to more advantage.' (*Madras Courier*, 22nd June, 1791.)

[4] Mackay's Garden, on the Mount Road, was acquired by the Nawab after the death of George Mackay.

The Nopalry at Marmelon, under the charge of Dr. Berry, had been developed into a Botanic Garden :—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'The monthly sum of Pagodas 150 having been regularly drawn for the expences of the Nopalry, besides the Allowance of 50 Pagodas for Dr. Berry, we thought it proper to direct him to deliver in his Accounts of the expenditure since the establishment was first allowed. . . .

'The original Plan had in view to establish a Nopalry only, but in consequence of a proposal from Dr. Anderson . . ., the Garden has been extended to the reception of various Plants of Different Countries, and a great part of the monthly Allowance has been employed upon this new improvement. We therefore agreed to Submit the matter to your Consideration ; and should it be your Wish to continue the Nopalry in the hope at first entertained of procuring and sending hither the Cochineal Insect, we request you will be pleased to communicate your determination on the Subject, and whether you approve of any and what establishment or expence for a Botanical Garden at this Presidency.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 16th Jan., 1792.)

The Court's reply seems to have been favourable to the maintenance of a garden and nurseries, for Dr. Berry continued, as 'Superintendent of the Nopalry,' to cultivate a variety of plants, and among them rubber. In 1796 he wrote that some poon and resin plants consigned by Mr. Smith, of Pulo Penang, had perished, but that the 'Elastic Gum Plants' received from Mr. Smith and Captain Clarke of H.M.S. *Victorious* were doing well.[1] In the following year Berry reported that the clove plants from Amboyna which were growing in the Nopalry would be distributed in Dindigul and the Baramahal, as well as to Mr. Place for his garden at Carangooly, and Mr. Call for his garden at the Red Hills.[2]

Meanwhile Dr. Roxburgh had been prosecuting his scientific researches at Samulcotta. The following extract from a letter to the Company from Fort St. George may perhaps relate to cinchona:—'We have the honor to transmit you a Letter from Doctor Roxburgh to your Honble Court, with the Papers which accompanied it. The Box of Drawings, and another Box containing the East India Fever Bark, have been delivered to the charge of Captain Hamilton of the Dutton, with the Parcels of Seed mentioned by Mr. Roxburgh.'[1] In the following year Roxburgh offered suggestions for the relief of the Circars from the effects of famine:—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccx., 15th July, 1796.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxiv., 6th Jan., 1797. Lionel Place was 'Collector of the Jageer,' and James Call was 'Sea Customer.'

Dr. William Roxburgh to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. clxxxi., 8th Feb., 1793.)

'*Suggestions on the Introduction of such useful Trees, Shrubs and other Plants as are deemed the most likely to yield Sustenance to the Poorer Classes of Natives of these Provinces during times of Scarcity.*

'There are but few, if any, of the lower Maritime Provinces of India that are not Subject to (I dare scarce Venture to say periodical, because our knowledge of Meteorological facts is but as yet very imperfect) visitations of Drought, more or less long according to unknown circumstances. Within these few years we have seen and heard of the dreadful effects of such droughts prevailing over many parts of Asia. It is sufficient for my purpose to take notice of that which has taken place in the Circars for no less than three years Successively, to the dreadful effects of which I have been a constant Eye Witness. . . .

'[Note.] The Rajah of Pittapore's Family Bramen, a respectable old man, informs me that he finds among the records of his Grand-Father and Father an account of a most dreadful Famine which prevailed over the northern Provinces during the years 1685, 86 and 87. During the first year, grain was not so scarce, and sold for about 20 Seer of Paddy, or 10 of Rice, to the Rupee. During the second it became more scarce, and sold at double that rate; but the last year there was only one shower fell, so that every thing was most completely burnt up. There was scarce any kind of grain to be had. The price rose to be at the rate of one seer of rice the rupee. Very few People survived these three years. The three first succeeding years to that Famine were remarkably wet. The next famine taken notice of in these Provinces was in 1737, but it was trifling compared to the former, and lasted but a few months. Rice did not rise to more than eight Seers the Rupee.'

Roxburgh goes on to say that though the province depends on paddy, cultivation is unaided by either tank or river irrigation, and he points out that the obvious remedy for famine is the construction of reservoirs and channels. When surgeon at Nagore, between 1778 and 1780, he had observed that Ceylon stopped the exportation of cocoanuts during a time of scarcity. He accordingly proposes that canal banks and village streets be planted with this tree, which is scarce in the Circars. He also advocates the cultivation of the sago, date, and palmyra palms, the plantain, jack, bread-fruit, and opuntia, all of which possess a food value.

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 31st July, 1792.

> 'But after all, I fear that no great deal of good can be done while the Present System of renting the lands of these Provinces prevail, Vizt. that the Sower scarce knows whether he will reap or not, and if he mends the Bank of a water course or digs a well, he knows not but it may be for the benefit of another; such being the Situation of the Cultivation throughout the lands under the management of the hereditary Zemindars: those (Havally[1]) under the immediate management of Government are managed otherwise, I believe. It is therefore on these lands that we may hope soonest to see resources for the Poor, hitherto unknown in these parts, springing up. . . .'

Roxburgh concludes with observations on the monthly rainfall at Samulcotta between 1788 and 1792. The annual figures are:—1788, $75\frac{5}{12}$ inches; 1789, $46\frac{10}{12}$ inches; 1790, $17\frac{4}{12}$ inches; 1791, $26\frac{11}{12}$ inches; 1792, $43\frac{6}{12}$ inches. The Government approved the suggestions offered, and resolved to procure cocoanuts from Colombo, sago-palms from Travancore, and bread-fruit from the Nicobars for sowing and planting.

In the course of 1793 Roxburgh was transferred to Bengal to take charge of the Botanic Garden at Calcutta,[2] and Dr. Benjamin Heyne, of Tranquebar, was nominated to superintend the Samulcotta nurseries. Botanist though he was by appointment, Dr. Heyne's chief researches were made in the field of mineralogy and metallurgy. In 1795 he submitted voluminous reports on the diamond mines of Malávelly, and the iron-smelting industry as practised by the natives of Ramanaikapetta near Ellore.[3] In the following year he furnished a 'Description of the Copper Mines at Agricondula in the District of Innacondah'—mines which, according to local report, had been neglected or abandoned for two centuries. He also wrote on garnets, and the geology of the 'Boggleconda Hill' near Innaconda.[4] His communications were generally addressed to Mr. Andrew Ross of Madras, and by him forwarded to Government.

In 1798 copies of 'Dr. Patrick Russell's Book respecting Indian Snakes,' and of 'Dr. Roxborough's Publication respecting the

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[1] *Havally*, land managed by Government; from Ar. *havelī*.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxxxv., 16th Aug., 1793.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxcviii., 6th March, vol. ccii., 28th Aug., and vol. cciii., 22nd Sept., 1795.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. ccxi., 12th and 13th Aug., 1796.

Native plants of the coast of Coromandel' were in course of distribution by the Board of Trade.[1]

Anderson's Nopalry survived till the last year of the century, when Lord Clive announced that it had entirely failed in its object, and must therefore be closed. At the same time the Governor resolved to establish a Botanical Garden on the Mysore plateau, a region which enjoyed a more favourable climate.[2] The late Sultan's Garden at Bangalore, called the Lāl Bāg͟h, was accordingly placed under the charge of Dr. Heyne.[3] Dr. Francis Buchanan examined the Madras Nopalry, and stated that it contained some valuable trees, such as 'the olive, the stone-pine, the oak, the carob, the varnish tree, the myrrh, the balsam, the date, the pimento and the coffee.' Some of the plants might be moved to Mysore territory, others to Tinnevelly, but many were too old for transplantation, and Buchanan considered that it would be a pity to abolish the Saidapett Garden.[4] Government declined, however, to modify their decision, and Dr. Berry reported in July that he had ready '74 Cooley load of Clove, Nutmeg, Chacolate, Mangostan, Doorian, Sago and other Molucca plants for the Garden at Bangalore.'[5]

THE LUNATIC ASYLUM.

The establishment of an institution for the care and treatment of the insane was due to Assistant Surgeon Valentine Conolly, who in February, 1793, succeeded Dr. Andrew Berry as Secretary to the Hospital Board. The Board, which then consisted of Physician-General James Anderson, and Head Surgeons Colley Lucas and William Raine,[6] warmly supported the proposals which Mr. Conolly put forward in the following letter:—

Mr. Valentine Conolly to Sir Charles Oakeley in Council.

The attention which upon all occasions you have been pleased to show to every undertaking that has carried with it the appearance of public utility emboldens me to submit to your consideration proposals that have for their object the relief of a description of men who claim in a most eminent degree the protection and support of the human and benevolent—I mean, Sir, those unhappy sufferers who labor under a deprivation or derangement of mental faculties, for whom no provision has hitherto been made on this Establishment, and who in consequence are dispersed over different parts of the country or confined in the public prisons.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxiv., 17th March, 1798.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxlii., 18th March, 1800.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxliv., 16th May, 1800.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. ccxliv., 20th April, 1800.
[5] *P.C.*, vol. ccxlvi., 25th July, 1800.
[6] Dr. Raine had formerly been a prisoner with Tippoo.

'The want of an asylum on the Coast for Lunatics has been long a matter of much regret, and in some instances it has been attended with dreadful consequences.

'Every species of insanity requires not only the exhabition of proper medicines and a strict attention of Regimen, but generally a particular management also, which cannot be accomplished without an appropriate apparatus, a House adapted for the purpose, and servants who have been properly instructed to act as necessity may require their services. With such advantages, it is probable that many might be restored to their reason and to their Friends who would otherwise drag on a miserable existence in the most humiliating state to which human nature is liable.

'I purpose then, Sir, and hope my proposal will obtain the sanction of your Patronage, to erect at my own expence a commodious Hospital for the reception of Lunatics, consisting of sixteen separate and airy apartments, with warm and cold baths, and every other necessary out-office: the whole surrounded by a wall of a sufficient height in conformity to the plan which accompanies this address, with whatever alteration or amendments the Chief Engineer may think necessary.

'That the Chief Engineer be directed to mark out a piece of ground for the purpose in the vicinity of St. Thomé, or in some retired situation where the inhabitants of the neighbourhood may not suffer inconvenience from it.

'That Government do take a lease of the House so to be erected for a certain time not less than ten years, at a rent proportionate to the expense that may be incurred in building it and the probable repairs during that period.

'That all insane Officers and privates be sent in to this Hospital, and that their monthly allowances be paid into the hands of the surgeon in charge of it for their maintenance.

'That for such insane persons as may be sent to the Hospital by the Justices of the Peace, or the Officers of Police, and who have no friends or relations in the country to whom application could be made for assistance, the surgeon be allowed to draw from the Company the means of their support according to their former situation in society: for those who had lived in the character of Gentlemen, the allowances of a Lieutenant, and for others the allowances of a private. . . .

'That an invalid Serjeant be placed under the surgeon as Keeper, with as many invalid privates as may be required in proportion to the number of patients in the Hospital; and that, as an encouragement for them to discharge their duty with care, diligence and humanity, the Serjeant be granted an allowance of ten Pagodas monthly, and the privates five pagodas each, the number of the latter to be limited to four for the present.

'That for each patient in the Hospital the Surgeon be allowed to draw for one Cooly to attend him. . . .

'That the Physician General be requested to visit the Hospital occasionally, which shall be at all times open to his inspection, and to the inspection of any of the members of the Hospital Board or the Civil Magistrates. . . .

'An Institution of a similar nature has been established for several years past in Calcutta, from my personal observation of which . . . the foregoing outline has been drawn. Shou'd it be favor'd by your Approval, the expence to the Company will be trifling, and the convenience and satisfaction resulting to the Public must be considerable. My own views will be perfectly gratified, as they terminate in affording to those for whom I plead every aid and assistance in my power; and I trust that a long and attentive investigation of the nature, causes and treatment of the Diseases in question will enable me to arrange and execute the interior duties of the Hospital with propriety and effect. V. CONOLLY.' (*Mil. Cons.*, 9th July, 1793.)

Pending approval by the Court of Directors, Sir Charles Oakeley sanctioned the scheme on condition that the maximum monthly rates payable for each patient should be Pags. 30 for an officer, Pags. 25 for 'a person not in the Service coming under the denomination of a Gentleman,' and for non-commissioned officers and privates the amount of their pay and batta. If the sanction of the Directors was withheld, the promoter was to be reimbursed his actual expenditure. Conolly agreed to the conditions, and intimated that the maintenance charges falling on Government at the outset for three insane officers and ten privates would not exceed Pags. 63 monthly.[1] The Collector of the northern division of the Jaghire, Mr. Roger Darvall, was directed by the Board of Revenue to select ground north of Black Town, but Conolly urged that a position in Pursewaukum would be preferable:—

Mr. Valentine Conolly to Sir Charles Oakeley in Council.

'Understanding that my application for a spot of Ground whereon to erect the Lunatic Hospital has been submitted to your consideration by the Board of Revenue, I beg leave to represent that the Situation I have chosen is the most unexceptionable one I could find, after having repeatedly examined the Environs of Madras in every direction.

'I have been induced to extend the Bounds farther than may at first View appear necessary, in order that a sufficient space might be secured for a free circulation of Air round the Hospital, and that Hutts and other nuisances might be kept at a proper distance. I also thought it necessary to have room enough for a Garden to supply the Patients with Vegetables, and for a Bungalow to be built contiguous to the Hospital for the residence of any future Superintendent, as well as other accommodations for a variety of Servants, whom it would be improper to lodge within the walls.

'The Chief Engineer has expressed his entire approbation of the Situation; and it appears by the Note which I have the Honor to enclose from Colonel

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[1] *M.C.*, 12th Nov., 1793.

Gent[1] . . . that the Ground could be of no use whatever to the Company or to the Inhabitants, being even unfit for the purpose of making Bricks.

'Not apprehending therefore that a few Cawnies of waste Ground would be withheld when the convenience of so humane an Institution was in Question, and actuated by my Zeal to execute the Plan with as little delay as possible, . . . I have, at a very considerable Expence, enclosed it with a deep Ditch, and planted a strong Fence of Thorn and Milk-Hedge round it. I have also collected upon the Ground a great Quantity of all the Materials necessary for Building, to the amount of nearly two thousand Pagodas, and have caused Wells to be sunk, Chunam Kilns to be Built, and sheds to be erected for the different workmen . . . V. CONOLLY.' (*M.C.*, vol. clxxxii., 28th Jan., 1794.)

Government approved the Pursewaukum site[2] provided Conolly paid such compensation to the villagers as the Board of Revenue might consider suitable, and in the following month they addressed the Court of Directors.[3] In April a formal grant was made of about 45 acres at a nominal quit rent of Pags. 51, but the rent was not to be demanded so long as the building, which had then been erected, was devoted to public purposes.[4]

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel William Gent was officiating as Chief Engineer during Colonel Ross's absence in England.

[2] At the junction of Pursewaukum High Road and Brick-Kiln Road.

[3] *M. to Eng.*, vol. xxvii., 18th Feb., 1794.

[4] *R.C.*, vol. lvi., 17th April, 1794, and *Register of Leases*, No. 112, of the same date.

CHAPTER XXVII

1790—1794

THE OBSERVATORY—THE PANTHEON—THE CURRENCY

The Observatory.

Mr. Topping's proposal of 1789 to provide a permanent observatory for the accommodation of the Company's astronomical instruments, and to replace the structure lent by Mr. Petrie, had been referred to the Directors, who viewed it favourably:—

Mr. Michael Topping to Sir Charles Oakeley in Council.

'The Honble the Court of Directors having been pleased, in their General Letter to this Presidency under date 19th May 1790, to declare that *the Establishment of an (astronomical) Observatory at Madras would be of very great advantage to Science*, I lose as little time as possible in addressing your Honble Board on—(what you are pleased to require of me)—the expence likely to attend such an undertaking.

'And first, Honble Sir, permit me to observe that the confirmation of my appointment and that of Mr. Goldingham[1] reduces the whole consideration to *the erection of the Building alone*, respecting which I beg to state That an Observatory, besides the principal Appartment for the *fixed Instruments*, must have appartments for the accommodation of the Observer and his Assistants. It should also have suitable places for the safe deposit of a variety of Mathematical and Philosophical Instruments, as well those that are already here as the magnificent ones daily expected from Europe; a Room for a Library; and it should have the advantage of being situated on a clear and sufficiently extensive Spot of ground for the Meridian Marks and other appendages. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clxix., 17th June, 1791.)

Topping added that little work could be done at present, 'the Instruments having been necessarily removed from the Observatory during the late hostile aspect of affairs at Madras.' He advised the acquisition of Mr. John Turing's house and garden at Vepery for Pags. 5,000, in view to adaptation and extension at a further cost of Pags. 1,500. Government sanctioned the proposal, but the native proprietor promptly raised the price. Mr. Edward Garrow's house on the Plain and Mr. Davidson's[1] at the Luz were alternatively suggested, but Topping remarked that 'the Walls indeed of most of the Dwellings round Madras are, I find, laid in Mud instead of Chunam, a circumstance that should by no means be admitted in a public and permanent Building.' On Petrie's recommendation the Government then approved of a design prepared by Topping, and authorized the Astronomer to build an observatory at a cost of Pags. 6,500.[2]

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[1] Goldingham returned to India in July, 1790, staying for a time at Bombay to ascertain the longitude of that place. He found that the charts were twenty minutes in error. In the following year his allowance as Assistant to Topping was fixed at Pags. 50 per month. (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 16th Jan., 1792.)

Major Maule, who was then acting as Chief Engineer, represented that the design and erection of public buildings rested with his department, and he severely criticized Topping's drawings:—

Major Maule to Government.

> 'The only one amongst them that can come within the Appellation of a Plan is that of the House and its Elevation, which appears to consist of a Veranda, a double Hall, a Room for Instruments, a Library, and a Parlour or Study, and a Stair case leading, I suppose, to the Upper Apartments shewn in the Elevation. . . . The Plan and the Elevation are both without Scales. . . .
>
> 'Thus far of the proposed House. Of the Observatory I find nothing to judge from, as the only Trace of that Building discoverable in the Papers before me is in the one No. 3, where there is shewn a rectangular figure with the Word "Observatory" written within its area, and a Meridian Line drawn through it.' (*P.C.*, vol. clxxi., 5th Aug., 1791.)

Topping rejoined that the scale could be determined with the aid of compasses. Maule retorted:—'I assert that neither the Compasses, nor all the Instruments of a Vitruvius, a Palladio and Inigo Jones together, could select, from what is exhibited by Mr. Topping, a single Datum for any Decision.' The Major continued:—'The first Observatory built by the English East India Company at one of their principal Settlements in India will always be esteemed, and will always be expected to remain a lasting Monument of their Munificence and Public Spirit—a Monument that will create Enquiry at its Origin, excite Attention in its Progress, and *should* call forth Admiration in its Completion from the enlightened and cultivated World.'[1] Maule added that a sound project should provide security of foundations, insulation of instruments, and uniformity of temperature, and remarked that Topping's design would yield, not an observatory, but only a house containing an observing room.

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[1] Mr. Alexander Davidson was serving as Chief at Vizagapatam, where he died in September, 1791.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxx., 26th July, 1791.

The Government were puzzled how to decide between experts, but they ultimately purchased Mr. Edward Garrow's house for Pags. 5,000 as the Astronomer's residence and office, and authorized Topping to build an observatory in the grounds.[2] The work was completed at the end of 1792 at a cost of Pags. 2,426.[3]

Mr. Michael Topping to Government.

'To those who have seen the Madras Observatory I need not, I believe, offer any argument to prove that the sums stated in my account have been *bona fide* expended upon it. The work has been executed in a *faithful* and *substantial* manner; and the extra expence has arisen *chiefly* (tho' not entirely) from my having added Verandas as a necessary ornament not proposed in my original Plan.

'The Honble Board are too well acquainted with the expence of Building in this Country not to know that an Edifice in which there is so much Brick and Chunam work, Timber, and Stone-Masonry must have been built with every attention to *true* œconomy not to cost *double the sum* charged. If, however, any doubt should arise, I am ready to attest that I have actually disbursed every pagoda stated in the account on the Observatory, which, being a *public* and *permanent* work, I was determined should not be disgraced by any narrow parsimony in its construction: I indeed resolved to risk incurring the extra expence *myself* rather than do any thing on such an occasion unworthy of the Company or the Establishment. . . .

'And the Honble Board are not unacquainted with the *obstacles* I encountered during the full term of three years ere I could obtain the Ground and other requisites for founding this Institution. MICHAEL TOPPING.' (*P.C.*, vol. clxxxiii., 26th April, 1793.)

At about the same time Topping proposed the formation of a regular Survey Department in connexion with the Observatory:—

Mr. Michael Topping to Government.

'Being about to leave Madras on the important Service ordered by Government for improving the Cultivation of the Circars; at the same time feeling a strong inclination, as sense of duty, to keep in view the object of *general Geography*, and the improvement of the Maps and Charts of India on principles more correct and extensive than those hitherto reduced to practice, I take the liberty of addressing a few Words to the Honble Board on this interesting Subject before my Departure.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clxxi., 19th Aug., 1791.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxxi., 1st Oct., 1791.

[3] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 13th Nov., 1792.

'The Honble Court of Directors . . . having been pleased to direct that all Persons, Civil or Military, employed in Geographical Surveys (with exception only to Officers on duty with the Army or Detachments) shall act under my direction; And having done me the honor to approve of the mode I heretofore proposed for the improvement of Geography *by Corresponding Astronomical Observations*. . . ; And further, having actually established *an Observatory* at Madras, furnished it with excellent Instruments, and appointed an Assistant to make and register the Observations, I hope I shall not be considered as deviating from the line of duty prescribed me if I propose the following regulations. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clxxxii., 30th March, 1793.)

The regulations, which were referred to the Directors, provided that Topping should be appointed Surveyor-General, with the control of all persons engaged in survey work, that draftsmen and Brahman assistants should be provided, and that a class for training surveyors should be established at the Observatory.

In 1794 the dwelling-house attached to the Observatory was reported to have settled and cracked from the weight of the upper rooms lately built on it. Colonel Gent[1] stated in the following year that 'the walls have sunk with their foundations more than in my first report, owing to the Vecinity of the river,[2] and the want of sufficient depth in the foundations for such a situation. All the Terraaces, are, of course, cracked through, and there seems to be no secure method of repairing the present building, which I am of opinion ought to be taken down and rebuilt.'

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board observe that, when Mr. Topping's estimate of Pags. 6,500 for erecting the buildings necessary for an observatory was, in consequence of their orders, transmitted to the Honble Court of Directors, they consented to incur that expence upon the express condition of its not exceeding the estimate . . . ; that forty four months only have elapsed since the house which is now reported to be in a state of decay was purchased for Pags. 5,000, upon Mr. Topping's report and recommendation that it was well adapted for the purpose; and that his bill for Pags. 2,426 for erecting the observatory itself, and other incidental expences, has since been discharged. Under the circumstances of the house in question having been purchased upon Mr. Topping's sole opinion, and of the sum allowed by the Honble the Court of Directors upon his estimate having, within a trifle, been expended under his own supervision, the Board do not feel themselves at liberty to put the Company to any further expence for the dwelling house of their astronomer.' (*P.C.*, vol. cc., 14th May, 1795.)

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[1] Colonel Gent succeeded Major Maule, who was killed before Pondicherry in 1793.

[2] The site was no doubt that of the present Observatory, on the bank of the Cooum in Nungumbaukum.

Topping died at Masulipatam on the 7th January, 1796, of fever brought on by over-exertion in surveying tanks in the district. He was succeeded as Astronomer and Marine Surveyor by Mr. John Goldingham.[1]

THE PANTHEON.

The date of the establishment of the Assembly Rooms or Pantheon has not been precisely determined, but it must have been anterior to December, 1789, when Hugh Boyd addressed Government regarding the exclusion of Sir Paul and Lady Jodrell from the 'Public Rooms.'[2] In 1791 Dr. Anderson mentions a mulberry plantation in the gardens of the Public Rooms, and on the 10th October, 1793, Lord Cornwallis was publicly entertained in the building. The property was at that time owned by Mr. Hall Plumer, civil servant and contractor for public works. Shortly after the Cornwallis entertainment the house and grounds were acquired by a committee of gentlemen, who regulated the amusements which were pursued in the settlement. Lord Clive gave balls and suppers at the Pantheon in 1802: from the succeeding year subscription dances were regularly held there under the control of a Master of the Ceremonies, Mr. Mark Roworth; the building was also utilized for dramatic performances, and in 1805 a public entertainment was given at the Pantheon to Sir Arthur Wellesley. The following particulars of the early history of the land and building are found in a conveyance of the property to the East India Company in 1830[3]:—

On the 21st August, 1778,[4] Governor Thomas Rumbold, on behalf of the Company, granted to Hall Plumer 'All that Piece or

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccvi., 22nd Jan., 1796. A sketch portrait of Goldingham will be found in *Observations on Length of Pendulum at Madras*, Goldingham, 1822.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clix., 22nd Dec., 1789.

[3] *Bills of Sale*, etc., No. 117, dated 17th March, 1830.

[4] In subsequent sections of the document of 1830, the date of the first grant is given as 21st August, 1788. This is an error for 1778. (*Vide Register of Grants*, No. 34, 21st Aug., 1778.)

Josiah Marshall, Thomas Fiott De Havilland,[1] John D. White, William Hart, Thomas Parry, George Arbuthnot, and Hamilton Hall of the one part, and Edward Samuel Moorat of the other part. The document recited that, since the last agreement, several plots of the original ground had been sold, while the buildings had been altered and enlarged. The area of the residue of the land, which was put at 13 cawnies, 23 grounds, and 1,110¼ square feet,[2] was described as bounded on the north by the gardens of Mr. Kensington and Teagaroy Chetty, south by gardens belonging to Messrs. Short, Hart, and Zcherpel,[3] east by the road leading to Dr. Anderson's Bridge, and west by a road[4] and Colonel Hall's garden. It was further set forth that this reduced area was transferred to Edward Samuel Moorat on the 26th March, 1821.

Finally, on the 17th March, 1830, the property was purchased from Mr. Moorat by the Government for Rs. 28,000. The building was then allotted as the Collector's Cutchery, and it ultimately became the Central Museum.

THE CURRENCY.

Current rates of exchange are quoted as follows in the *Madras Courier* for the 1st September, 1790:—

			Star Pagodas
‘*Gold*	Calcutta Mohurs 100	per	430
	Madras Pagodas new 100	„	108¾
	Portonovos 117½	„	100
	Portonovos old 116¼	„	100
Silver	Madras Rupees 361	„	100
	Pondicherry Rupees 354	„	100
	Sicca Rupees 355	„	100
	Bombay Rupees 355	„	100’

In the following year silver depreciated in consequence of large importations of the metal from Bengal, and exchange fell to 383 Arcot Rupees per 100 Pagodas. On the recommendation of

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[1] Major De Havilland, of the Engineers, who entered the service in 1793, left his mark on Madras. Among other works he built the Cathedral, St. Andrew's Bridge and Church, and a sea-wall from the southern extremity of the Fort to the north limit of Black Town.

[2] The map of 1816 shows about 22½ acres.

[3] These three plots lay between the Pantheon and Casamaijor's Road.

[4] Now called *Hall's Road* after Colonel and Brigadier-General Hamilton Hall, who died at Trichinopoly in

Sir Charles Oakeley, Acting President, and with the support of the merchants and shroffs, Government resolved to accept silver at the Treasury at the rates of 365 Arcot Rupees per 100 Pagodas, and 12 fanams 25 cash per rupee.[1] The bank offered to co-operate in circulating silver.

The first joint stock bank in Madras was founded on the 1st June, 1788, under the title of the Carnatic Bank. After working for three years, the proprietors wrote as follows to Government:—

The Proprietors of the Carnatic Bank to Major-General William Medows in Council.

(*P.C.*, vol. clxx., 8th July, 1791.)

'We had the Honor to address Government on the Third of July, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty eight, announcing the Establishment of the Carnatic Bank and soliciting your Countenance and support to an Institution which had, even in its Infancy, received the fullest Encouragement of the most intelligent and opulent Members of the Community.

'Having now not only firmly established the Credit of our Bank, but also proved its great Utility, particularly to the commercial Part of the Settlement, we once more venture to intrude ourselves on your Notice. . . .

'We now have it in Contemplation, should we meet with your Encouragement and support, to endeavour to give the Rupee a more easy and extensive Currency at the established Rate of Exchange. Hitherto we have been unable to receive that Coin at the Bank . . ., but if Government will be pleased to authorize the Receipt of our Notes at the Treasury (to any limited Amount they may think proper), we will make Arrangements for the Receipt of Rupees, and issue Notes accordingly.

'There cannot, we apprehend, be any Risk to Government in granting this Indulgence to a limited Amount, say One Lack and Fifty Thousand Pagodas, and we will venture to assert that the great object of fixing the Currency of the Rupee will be considerably forwarded by it, and a great Convenience established both to Government and Individuals who find it difficult to receive or pay away a larger Sum than One Lack of Rupees in the Course of the Morning, and the Shroffing, of which the expence is considerable, will be saved to the Individuals.

'Jos. Du Pre Porcher
'Thos. Cockburn
'John d'Fries, Junr.
'Jos. du Pre Porcher for J. Chamier and Thomas Redhead Esqrs.
'Porcher, Redhead & Co. for Messrs. Torin & Kindersley.'

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clxviii., 1st March, 1791.

Government having called for the Bank's regulations and for information regarding its financial position, a copy of the Articles of Association was submitted.[1] The founders were Josias du Pré Porcher of Fort St. George, in association with Thomas Redhead of Calcutta, John Balfour, John Chamier, Edward Raphael, Thomas Cockburn, and Benjamin Torin jointly with Nathaniel Edward Kindersley. The objects of the institution were the receipt of money, the issue of bills and notes, and the discount of bills, notes, and other securities 'after the manner of the most respectable Banks in London.' The capital was 120,000 Star Pagodas divided into eight shares. Power was taken to appoint a Cashier,[2] clerks, and servants, and to issue notes to the value of three times the capital. Porcher and Redhead, being the original projectors of the scheme, had a first right to purchase any shares which the other proprietors might wish to dispose of. Porcher was appointed a permanent Director, and two other Directors were chosen from the proprietors to assist him in the management. After three years' working, when Balfour and Raphael had sold their shares to John De Fries, junior, and Porcher & Redhead respectively, it was resolved to continue operations for a further like period.

Besides Star Pagodas, Madras Pagodas, and Arcot Rupees, the Government Treasury in the Fort Square usually contained a miscellaneous assortment of Gold Mohurs, Venetians, Porto Novo and Mysore Pagodas, Silver Dollars and Marātha Rupees, which were issued from time to time to the Mint for restriking. The payment of the war indemnity by Tippoo Sultan in 1792 brought a flood of strange coins to the Presidency. A Mint list of March, 1793, quotes the following :—

'Hydery Gold Mohurs - - -	at	16	Arcot Rs. each
Ahumeedee[3] Gold Mohurs - -	„	4	Mysore pags. each
Shiddahee[4] half Mohurs - - -	„	2	„ „ „
Hydery Pagodas - - -	„	4⅛	Arcot Rs. each
Vuroyen Gold Fanams - - -	„	16½	per Mysore Pag.
Raja Gopaul Fanams - - -	„	31	„ „ „

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[1] *P. Misc.*, vol. ii., 11th Aug., 1791.

[2] The first Cashier appears to have been John Hunter, who gave his name to Hunter's Road, Vepery. He married in 1794 Dorothea, daughter of the Rev. C. W. Gericke.

[3] *Aḥmadī.*

[4] *Sheddikī*

Cotta[1] Gopaul Fanams	at	33	per Mysore Pag.
Tellecherry Fanams	„	20	„ „ „
Sultan Fanams	„	13¼	„ „ „
Venetians	„	5	Rupees each
Shampoor Rupees	„	365	per 100 S. Pags.
Pondicherry Rupees	„	382¾	per 100 Mysore Pags.
Maratha Rupees	„	4⅛	per Mysore Pag.
German Crowns	„	2	„ „ „

Exchange. 412½ Rs. per 100 Mysore Pags.
„ 365 Arcot Rs. per 100 Star Pags.'

Mr. Benjamin Roebuck, the Assaymaster, reported that these coins were dealt with economically by the Mint. Gold fanams of low touch were melted with Mohurs of high touch to save the cost of refining, while silver below rupee standard was coined into fanams.[2]

Mr. George Moubray, the Accountant-General, retired from the service in 1792 to return to England, after an incumbency of one-and-twenty years. He was succeeded by his Deputy, Mr. Robert Woolf.[3]

So little matter relating to finance has been found in the records of the last five years of the century, that it will be convenient to anticipate the account of those years and insert that little here. Lord Hobart set himself in 1795 to reform 'the numerous and debased coins which are at present current in the provinces under the Presidency,' and proposed that no money should be recognized in the Carnatic but such as was struck by the Company with the Nawab's superscription. Walajah being in failing health, conferences were held on the subject with his son, 'Umdat-ul-Umarā, and the following letter to the Nawab was approved by the Council:—

Lord Hobart to Nawab Walajah.

'Upon my arrival at this Presidency it was my fix'd determination to treat your Highness upon all occasions not only as the ally but the old friend of the Company; deeming your interests inseparable; indeed so implicated that the one can scarcely be touch'd without it's effect on the other being immediately felt. . . .

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[1] *Kotta*, new.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxxxii., 22nd March, 1793.

[3] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 25th May, 1792. The disposal of Moubray's house in St. Thomas Street, and of his handsome suburban residence, known as the 'Cupola,' on the banks of the Adyar, has not been traced.

'If your principal objection to this measure[1] be the disinclination of your Highness to relinquish a right of Sovereignty, I answer that you are not desir'd to give it up, but to exercise it in a particular manner. It is propos'd to you to do it in a way free of all expence to your Highness, and not only calculated to uphold your dignity, but to perpetuate your name and to rivet your memory in the heart of every man who may be worth a Pagoda from Ganjam to Cape Comorin. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cci., 12th June, 1795.)

The earliest reference to the British Bank occurs in 1795. The Directors were George Westcott, Thomas Lewin, Robert Woolf,[2] Francis Lautour, and John Hunter,[3] the last named, who was formerly Cashier of the Carnatic Bank, being Secretary. The Carnatic Bank continued apparently to carry on business, for we find an allusion in 1798 to the deposit of lottery money 'in either of the Two Banks, or in a good and sufficient house of Agency.'[4]

A fluctuating rate of exchange between gold and silver continued to cause inconvenience in regard to the relative value, not only of the pagoda and rupee, but also of the pagoda and fanam. Colonel Gent, Superintendent of the Waterworks, complained in 1795 that, although the Masters Attendant of the past had always paid for the water they supplied to shipping at 42 fanams per Star Pagoda, Mr. William Abbott,[5] Deputy Master Attendant, declined to comply with custom on the ground that he was unable to recover from the ship captains more than the current rate of 45 fanams per pagoda.[6] In 1798 the following notification was published:—

Government Advertisement.

'Whereas the exchange between pagodas and rupees has been fixed by the Right Honorable the Governor in Council with the concurrence of the principal merchants at this place, in consequence of the great influx of Silver, at 350 Arcot Rupees per % pagodas; and whereas considerable inconvenience has been caused by the combination of Shroffs to prevent the establishment of the abovementioned exchange; the Governor in Council hereby gives notice that the exchange is to continue fixed at 350 Arcot Rs. per % pagodas, or twelve fanams and Sixty eight cash for every rupee; and all officers in public authority are hereby required effectually to enforce this rate of exchange. . . . J. WEBBE, Secretary to Government.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxxi., 28th Dec., 1798.)

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[1] The abolition of the Nawab's Mints.

[2] Robert Woolf, a civil servant of 1780, married Miss Ann Smart in 1786. Westcott and Lewin were civil servants dating from 1764 and 1770 respectively.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxcvii., 7th Feb., 1795.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxx., 30th Nov., 1798.

[5] William Abbott was in 1788 agent to Paul Benfield, and four years later became Secretary to the Nawab *vice* Charles Binny. He married (1) Miss Ann Rogers in 1785, and (2) Miss Elizabeth Lee in 1800.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. cxcix., 10th April, 1795.

Owing to the scarcity of gold at this period, Madras Pagodas were again made current at Fort St. George:—

Government Advertisement.

'[Government will] receive and issue Madras Pagodas at the Treasury at the following rates, Viz^{t}. Nine and a half (9½) per Cent on new, and eight and three quarters (8¾) per Cent on old Madras Pagodas.[1] It is therefore required that Madras Pagodas shall be as readily accepted in payments as Star Pagodas at the above exchange by all ranks of Natives as well as by Europeans; and all persons offending against this regulation will be liable to incur the displeasure of Government.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxiii., 13th Feb., 1798.)

Benjamin Roebuck, the Assaymaster, reported on the restricted outturn of the two Mints. The Gold Mint in the Fort Square, consisting of two rooms only, had a manufacturing capacity of Pags. 1,40,000 per month. With the addition of one set of adjoining apartments, he offered to increase the yield by a lakh. During the late war a new Silver Mint[2] had been erected, with a capacity of Rs. 10,00,000 monthly. This building having been recently taken up for military stores, the Assaymaster had reverted to the old Mint, the delivery of which was only Rs. 3,00,000.[3] The coins struck in the two Mints appear to have been Star Pagodas, Madras Pagodas, Arcot Rupees, Madras Fanams, and Madras Doodoes.

Down to the end of the century the nominal control of the Mint was vested in the Governor as Mint Master, the real management being in the hands of the Assaymaster. In 1800 Lord Clive relinquished connexion with the Mint. The Paymaster and Sub-Treasurer assumed the office of Mint Master, and to him Mr. Benjamin Roebuck handed over the duties of Assaymaster.[4]

[1] 100 Madras Pagodas, new = 109½ Star Pagodas.
100 „ „ old = 108¾ „ „

[2] This new Mint seems to have been adjacent to the old Mint by the Royal Bastion.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxvii., 21st Aug., 1798.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. ccxliii., 19th March, 1800.

CHAPTER XXVIII

1790—1794

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—FORTIFICATIONS AND BUILDINGS

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

ANIMADVERTING on the circumstance that a case in the Mayor's Court had occupied upwards of two years in settlement, the Government represented to the Directors the desirableness of appointing judges who had received legal training:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

(*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 15th April, 1791.)

'It appears to us that, in the infancy of your Settlement here, and even during its progress until the last twenty years, the administration of Justice was liable to few difficulties. The Causes which came before the Mayor's Court were chiefly of a commercial nature, and the Gentlemen who composed the Court being well qualified by their habits to decide upon such disputes, justice was generally distributed with impartiality and good sense. In the Criminal Court likewise, which was composed of the Governor and Council in their Characters of Justices of the Peace, the Proceedings being few and conducted by certain prescribed Rules, the same effects were produced, and the society preserved in a state of much security and happiness.

'As the Colony increased with the increase of commerce and of territory, Causes multiplied and became more complex. The Judges now felt the want of experience, and even of time sufficient to go through their duties; new points constantly arose which required legal as well as mercantile knowledge: men who professed or pretended to this knowledge were therefore introduced as Attornies, and gradually obtained considerable influence in Courts where the Judges pretended to no legal Skill. Thus, by a Change of circumstances unforeseen and unprovided for, the current of Justice was in great measure turned into a new channel.

'These inconveniences have been of late further augmented by Acts of Parliament which extend the Jurisdiction of the Civil and Criminal Courts to Places, Persons and Offences that were before not subject to their authority

By such extension The Business has increased to a degree which renders it utterly impracticable for any but professional Judges to execute it with due solemnity and effect. . . .

'Upon the whole, we would submit for consideration and advice The Propriety 1st of having professional Judges for the Civil and Criminal Courts, 2ndly of making the Jurisdiction here subordinate to the Supreme Court of Bengal, 3rdly of restraining appeals *to final Decrees*, and to the Supreme Court of Judicature instead of permitting them to be carried to England, which creates a delay as hurtful to the just suitor as it is favourable to him whose interest lies in protractions.

'CHARLES OAKELEY, &c. Council.'

These suggestions ultimately led to the erection of a Recorder's Court; but in the meantime some relief was afforded to the President and Council by Act of the 33rd George III., which was virtually a new Charter to the Company, bearing date 11th June, 1793. Hitherto the Governor and Members of Council alone could exercise the functions of Justices of the Peace, but the new Act authorized the appointment by the Governor-General of such additional Justices as he might deem necessary, under commissions to be issued by the Supreme Court of Jurisdiction at Calcutta. The persons appointed 'shall not be capable of holding any Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, nor to sit in any such Court unless the Justices of the said Court[1] shall, on any particular Occasion, call upon them so to do; in which Case, and so often as the same shall happen, the Persons so called upon shall and may for that Time associate with them, and sit as Justices of the said Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery by virtue of this Act, and have a deliberative Voice, being first specially authorised for that Purpose by Order in Council.'[2] The additional Justices were also empowered to sit in Council to hear Appeals when authorized to do so by the Governor-General. For Madras, three Justices were appointed, Messrs. T. Corbett, T. Lewin, and G. Wynch.[3] At the Sessions of July, 1794, the President, after the first day's sitting, was absent on other duty, and the Grand Jury expressed doubt as to the legality of the Court's constitution. The following presentment was forwarded to Bengal for the opinion of the Supreme Court:—

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[1] Viz., the President and Members of Council.

[2] *A Collection of Statutes of the East India Company*, F. Russell, 1794.

[3] Theodore Corbett and George Wynch were civil servants of 1769 and 1773 respectively.

Presentment of the Grand Jury.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxcii., 25th July, 1794.)

'*Madraspatnam Sessions.* We, the Grand Jury of the Town of Madraspatnam, Sworn to Enquire for our Sovereign Lord the King for the body of the said Town, being justly and truly sensible of the many advantages arising to this place by the Gracious dispensation of the Royal Charter, as it has conveyed with it the Laws of England and prescribed the Proper method of Putting those Laws in Execution, *Do Present* that it has fallen under our Observation that from and after the first day of the Present Session, which was on Wednesday the 16th day of July 1794, until this Present time there has been but two Members of Council sitting in the Character of Justices on the Honble Bench; and that great doubts have arisen in the Minds of us the said Grand Jury that the 'Deliberative Voice' given by the 33rd of George the third to the new Justices constituted by that act does not Capacitate them to Vote in a Court of Session of Oyer and Terminer; and that consequently there may not be a full sufficiency in this Honble Court to proceed in the Tryals before it, or to pass Sentence on those Prisoners who have been convicted since the first day of the Session, in as much as the Charter of Justice granted by his most Gracious Majesty for the Town and its Dependencies does Expressly specify that the Governor or President and two Members of Council[1] shall sit and be competent to hold a Court of Session; and we do upon our Oath consider that it is our particular Duty and touching this present Service that We submit our Doubts to the consideration of this Honble Court. ANDREW ROSS, Foreman, GEORGE PARRY, HENRY BROWN, CECIL SMITH, JOHN JERVIS, EDWARD HOLLOND, GEORGE COLEMAN, W. H. GORDON, JOHN McDOWALL, H. BOYD, L. D. CAMPBELL, THOMAS SNODGRASS, RICHARD CHASE, J. TULLOH, THOMAS STEPHENS, JOHN STUART, W. FRASER.

'Madraspatnam, Town Hall.
'Wednesday 23rd July 1794.'

Though the Court appears to have been held on this occasion at the Town Hall in Choultry Gate Street,[2] a house in Charles Street was rented for the special use of the Justices:—

Mr. Andrew Ross to the Secretary to Government.

'Having been informed that the Honble the President in Council is desirous of Renting a large House which belongs to me in Charles Street (in the Fort) as a convenient place of meeting for the Justices who are to officiate in obedience to the late Act of Parliament, it is my request that you will inform the Honble President that I am willing to let the whole of the House, together with the offices, the Accommodations for a Family, and large spaces of Ground (all of which open into the back Street where the Arsenal stands as well as into the street in Front)[1] belonging to it, at the moderate Rent of eighty Pagodas per month for five years from the first of next month; with the reserve of my retaining some Godowns and a Stable connected with the most distant part of the Buildings, seperate and of small extent or value, but of some convenience to me by living in the same street.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxci., 30th May, 1794.)

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[1] Under the new Act, the Government of Fort St. George consisted of the President and three other Members of Council.

[2] Otherwise called Court House Street.

The new Justices, sitting as Magistrates, drew attention to the prevalence of lawlessness in Triplicane, and asked for military aid in execution of judgment on persons residing in that suburb:—

From the Justices to the Honble. Sir Charles Oakeley in Council.

'Some instances of Offenders being forcibly rescued from the Officers of Justice having lately occurred in that part of the Vicinity of Madras called Triplicane, We beg leave to represent to you the expediency of Stationing a Military force in that Quarter of the Suburbs for the Support and Assistance of the Civil Authority, Such being the only means by which, in our opinion, due respect can be ensured to the Orders of the Magistrate either for suppressing tumults or correcting other offences against the peace.

'The circumstance of His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatick having for many years past established his settled residence within a mile and a half of Fort St. George has occasioned a vast resort of Moormen to the same situation; and they not only being of the same Cast or Religion as His Highness, but most of them employed under his Government either in a Military Character or as Revenue Servants or as Artificers, are induced, from an idea of his protection, to encourage their relations and followers in the Commission of various kinds of Outrage and insult. Many of these have on different Occasions attacked in the most wanton manner persons going along the highway, sometimes by throwing bricks and stones at them, and sometimes by violently assaulting and dragging them out of their Palanquins. In these practices they appear to make no distinction in favor of any Class of persons except those of the Mahomaden persuasion: Gentlemen holding the most respectable Stations in the Honble Company's employ have been exposed to the same disgraceful and ruffianlike treatment in Common with the Hindoo Natives of every Cast or description. And against such injuries the quiet passenger can have no means of defence or refuge while throngs of assailants are ever ready to rush forth and second the Wild and disorderly proceedings of their fellow Musselmen.

'Having thus given a general Abstract of the case founded upon informations which have been laid before us at our regular sittings, it only remains for us to express the confidence We entertain that your Honor, &c., as the supreme guardians of the public peace as well as of the Dignity of His Majesty's Government, will adopt either the means We have suggested or such Others as may appear to you better calculated to ensure the preservation of good Order and the maintenance of Civil Authority throughout this Presidency and its dependencies. THEO. CORBETT, THO. LEWIN, GEORGE WYNCH.'

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[1] The 'street in Front' was Charles Street, and the 'back Street' was Palace Street. Ross's house, which was taken by Government for four years, was therefore situated on the west side of Charles Street, south of the Admiralty.

Government Order.

'The Board are concerned to observe the Outrages which are represented to have been committed by the dependents of the Nabob; but as these practices must be unknown to his Highness, they trust that the future commission of such irregularities will be guarded against by a representation to him.

'The President is therefore requested to address the Nabob, and to desire that the most effective measures may be taken for restraining such excesses in future.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxcii., 22nd Aug., 1794.)

A recommendation was made to the Directors in 1791 for the release from jail of such Debtors as had suffered long terms of imprisonment:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'In consequence of a petition delivered in from the Debtors under confinement at this Presidency representing the sufferings they labour under, we desired the Sherriff to transmit us a list of the Persons under his Custody for Debt, specifying how long they had been in confinement, with the nature of their case, and such other particulars as could afford full information concerning them.

'The Sheriff has complied with our requisition in laying a list of the Prisoners before us; and as it frequently happens that the Debtors are confined for small sums, a great part of which is too often accumulated from the exorbitant Charges of the Attornies of the Mayor's Court, we take the Liberty of expressing our hope that you will be pleased to adopt such measures as may appear to you proper for their releasement after a certain period of confinement, or to have them included in the King's Acts of Grace passed from Time to Time for the relief of Debtors.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 28th April, 1791.)

Among the debtors lately confined was the Rev. John Philip Fabricius[1] who had long been involved in pecuniary difficulties. The Rev. Christian William Gericke,[2] his successor in charge of the S.P.C.K. mission at Vepery, wrote as follows regarding his late chief's affairs:—

The Rev. Christian Gericke to the Secretary to Government.

'In Answer to your Letter of the 2nd Instant, by which I was desired to report the State of the late Mr. Fabricius's Concerns for the Information of the Honble the Governor in Council, in consequence of a Copy of a Memorial from Madam Haenicke respecting her Claim upon the said Mr. Fabricius for the Sum of Pagodas 2,877-16-49 with Interest, I beg to observe in the first place that the said Mr. Fabricius, ever since the year 1780 when his salary was detained by the Honble Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, in London, to refund a Legacy to the Tranquebar Mission which by his means was lost, has been subsisted by Charity untill his Death, which happened in January last,[1] two months after I had found means to liberate him from Jail, in which he had then been confined two years, and that his Funeral Expences were defrayed by his Friends. . . .

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[1] Fabricius, who came to India in 1740, officiated at the marriage of Robert Clive in 1753.

[2] In 1793 Gericke was Secretary of the Female Orphan Asylum (*P.C.*, vol. clxxxi., 28th Jan., 1793). He died in 1804. A monument by Flaxman, erected in St. Mary's Church, commemorates his labours.

'The late Mr. Fabricius made all his Friends sufferers, but in point of Trouble none had more on his account than Mr. Swartz and myself as Missionaries, Executors to Estates, and Attorneys. But all our Trouble in recovering what was lost to the Mission and others has been fruitless. The late Colonel Wood's Estate suffer'd most, as Mrs. Wood had appointed Mr. Fabricius to act in her Stead, she being an Executrix. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clxx., 24th June, 1791.)

Another Madras resident in financial difficulties was Sir Paul Jodrell, the Nawab's physician. Addressing Government in 1793, he represented that he came out 'by the Command of his Majesty and at the request of his Highness the Nabob in the year 1788.' Fearing arrest for debt, he now asked to be regarded as a member of the Nawab's family, and consequently exempt from civil process. Government expressed concern, but refused the request.[2]

Steps to ameliorate the lot of debtors and other prisoners were taken by Mr. Edward Atkinson,[3] Sheriff for 1793. After urging the desirableness of enlarging the Debtors' Jail, he proceeded:—

The Sheriff to Sir Charles Oakeley in Council.

'I cannot quit this Subject without mentioning to your Honble Board the necessity of building a Commodious Gaol in an open healthy Situation, with a number of small Apartments in it, that a man who may be so unfortunate as to be confined there may have an Opportunity of carrying on his particular business, and may by his industry extricate himself from his embarrassments. . . .

'Mr. Jones, who is confined in the felons' Goal as a Lunatick, has represented to me his Distressed circumstances. He was pensioned many years ago on fifteen Pagodas per month, which he received regularly until March 1791, when it was ordered by Government to be discontinued. Since that period he has had nothing but the common Goal Allowance of two fanams a Day, which is not sufficient to find him in victuals. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clxxxi., 15th Feb., 1793.)

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[1] Fabricius was buried in the grounds of Vepery Chapel, now the churchyard of St. Matthias's, but no monument remains. (*List of Inscriptions*, J. J. Cotton.)

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxxxii., 8th March, 1793.

[3] Edward Atkinson, a civil servant of 1783, gave his name to Atkinson's Road, Vepery.

In 1795 the question of better accommodation for Debtor prisoners was again brought up by the Sheriff, then Mr. Richard Borough.[1] Observing that 'the House allotted for the confinement of Debtors is situated in a narrow street in a very public part of the black Town,' he recommended that a bastion of Black Town Wall adjacent to the one used as a Felons' Jail[2] be adapted for Debtors. The Chief Engineer considered that the bastion indicated was too small to admit the necessary buildings, and suggested the north-west angle as suitable:—

The Chief Engineer to Government.

'The N.W. Angle bastion of the black Town, though a little farther removed than the one mentioned by Mr. Borough, is in every respect fit for the purpose of a Jail. It is spacious enough to admit of extensive buildings, and the situation such as at all times to have a free circulation of air.

'A plan for a Jail proposed to be built in this bastion was a few years since laid before Government by Lieut. Colonel Ross, but I am unacquainted with the reasons why it was not carried into execution. . . .

'I have the honor to submit to your Lordship a Plan of the N.W. Bastion, and the prison proposed to be built in it. This is nearly according to the Plan made by Lt. Colonel Ross, which was estimated at Pags. 10,000. I have reduced the number of Rooms . . ., making the Estimate amount to Pags. 6,182-22-16. . . . W. GENT, Chief Engineer.' (*P.C.*, vol. cci., 27th June, 1795.)

The punishment of penal servitude seems to have been not unfrequently inflicted. The Sheriff was directed at this time to hand over to the Chief Engineer four native prisoners who had been sentenced to 'two years labour on the Honble Companys works.'[3]

In this year died Stephen Popham, the Government Solicitor. He is said to have been killed by a fall from his curricle at Conjeveram. The date on his tombstone in St. Mary's cemetery is the 13th June, 1795,[4] but his death is recorded in the Consultation of the previous day, when Mr. Robert Williams, who had lately acted jointly with Popham, was appointed sole Solicitor to the Company on Pags. 100 per month.

The Justices represented the insufficiency of the military guard in Black Town, but the Government considered an increase in numbers unnecessary:—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cc., 25th May, 1795.

[2] The street next the ruins of the northern wall of Black Town is still called Old Jail Street.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cci., 7th June, 1795.

[4] *List of Inscriptions*, J. J. Cotton.

The Justices to Government.

'The military Force stationed for the protection of the Black Town of Madras having lately been reduced (as we are informed) to the number of One Havildar and twelve Sepoys, we conceive it to be greatly inadequate to the purpose of providing for the tranquillity of a Town which is supposed to contain upwards of sixty thousand[1] Inhabitants; and we therefore find it our Duty to represent the same for the consideration of Government. . . . THEO. CORBETT, THOS. LEWIN.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxcvii., 7th Feb., 1795.)

FORTIFICATIONS AND BUILDINGS.

The numerous instances which have been given of the inveterate objection of the people of Madras to assessment for public improvements afford matter for surprise that the inhabitants should at this juncture come forward with a proposal to tax themselves. Their conversion was probably due to fear lest Tippoo Sultan should attempt to repeat his father's exploits in the suburbs of the Presidency town. Antonio de Souza, Shawmier Sultan, Adrian De Fries, Miguel Joannes, and sundry Hindus, as representatives of the 'Inhabitants of Madraspatnam,' announced their determination in 1791 to assess themselves at 30 fanams per 100 pagodas on house property in Black Town for the purpose of 'Strengthening the Walls and Excavating the Ditch.' They proposed to nominate a Committee to regulate the expenditure, and asked for military superintendence. They added:—

The Inhabitants of Madraspatnam to Government.

'We do not arrogate to ourselves any extraordinary merit for this Exertion for the public safety, but at the same time we must take the liberty of observing that, although it may seem in the first instance we are consulting our own personal safety, yet at the same time we contribute to preserve an Opulent Town from the Depredation of the Enemy, and thus secure three hundred thousand useful subjects from Distress and even Destruction. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clxvii., 2nd Feb., 1791.)

Government applauded their public spirit, and instructed the Military Board to render professional assistance to the People's Committee. The desire for taxation was not quite unanimous, however, and a petition was received from 154 inhabitants protesting against the action of De Souza and others, 'who, having by injury accumulated a vast deal of riches here at Madras, do regard no Money' in proposing a levy 'for the purpose of forming Ditches round about the Boundhedge.' They said that a Quit Rent on houses at 10 fanams per 100 pagodas was already collected, and they asked that the new tax might be placed on land at 10 fanams per Ground[1] of 2,400 square feet, and 3 fanams per Garden-ground. They hinted that Ditch-money might be preferably obtained from the betel and tobacco farmer, their oppressor. The petitioners received in response a reprimand for using unseemly language regarding De Souza, and the Military Board were directed to superintend the execution of the work.[2]

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[1] The smallness of this estimate suggests the omission of some words by the copyist. Four years earlier the population of Black Town was put at 300,000. (*P.C.*, vol. clxvii., 2nd Feb., 1791.)

From a statement of Godown accommodation in the Fort, it appears that the Treasury and Broadcloth godowns were in the Fort Square; the old Fives Court near the Grand Magazine, which had been purchased by Government and roofed in, was used by the Storekeeper;[3] the Import Warehousekeeper's Copper Godown was beneath the Court House, while the bomb-proofs under the east curtain were allotted to the Sea Customer and Master Attendant.[4] The Export Warehouse occupied a position in Charles Street.[5]

The Members of Council were provided with quarters in the Fort at the public expense:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'A Bill amounting to Pagodas 900 for the rent of a house occupied by Mr. Petrie in the Fort having been presented to us for payment, we consented to discharge it, as we found that it had been usual for some years past to allot to each Member of your Council a similar Accommodation. But as we believe this indulgence is not authorized by your Intentions, we have judged it necessary to mention the circumstance, and to request your orders for our future guidance. The Governor being permitted to occupy the Garden and Fort House belonging to the Company, your Honble Court may probably be induced to extend the indulgence of accommodation in the Fort to the members of the Council, as the number is so much reduced. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 31st July, 1792.)

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[1] *Ground*, formerly known as a *Lot*.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxviii., 18th Feb., 1791.

[3] Major Maule proposed to convert the Fives Court into a Granary. (*P.C.*, vol. clxx., 22nd July, 1791.)

[4] *P.C.*, vol. clxvii., 11th and 24th Jan., 1791.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. clxxxvii., 20th Dec., 1793.

In readiness for the arrival of the Squadron under Commodore Peter Rainier[1] in 1794, the Chief Engineer was directed to survey 'the Honble Company's house allotted to the Commander of his Majesty's ships in India' as well as the 'Company's House in St. Thomé Street' set apart for the use of the naval officers.[2] The situation of the Commodore's residence is not specified. It may have been in the Fort, but 'the Admiral's house at St. Thomé' is mentioned in an advertisement in the *Madras Courier* of the 24th November, 1790. This was probably the edifice which accommodated Sir Edward Hughes in Lord Pigot's time.

For the use of the hostage princes of Mysore two houses were taken, one in the Fort belonging to the estate of the late Mr. J. M. Stone, and the other, which was the property of Mr. Edward Hollond, on Choultry Plain. Both were left by the princes in a damaged condition, and substantial compensation was paid to the owners by Government.[3]

The Ministers (the Rev. B. Millingchamp, Archdeacon Richard Leslie, and the Rev. A. Bell) and Churchwardens (Messrs. William Jones and Henry Sewell) having applied for assistance in rebuilding the steeple of St. Mary's Church, which, though repaired in 1767, still lacked its former spire, Government consented to meet two-thirds of the anticipated cost. An application made two years earlier to defray the charge for re-erecting the organ, which had been removed when the church was used as a granary, was, however, unsuccessful on the ground of lapse of time.[4] The orders regarding the spire ran as follows:—'It appearing upon reference to have been customary to defray the expence of repairing the Church, Agreed to inform the Ministers and Churchwardens that, as their funds are not adequate to the charge of rebuilding the Steeple, Government consent to contribute two thousand (2,000) Pagodas, half of which sum will be advanced at the commencement, and the remainder at the conclusion of the work.'[5] The new steeple was built in 1795 by Lieut.-Colonel Gent, who was appointed Chief Engineer, Superintendent of the Waterworks, and Superintendent of the Company's Lands after Major Maule's death at Pondicherry.[1] Colonel Ross had proceeded to England on leave after the Mysore campaign, in which he served under Medows and Cornwallis.

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[1] Commodore Rainier married Miss Eliza Bowler at Fort St. George in 1805.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxciv., 11th Oct. and 3rd Nov., 1794.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. clxxxix., 7th March and 17th May, 1794.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. clxviii., 25th Feb., 1791.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. clxxx., 18th Jan., 1793.

Later in 1793 it was resolved to provide a market in the Fort 'at the back of the Gun Shed facing the North West Curtain' for the convenience of the Garrison and residents.[2] An application for a licence for a Fort tavern was, however, viewed unfavourably. Addressing the Justices, the Secretary to Government wrote:—'The President in Council thinks that to allow the establishment of taverns within the fort may be attended with serious inconveniencies; and as the one already licenced at the Exchange is, in his opinion, sufficient for the accommodation of strangers, I am directed to desire that the request preferred by Messrs. Chaplin and Linham may not be complied with.'[3]

The old redoubts at Egmore and San Thomé are alluded to at this period. The former must have preserved some of its features of defence, for Major Maule, who was acting as Chief Engineer in 1793, reported that its drawbridge was past repair, and advised the construction of a new one.[4] Part of the rampart of this redoubt may still be seen, for the external face-wall along the western side, and about half that on the northern side, were utilized in the construction of buildings which still survive. The face-wall was 6 feet high to the cordon and 3½ feet above, and the rampart, including both external and internal walls, was 12 feet thick. Twelve embrasures are visible in the portions preserved. San Thomé Redoubt, on the other hand, was in ruins in 1794, and its site was granted to Colonel John Brathwaite, Commanding the Forces, for private purposes:—

Colonel Brathwaite to Sir Charles Oakeley in Council.

'In the course of a ride, I lately saw the remains of a ruined redoubt at the entrance of the St. Thomé river on the Madras side. It occurr'd to me that it was at present an useless and neglected spot, and that it was a pleasant and cool situation whereon to build a Bungalo; and to that end I had thoughts of applying to your honor in Council for a grant of the ruin'd redoubt and a portion of the ground, or rather sand, all round it, to prevent low people who might become troublesome neighbours from erecting their huts there. Previous however to taking this step, I addressed a letter to the Chief Engineer[1] that I might not improperly give you trouble.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clxxxv., 6th Sept., 1793.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxxxvii., 15th Nov., 1793. The Gun Shed was situated to the northward of Hanover Square.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxcii., 23rd Aug., 1794.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. clxxxiii., 10th May, 1793.

'I have now the honor to lay before you his answer, and as he states that the ground is the property of the Honble Company, and that he sees no publick inconveniency that can arise from my having a grant of it, I sollicit of your honor in Council a grant of the redoubt, with so much circumjacent ground on all sides as it shall appear proper to you to include in the grant. JOHN BRATHWAITE.' (*R.C.*, vol. lvi., 11th July, 1794.)

Mr. George Parry, Superintendent of the Company's Lands, sending in a plan of the ground, remarked that 'the soil is sandy and is so much empregnated with salt as to be altogether useless for cultivation.' An area of about 14½ acres was accordingly granted to Colonel Brathwaite at the reduced quit rent of half a pagoda per cawny.[2] The property seems afterwards to have passed into the possession of Mr. Parry, probably Thomas Parry, free merchant. In a survey of San Thomé of 1805 it is marked 'Mr. Parry's,' and for many years afterwards the building erected on it was known as 'Parry's Castle.'

The ancient octroi station of Periamett still subsisted as a Land Custom House, perhaps the principal one of Madras. In 1794 the Chief Engineer submitted an estimate for the repair of the 'Custom Choultry and Godowns at Perriah Mettoo.'[3]

In Black Town, the channel to the sea which was proposed by Popham for the interception of drainage flowing through the city from the northward seems to have been excavated, for the grain merchants complained that the 'Water Course to Carry all the Water from the Marata Town to the Sea in order to secure the houses in Black Town' had been obstructed by a native, and that their banksalls on the beach had consequently been flooded.[4] A reference is also made to the gardens which formerly occupied the space between the two pettahs:—

'*The humble Petition of Juldoo Pole Chitty of Madras, Merchant*

'Sheweth, Whereas in the year 1758, during the first Government of Lord Pigot, the Honble Company took a space of Ground out of your Petitioner's

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[1] Colonel William Gent.

[2] *R.C.*, vol. lvii., 1st Aug., 1794, and *Register of Leases*, No. 118, of 2nd Aug., 1794.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxciv., 24th Oct., 1794.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxcv., 9th Dec., 1794. The channel no longer exists.

> Garden to make a Street, to the extent of about thirty one thousand two hundred and twenty square feet, situated in Attapollum Street between the Honble Company's and the Three Brothers Gardens,[1] whereupon were planted two hundred Coconut trees; for which Ground a consideration was offered to be given to your Petitioner's Father by the Committee of Works, who, conceiving it to be rather inadequate, made some demur; and the Committee of Works, rather prematurely, preferred a Complaint to the then Government, who, without any further enquiry, Resolved not to allow any Compensation whatever for the said Grounds to be given to your Petitioner's Father; which at once precluded him or your Petitioner from being redressed, and who to the several succeeding Governments made applications, but unfortunately without receiving any kind of satisfaction whatever.
>
> 'Your Petitioner further States that he is now in actual possession of the Grounds Eastward to that taken by the Honble Company, and can also produce the Original Bill of Sale shewing that your Petitioner's Ancestors were the proprietors.
>
> 'The Petitioner therefore most humbly beseeches that your honor in Council will take the present case under your benevolent Consideration by ordering a revision of the claim. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clxxxix., 21st Feb., 1794.)

An inscription belonging to this period is found on the corner-stone of an old building situated off the Mount Road near the present Harris bridge. The records of the Deputy Collector of Madras contain documents relating to the land on which it is built, including a bill of sale in Persian of 1779 and a sale deed of 1784 in Tamil.[2] The building, which was probably erected in 1790, was for many years the place of business of Messrs. Lewis Milner & Co., and afterwards of Messrs. Spencer & Co. It then became the office of the Madras Survey, and has lately been converted to the use of the Postmaster-General. The inscription, in raised Persian characters, is translated thus[3]:—'When the exalted Shadow of God conceived the idea of designing to do good deeds with royal purpose, I asked the date of founding from Khizr the Wise. He spake, *The bountiful canal of Walajah*,[4] 1205.' The River Cooum, near the bank of which the building stands, is perhaps the fruitful channel indicated.

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[1] The *Three Brothers Garden* appears to have been identical with the *Four Brothers Garden* of Thomas Pitt's map.

[2] Communicated by Mr. J. R. Coombes, formerly Deputy Collector of Madras.

[3] By the late Mr. William Irvine, B.C.S.

[4] The numerical values of the letters in this phrase sum up to 1,205, the Hejira year corresponding to A.D. 1790.

CHAPTER XXIX

1790—1794

THE 'MADRAS COURIER'—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

THE 'MADRAS COURIER.'

IT has been stated on an earlier page that the *Madras Courier* was first published on the 12th October, 1785, and that the British Museum preserves an imperfect file for 1790-92. A description of the sheet, with a few illustrative extracts from its contents, may perhaps be not without interest. The paper, consisting of four pages, which were increased to six when the news supply was copious, is headed with the Royal Arms and the motto *Quicquid agunt homines.* The page measures about 20 inches by 12 inches, and each issue is marked 'Post free, Price one Rupee.' The first two pages are generally devoted to extracts from English papers, the third to letters to the Editor and Indian news, and the fourth to poetry and advertisements. Military intelligence naturally bulks largely, but items of general Madras news are only sparingly inserted. Some information, however, is obtainable, especially from the notifications and advertisements. The paper was issued weekly on Wednesday until the 3rd August, 1791, when the day of publication was changed to Thursday.

The Editor of the paper in 1789 was Hugh Boyd, who held the official position of Master Attendant.[1] He resigned the conduct of the journal in 1791, as appears from the following extract:—

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[1] His salary as Master Attendant was Pags. 38 per month, with emoluments of about Pags. 775 per annum, derived from the watering of ships (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 6th Oct., 1792). The correspondence regarding Sir Paul Jodrell shows that Boyd was Editor of the *Courier* in 1789. (*P.C.*, vol. clix., 22nd Dec., 1789.)

Editorial Note.

'The Editor who for some years has had the honour of conducting the Madras Courier, finding the weekly return of attention which it requires extremely inconvenient and hardly compatible with other employments which claim his first care, has been obliged, since the last Courier, to decline the conduct of the Paper. . . .

'Of his old weekly friend The Courier he takes leave with the less regret as he is confident, from the care of the other Proprietors and the abilities of the Gentleman who has so well assisted in the Editorship for fifteen months past, it will be conducted entirely to the satisfaction of the Public.' (*Madras Courier*, 13th July, 1791.)

Two years later Boyd established a paper called the *Hircarrah*, the distribution of which, free of postage, was sanctioned by Government[1]:—

Mr. Hugh Boyd to Government.

'Having received very general encouragement from the Public expressing their desire that I should publish a new Paper, particularly from the commercial part of the Community, and having, in conformity with the former Resolutions of Government, given ample and secure indemnification to the family of the late Mr. Richard Johnston, the institutor of the former Press in the year 1785 . . ., give me leave to request the approbation and sanction of Government. . . . H. BOYD.' (*P.C.*, vol. clxxxv., 13th Sept., 1793.)

Boyd died in October, 1794,[2] 'so very insolvent that his Estate will not produce nearly sufficient to satisfy those who have obtained Decrees and Executions against it.'[3] A month before Boyd's demise Mr. S. A. Humphreys wrote to Government that, having set up a printing press, he desired to publish a weekly paper in conjunction with Messrs. Parry, Jones, and Pasley. His application, however, was rejected.[4] The editorship of the *Courier* passed, on Boyd's resignation in 1791, to Mr. James Stuart Hall, an Attorney of the Mayor's Court, who got into trouble with Government almost immediately. On the 15th September he published an allegorical story entitled a *Chinese Anecdote*, which professed to describe the tyrannical conduct of a ruling mandarin towards the inhabitants of a Tatar State. Mr. James Landon, who, as Collector of South Arcot under the Board of Assigned

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clxxxvi., 20th Sept., 1793.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxciv., 20th Oct., 1794. Boyd was succeeded as Master Attendant by Mr. Edward Adderly.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cc., 28th April, 1795.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxciii., 19th Sept., 1794.

Revenue, had intimate relations with Pondicherry, saw in the narrative a distorted account of incidents in his official life. In complaining to Government, he gave his own version of the transactions, and prayed for redress.[1] Mr. William Abbott, Agent for the proprietors of the *Courier*, was called on by the Secretary to Government, Mr. Charles N. White, for explanation. Abbott referred to the editor, Mr. J. Stuart Hall, who stated that he was ignorant of the identity of the author of the story, and was unaware, when he inserted it, that it contained any personal allusion.[2] The editor was ultimately ordered by Government to publish the following declaration:—

Apology by the Editor.

'The Editor of the Courier is extremely concerned that an anonymous Paper, entitled a *Chinese Anecdote*, containing Reflections prejudicial to the Character of a gentleman in the Honble Company's Civil Service, was inserted in the Courier of the 15th September last, and thinks it necessary by way of apology to declare, which he does in the most solemn manner, that he was not the Author of this paper, that he does not know who was the author, and that at the time of its insertion he was totally ignorant of its having any personal aim whatsoever.

'The Editor is also authorised to mention that the Gentleman who has been so much injured by the abovementioned publication has laid before Government the most satisfactory proofs of the Falsity of those facts which are alluded to in the Paper.' (*P.C.*, vol. clxxii., 6th Dec., 1791.)

The following extracts from the *Madras Courier* are grouped according to subject rather than chronologically:—

Education.

27th October, 1790.—'JOHN HOLMES, A.M., Proposes immediately opening an Accademy in Blacktown for the instruction of Children in *Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, History*, the use of the *Globes, French, Greek* and *Latin*.

'Mr. Holmes, having received a very liberal College Education, and being determined to pay the strictest attention to the Morals and improvement of the Children committed to his care, begs leave to assure the Ladies and Gentlemen of Madras and the Neighbourhood that his best Endeavours shall be exerted to form the minds and Manners of those intrusted to Him.

'Mr. Holmes will accommodate a few Boarders, to whom particular attention will be paid, and will allot some hours each day for private tuition in Families. The terms for boarders, day Boys, &c., will be moderate.'

15th December, 1790.—'MADRAS ACADEMY. Mr. Holmes returns his thanks to his friends and the public for their liberal encouragement, which has now determined him to persevere in the undertaking, and to conduct the Academy on the most approved plan that has been adopted in Europe the last ten years.

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[1] *P. Misc. Bk.*, Oct., 1791, where Landon's letter and a transcript of the *Chinese Anecdote* are recorded.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxxii., 28th Oct., and 4th and 22nd Nov., 1791.

'Mr. Holmes has engaged the best Masters for French and Writing that could possibly be procured in the Settlement; and intends shortly removing into a large, commodious House, in which apartments will be allotted for the Young Ladies entirely removed and separate from the Young Gentlemen. There are at present five Vacancies for Boarders disengaged, and a very few day scholars will compleat the number Mr. Holmes has limited the Academy to for the ensuing six months.'

23rd February, 1791.—'MR. HOLMES respectfully informs his Friends and the Public the Academy will be removed on the 1st of next month to the large, commodious, elegant House and Gardens in Black Town lately inhabited by Mr. Marooth, which is so admirably calculated for the institution that Mr. Holmes will be enabled to accommodate at least twenty boarders in addition to the number he had before limited. . . .'

15th December, 1791.—'FEMALE BOARDING SCHOOL. *By permission of Government.* Mrs. Murray (late Mrs. Stevenson of the Female Asylum) begs to inform her Friends and the publick that she will open a Boarding School in Black Town on the first of January next for Young Ladies, which she intends conducting (as much as possible) in the manner most generally approv'd of in England. Her Scholars will be genteelly Boarded, tenderly treated, carefully Educated, and the most strict attention paid to their Morals. They will be taught Reading and Writing, the English language and Arithmetic; Musick, French, Drawing and Dancing; with Lace, Tambour and Embroidery, all sorts of Plain and flowered needle work on moderate terms. Day Scholars received and Instructed as above.

'*N.B.* Apply to Mrs. Murray, near Mrs. Gowdie's, for particulars.'

Recreation.

24th November, 1790.—'CIRCULATING LIBRARY. The Settlement of Madras is respectfully informed by the Proprietors that they intend opening a *Circulating Library* in an eligible House in Fort St George.[1] . . . The following are the Conditions upon which the Library will be opened, viz.—That each Subscription shall be three Pagodas per month. That as soon as an adequate number of Subscriptions are obtained . . . the Library will be opened, and Consists of above Two thousand Volumes of the latest and most choice Books. . . . That whatever books are taken by the Subscribers from the Library and not returned within three Months, if within fifty miles, and six months if taken to the Out-stations, will be considered as sold at the Library price. . . . That Gentlemen or Ladies who may chuse to visit the Library in the morning, which will be particularly fitted for the Reception and accommodation of the Subscribers, will be provided with the latest Newspapers of India and Europe for their amusement.'

1st December, 1790.—'CIRCULATING LIBRARY. The Proprietors of the Circulating Library, having found that the opinion of the Settlement does not Coincide with the amount of the Subscription to the Circulating Library; and being desirous of meeting the Public favour and Patronage to this Institution upon any terms that may be agreeable to the Settlement, take the liberty of submitting the Plan with the undermentioned Alteration. . . . That each Subscription instead of three shall be one Pagoda per month. . . .'

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[1] The Library was ultimately domiciled under the Exchange.

16th February, 1791.—'THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE MADRAS THEATRE are respectfully informed that on Thursday the 24th Instant will be performed the Tragedy of the Revenge, with the Farce of the Minor :—the Performance to begin precisely at half past Six.

'*N.B.* The Subscribers are requested to observe that altho', owing to a little Inexperience in Theatrical affairs, the Performers have hitherto been rather dilatory in observing punctuality, yet such have been the measures lately adopted that they will Enable the Performers to be ready at the time appointed without the smallest interruption being occasioned on their Parts, or inconvenience to the Subscribers.'

2nd March, 1791.—'The little Theatre on the Plain has been very fertile, and given two nights of entertainment since our last :—on Thursday The Minor, and The Virgin Unmasked; and last night The Revenge, and the Minor. . . .'

12th January, 1792.—'In our first Courier after the New Year we ought, in Justice to Taste and Elegance, to have noticed the *Ball* given by LADY OAKELEY on *New Year's Night.*

'The *Supper Tables* were laid out in the *Collation Stile*—which should ever prevail in the larger Evenings' entertainments of this Country—and produced, on the Doors being thrown open after the Minuets and two first Country Dances, a most pleasing Effect.

'The Company did not seperate until two in the Morning.'

An issue of Boyd's *Hircarrah* of January, 1794, supplies an account[1] of a concert of sacred music which was given at St. Mary's Church in aid of the Male Orphan Asylum. Selections from the *Messiah*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, and *Esther* were rendered. Among the vocalists were Lady Oakeley, Mesdames Porcher, Gent, Baker, and Johnston, and Messrs. Lushington, Oram, Baker, Pasley, and Hurdis. Mr. Michael Topping acted as organist; Captain Beatson with Messrs. Dieurstedt, Sherriman, Heefke, Caldwell, and Haydn[2] took the violins, and the Rev. Benjamin Millingchamp the violoncello; while clarinets, bassoons, horns, and drums were also represented. The hostage princes of Mysore were among the audience.

Taverns.

8th September, 1791.—'THE MASTER of that well known and much frequented House *The Griffin*, on the Great Western road,[3] returns grateful thanks to his friends and the Publick for that partial attention which he has hitherto experienced from them, and assures them it shall be his earnest and constant endeavour, by his future conduct, to merit a continuance of their favour. He has the pleasure to inform them that he has *now* laid in a choice assortment of Wines and other Liquors of the first quality, and in particular Claret of that much esteemed vintage of 1759. Also some of Thrale's best old October in the Cask, which he can answer for as having been in this Country upwards of twelve years: with Cheese and Hams, carefully preserved in Tom Lincoln's Godown since the year 1785. There is excellent Stabling for Horses, and Carriages with careful Drivers.

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[1] Quoted in *Memories of Madras*, Sir Charles Lawson.

[2] Charles Baker, Stephen Lushington, George Pasley, and Thomas Hurdis were civil servants; John Dieurstedt, organist; J. S. Sherriman and Heefke, traders; and Lieutenant James L. Caldwell, of the Engineers.

[3] The Poonamallee Road.

'*N.B.* The House is pleasantly situated with *Pumlies* in the neighbourhood, and Monboddo's Accademy for youth is near at hand.'[1]

12th January, 1792.—'Fort Tavern, Court House Street. John Card begs leave to acquaint his friends and the public in general That he is removed from the London Tavern in Black Town to the Tavern in Fort St. George, and he humbly solicits the continuance of that encouragement he has hitherto experienced.

'*N.B.* Soups every morning, and dinners dres'd on the shortest Notice—and the very best Wine.'

'Coffee House. James Fell begs leave to acquaint the *Public* that the *Coffee-Room* in the *Madras Exchange* will be opened on *Monday* the 16th *Instant;* and as he wishes to the utmost of his power to give general satisfaction, he proposes keeping the *Room* as much as possible on the same *plan* as that of *New-Lloyd's* in *London* by opening a sett of *Books* to register all *Arrivals* and *Departures* to and from all the *Ports* of *India*, and the first intelligence of *Shipping* to and from *Europe*. He also means to take in all the *News-Papers* of this *Country* and *Europe* for the use of the *Coffee-Room*, where a *Clerk* will attend for the purpose of receiving and taking care of *Papers* and *Letters* belonging to *Gentlemen* who may do him the *Honor* to frequent the *Room*. . . .'

5th April, 1792.—'Exchange Coffee-House. James Fell begs leave to inform the Gentlemen of this Settlement that he will have in future *Alamode Beef* from Eleven till Two, and from Six till Eight in the Evening, with *Salade*, &c., Dressed in the same manner as at the *Thirteen Cantoons* in *London*.'

Lotteries.

7th July, 1790.—'Lottery Fund. Star Pagodas 100,000, to be divided into 10,000 Shares or Tickets at 10 Pagodas each. . . .[2] The Madras Exchange Lottery commenced drawing on Thursday the 1st Instant. 250 Tickets are drawn each day, and the drawing Numerically arranged by 6 o'Clock the same Evening. . . . P. M. Cassin, Agent to the Exchange Company.

'The Prizes will commence to be paid on the 1st October next, deducting 10 *per Cent.*, agreeable to the Terms of the former Lotteries.'

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[1] This lampoon has lost point through efflux of time. 'Pumlies' indicate presumably the pommelo, a large fruit of the orange type. Mr. Foster points out that James Burnett, Lord Monboddo (1714-1799), published a work on *The Origin and Progress of Language*, in which he maintained that the orang-outang belonged to the human species.

[2] The prizes, aggregating Pags. 100,000 nominal, ranged from one of Pags. 10,000 to 2,950 of Pags. 20; but 10 per cent. of the amount of the prizes was deducted on payment for expenses and profit to the Exchange.

9th March, 1791.—The Madras Exchange Committee announced a new Lottery Fund of Star Pagodas 100,000. Benjamin Roebuck was the Treasurer; Valentine Conolly and Erskine Nimmo the Commissioners for the Lottery; Stephen Popham was appointed to examine and attest the drawings, and P. M. Cassin was the Agent to the Exchange Company and Secretary to the Committee.

16th March, 1791.—A 'Native Inhabitants' Madras Lottery' Fund of Pags. 50,000 was advertised under the management of Charles Darke. The profits were to be devoted to the Male Asylum, and to the relief of poor, lame, or blind natives of Madras.

29th December, 1791.—The European inhabitants nominated David Haliburton, William Balfour, Oliver Colt, Henry Chichley Michell, James Daly, and John De Fries, jun., to be managers of a Lottery Fund of Star Pags. 50,000, the profits of which were to be devoted to the repair of 'such Roads in the Environs of this Settlement as do not come under the particular Care of Government.'

Notifications.

16th June, 1790.—'PUBLIC NOTICE is hereby given that on the 21st instant will be sold by Public Outcry, on the Premises, between the hours of 4 and 6 in the afternoon, one House and Ground situated at Moottall Pettah in the second Street of the Hon. Company's Old Garden. . . . BENJAMIN BRANFILL, Sheriff.'

21st July, 1790.—'SADRAS PRIZE MONEY. Notice is hereby given that Mr. Porcher will continue to pay Prize Money to the Capture[r]s of Sadras at his House in the Fort from 9 o'Clock till 2 each Day.'

'NOTICE is hereby given That on Monday the 9th of next August, at 11 o'Clock in the forenoon, the Honourable Company's Madeira Wine will be Sold by Public Sale at the Sea Gate. W. WEBB, I.W.K.'

1st September, 1790.—'FEMALE ASYLUM. The Governors of the Female Asylum are requested to attend at a meeting which is to be held at 10 o'clock on Saturday the 4th September at Colonel Capper's House in the Fort. J. WEBB,[1] Secretary.'

8th September, 1790.—'NOTICE is hereby given that on Monday the 20th instant, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, the Honorable Company's Broad Cloth will be sold by Public Sale at the Sea Gate on the usual terms. W. WEBB, I.W.K.'

24th November, 1790.—'THIS DAY IS PUBLISHED Vol. II. of the Analysis, Grammar and Dictionary of the Hindostany Language. . . . Price to subscribers 8 Star Pagodas, and no residuary Copy will be sold under 12.'[2]

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[1] The patronymic of Josiah Webbe, the distinguished Secretary to Government and Political Officer, whose monument by Flaxman stands in St. Mary's Church, was originally spelt like that of William Webb, the Import Warehousekeeper. (*Vide List of Covenanted Servants* for December, 1784, etc.)

[2] This was probably Dr. Harris's Dictionary. The author states that vol. i. will shortly follow in numbers of about fifty pages each.

1st December, 1790.—A Government notification, signed by C. N. White, Secretary, informs 'such of the Gentlemen lately arrived from Europe as are disposed to apply themselves to the Persian, Maratha, Gentoo or Malabar Languages may be assured that their diligence will be noticed, and their attainments in due time rewarded by promotion in that line to which they appear most aptly suited.' To any civil servant applying, Pags. 10 per month will be allowed for a teacher.

22nd December, 1790.—'NOTICE is hereby given that no business will be transacted at the Bank either on Christmas or New Year's day. By order of the Directors.

'JOHN HUNTER, Cashier.

'Carnatic Bank, 20th Dec., 1790.'

'FORT GELDRIA IN PULLICATT. To be Sold by Public Outcry for Ready Money,—Cloves, Japan Pepper and other Articles belonging to the Hon. Dutch Company.'

1st June, 1791.—'GENERAL POST OFFICE.[1] Notice is hereby given that, in future, letters addressed to Persons with the Grand Army are to consist of no more than a small Slip of Paper rolled up, and any letters which may be sent to the Post Office not made up conformably to this regulation will be rejected. WILLIAM JONES, P.M.G.'

Domestic Occurrences.

14th July, 1790.—'BIRTH. Last Thursday, the Lady of Doctor Harris, of a daughter.'

2nd February, 1791.—'MARRIED. Last Saturday Morning, Lieut.-Col. John Floyd to Miss Darke, Daughter of Charles Darke, Esq.'

16th March, 1791.—'DIED. Yesterday, Mrs. Strange, Wife of James Strange, Esq^{r}., Paymaster at Tanjore. Her many virtues and accomplished talents render her loss a sincere subject of regret to her friends and society.'

19th April, 1792.[2]—'MARRIED. Yesterday evening, Miss Eliza Ann Popham, daughter of Stephen Popham, Esq. to Lieutenant George Lys[3] of His Majesty's 76 Regiment.'

Sale of Houses, etc.

28th July, 1790.—'TO BE SOLD. A large Commodious house with the appurtenances, situated in St. Thome Street, and adjoining to that of Geo. Moubray, Esquire. Also a House with the Godowns and other appurtenances Situated in James Street, remarkably convenient for any person in the mercantile line, at present occupied by Mr. John Andrews. Likewise three Houses in the Black Town situated on the Broad way leading to

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[1] The Post Office appears to have been situated at the south end of Charles Street, next the Warehouse or Cloth Godown. In February, 1792, it was moved to Choultry Gate Street, next the Court House. (*P.C.*, vol. clxxiv., 21st Feb., 1792, and vol. clxxix., 11th Dec., 1792.)

[2] This is the latest number of the *Courier* in the British Museum file for 1790-1792.

[3] George Lys afterwards became a partner in the firm of Lys, Satur & De Monte.

Mr. Popham's.[1] Being all the property of the Estate of Mr. Angus M'intosh deceased.

'For further particulars enquire of Mr. Geo. Chalmers, Attorney at Law, Fort St. George.'

21st July, 1790.—'BRIG PROVIDENCE. For Sale the Brig Providence, now lying in the Roads, burthen 170 Tons, mounting four Carriage Guns; all her Stores complete for Sea, and is only ix Years old. She will be sold for Cash or Bills on Canton. For particulars enquire of Mr. W. I. Chater, or at the Navy Tavern, Cameron Street.'[2]

25th August, 1790.—'FOR SALE. That large and commodious House situated at the bottom of Court Street,[3] the property of William Augustus Dobbyn Esq.[4] For particulars Enquire of Messrs. Chase, Parry & Co.'

13th April, 1791.—'TO BE SOLD By Outcry on Saturday next the 16th Instant on the premises, the Corner of Stringer Street, that commodious Elegant Upstair House well provided with Godowns and long known as a well frequented Tavern, and kept for many years as one by Robt. Peirson, late deceased, and John Scawen. . . .'

20th April, 1791.—'TO BE LET In Jones's Street[5] in the Black Town, consisting of a large Hall and Veranda, two large sleeping Rooms with a Veranda . . .; a Kitchen, 4 large Godowns, &c., and 5 stalls. At a monthly rent of 25 Pags. . . . Please to enquire of Mr. Branfill[6] in the Fort.'

15th December, 1791.—'TO BE SOLD. On Wednesday the 28th Day of December, by Public Outcry Sale at the Premisses, four dwelling Houses adjoining to each other, situated in Stringer's Street, Madras, belonging to the Estate of the late Mr. James Stringer deceased. . . .'

23rd February, 1792.—'*Thomas Umpherston*[7] vers. *Cottrell Barrett*.' A house and ground in Stringer Street and another in 'John Pareira's Garden Street,' the property of the defendant, to be sold by order of the Mayor's Court.

Trade Advertisements.

16th June, 1790.—'FOR SALE By Messrs. Beggle and Hefeke in Du Puy Street,[8] French Claret in Chests of two and two and a half Dozen each, at 3 Pagodas per Dozen for ready money only.'

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[1] Hence the name *Popham's Broadway*.

[2] Cameron Street in Black Town.

[3] *Court Street* or *Court House Street*, otherwise called *Choultry Gate Street*, Fort St. George.

[4] William Dobbyn, a civil servant dating from 1767, married Miss Elizabeth Bullock at Masulipatam in 1776.

[5] *Jones's Street*, east of, and parallel to, Popham's Broadway.

[6] Benjamin Branfill, a civil servant of 1782, married Miss Mary Whittall in 1789.

[7] In 1803 Thomas Umpherston was a coachbuilder in Black Town, James Umpherston a trader to Ceylon, George Umpherston a livery stablekeeper in Chintadripett, and William Umpherston a sutler at Gooty (*Madras Almanac*, 1803). One of these, probably Thomas or James, gave his name to 'Umpherston Street,' parallel to, and west of, Popham's Broadway.

[8] Du Puy Street, Black Town, named after Henry Du Puy, an Attorney of the Mayor's Court, who came to Madras in 1769. The designation is now obsolete, but in Hill's map of 1837-1839 the street next west of Moor Street in Muthialpetta is called 'Dupee or Angapen' Street.

'LARGE PEARLS. To be Sold at Public Outcry at Mr. D'Fries's House in the Black Town on Monday the 21st June, a Parcel of fine beautiful large Pearls for ready money. . . .'

7th July, 1790.—'WILLIAM BELL, Removed from Armenian Street To the House lately occupied by Mr. Beggle in Du Puy Street, Black Town, Begs leave to inform the Public that he continues the sale of his truly excelent and superior Madeira at 3 Pagodas *per Doz.* He begs leave at the same time to tender his sincere thanks for the ample support he has continued to receive from his friends and a justly discriminating Public.'

N.B. 'Madeira in Pipes at 95 Pags. each.'

'W. Bell has also opened a Store opposite the Town Major's Office, where his Madeira will be delivered, sealed as usual.'

10th November, 1790.—'MR. BEGGLE begs leave to inform the Settlement that he has erected a new *Baking House* on a superior Plan in Mr. Popham's broad way. . . .'

15th December, 1790.—'JEWELRY AND WATCHMAKING. Messrs. J. J. Durand and Son beg leave to acquaint their friends and the public that they have fitted up the S.E. Apartment in the Exchange in Fort St. George for the purpose of carrying on the abovementioned branches of business, where they flatter themselves they will be able to render perfect satisfaction to those who may favor them with their commands.'

27th January, 1791.—'MR. J. BURN begs leave to acquaint his Friends and the Public that he is now selling, at his Godown in the Passage under the Exchange, his China Investment, consisting of Tea, Sugar Candy, Nankeen, China Ware, Hams, &c. &c. on the most reasonable terms. . . .'

23rd March, 1791.—'MESSrs. BEGGLE AND HEEFKE Have for sale at their Godown, the last nearest the Exchange in Bandicoot Alley,[1] Fort St. George, Coniac Brandy of a superior quality, in Casks from 50 to 60 Gallons each, at 24 Fanams per Gallon. . . .'

1st June, 1791.—'MR. BEGGLE begs leave to inform the Public that he has opened a Work-shop in the Broad-way leading to Mr. Popham's, consisting of Carpenters, Turners and Blacksmiths, under the immediate management of Mr. Maurback, an application to whom for anything comprehended under those heads will be readily attended to, and executed at a moderate rate.'

13th July, 1791.—'MRS. LANEY presents her very respectful Compliments to the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Settlement, and begs their acceptance of her warmest thanks for the support she has already received from them. She continues to carry on the Milinary business in all its branches, and executes orders at the shortest notice and in the first stile of Elegance, having received the latest and newest fashions by the ships of this season. Mrs. Laney has also opened a shop at her House in Church Street, Fort St. George, where she has a variety of European articles for sale. . . .'

21st September, 1791.—'NICS. WHITE (Servant to the late David Graham, Esq., Military Paymaster at Ellore), begs to inform the Gentlemen and others of the Settlement that he proposes breaking in Horses, buying, Selling or keeping livery Horses at a reasonable rate. Such Gentlemen and others as please to honor N. White with their commands may rest assured that every attention will be paid to them. He may be heard of near the Hanoverian Hospital, Black Town.'

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[1] *Bandicoot Alley*, properly *Gloucester Street* or *York Street*.

24th November, 1791.—'JAMES TURNBULL Respectfully begs leave to acquaint his friends and the Public that he has opened a Godown in the South East angle of the Madras Exchange for the sale of Europe and Country Articles on commission. And that all orders from the Camp and Country (accompanied with bills of remittance) will be punctually executed on the most reasonable terms.'

15th December, 1791.—'ADVERTISEMENT. On Monday next will be exposed for Sale at Mr. Franks[1] Shop in St. Thome Street A small but fashionable and elegant assortment of Milinary, consisting of the following articles; Ladies Caps, Bonnets, Cloaks, Jackets, Handkerchiefs, Aprons, Dress Tiffany, Robes, silver Trimmings, &c., &c.'

12th January, 1792.—'EDWARD BENT begs leave to inform the Public that he intends opening a Broker's Office in the Exchange on Monday the 16th Instant for the sale of Goods by sample, and transacting every other branch in the Brokerage way, agreeably to the customs of Brokers in London and other trading Cities of Europe. . . .'

Local News.

28th July, 1790.—'SIR PAUL JODRELL, KNIGHT, *versus* EDMUND MORRIS AND JOHN HERBERT HARINGTON. This was an action upon the case for publishing (in the Calcutta Gazette) defamatory, false, malicious and libellous matter of and concerning the plaintiff, Sir Paul Jodrell. By reason of the printing and publishing of which . . . libel, the plaintiff in his good name, fame, credit and reputation is greatly hurt and damnified, and is injured to the value of 100,000 sicca rupees. . . . The Court without hesitation gave judgment for the plaintiff, with damages Sicca Rupees 500.'[2]

6th October, 1790.—'TO THE PUBLIC. A few Copies of the Trial of the Proprietors of the Asiatic Mirror for the Publication of a Libel against Sir Paul Jodrell, Knt. having been sent round from Bengal, they may be had on application to Mr. Jones (to whom they are consigned) at 2 Pags. each.'

17th November, 1791.—'The rains, which had subsided for two or three days, recommenced with much violence on saturday last, attended with squalls of wind from the North East, and which encreased to a Gale on sunday and continued so the greater part of monday. The sea ran very high, and the vessels that were in the roads labored much. Two of them, a Grab snow belonging to Porto novo and the Prince William Henry, drove a shore, the former to the southward of Covelong, and the latter to the southward of St. Thomé: happily however no lives were lost.

'In the Black town of Madras much damage has been done, and many of the houses belonging to the natives have been thrown down. The rivers have swelled to a highth hitherto unknown, and have flowed with astonishing rapidity: in the Vipery river some persons unfortunately perished in attempting to cross near the hospital. A considerable part of the long bridge at

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[1] Frederick Frank, who came to Madras in 1761, appears to have been the founder of the trading establishment in the Fort which was afterwards carried on by his descendants as 'Franck's Auction Rooms' in the Mount Road until nearly the end of the nineteenth century.

[2] The case appears to have been tried at Calcutta.

Marmalong has been destroyed, the roads broken up and rendered impassable, and the whole country is covered with water.

'The Chumbumbakum Tank, the filling of which seldom occurs, and is always celebrated by the natives with rejoicings, has been so full that they have been obliged to open its sluices to prevent it from breaking down its banks. . . .'

17th November, 1791.—This issue publishes the 'Narrative of Mr. William Drake, formerly Midshipman of the Hannibal, and other Prisoners taken last War, who have lately made their Escape from Tippoo.'[1] Drake, with three others, escaped into Marātha territory at the end of July, 1791, after a confinement of nine years. One of the five hundred prisoners taken by the French in the *Hannibal*, *Chaser*, *Fortitude*, *Yarmouth*, *Raikes*, and *Resolution*, he landed at Cuddalore in June, 1782, and was taken to Chellumbrum. On the 11th August the prisoners were delivered to Hyder Ali, who marched them to Bangalore. The officers were sent in irons to the fort, where they received an allowance of one country fanam per day and one seer of rice. The prisoners were afterwards distributed to various fortresses in Mysore. Drake supplied six lists of survivors, and gave the names and stations of 58 European prisoners in 1787 and of 52 in 1790.

26th January, 1792.—'HORSE IN THE CARNATIC. On the 20th instant a body of horse, tolerably appointed, made their sudden *entre* in various parts of the Carnatic. The accounts as to their numbers are very discordant, some computing the amount of them as Three Thousand, while others will scarcely allow them to have reckoned as many Hundreds. The places that principally suffered by their devastations appear to have been the *Mount*, *Saidapet*, *Chinglepat* and *Valvanour*. At the *Mount* it is said that many individuals suffered in their property, and some in a way that no property can recompense. Several wounded men, it is true, came into the Fort on Friday, with a vast conflux of people urging them on. But besides innumerable natives, all the European Families deserted their airy Mansions on the *Plain* for the close and confined circle of the walls of the Garrison.

'Every active mode of preventing the progress of the Horse to the vicinity of the Presidency was instantly adopted. Major Wynch[2] was dispatched with a considerable force to the *Mount*; and the command of another strong detachment was given to Major Pater[3] to protect some Tresure on its way to the army, which had been left in a Choultry at Streparmadore by the Native Officer commanding the Escort, on the first alarm; and we have the pleasure to add that the object was completely fulfilled. . . . The Body of Infantry and of Cavalry commissioned from the Presidency as above returned on the Saturday, without having encountered a single Horseman. . . .'

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[1] A prisoner named Bristow escaped a little earlier. His narrative was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 30th June, 1791.

[2] Alexander Wynch, jun., who became Major in 1788.

[3] John Pater, a cavalry officer, attained the rank of Major in 1790, and Major-General in 1805. He gave his name to 'Patter's Gardens,' near the Madras Club, and 'Patter's' Road, and died at Madras in 1817.

This scare was due to Daniel Dillon, a deserting matross of the Artillery, who raised an alarm of hostile cavalry, and then shot down and robbed the flying inhabitants of Marmalon. He was tried at Madras and sentenced to death, his body to hang in chains at the place where the crime was committed.[1]

2nd February, 1792.—'A melancholy accident happened on Friday last at the barr near the Nabob's Octagon.[2] Too many people having got into the ferry Boat to cross over, the Boat sunk, and between forty and fifty people were floating on the water, many of whom, unable from the strength of the current to reach the shore, were drowned. Twelve bodies were found the subsequent day, and it has not yet been ascertained how many were, by the force of the river, carried into the Sea.'

14th February, 1793.—'As some evil-minded person or persons have thrice endeavoured to destroy the wall carrying on to the westward of Mr. C. B. Dent's[3] Garden House, situated near Vepery and fronting the Freemasons' Lodge, and particularly on the night of the 9th February, when fifty feet in length was beaten down, a reward of 25 star pagodas is offered for information that will ensure discovery of persons concerned in so audacious and flagrant a violation of the laws, and so contrary to good order.'

Faden's map of 1816 enables us to identify Dent's house with the present Stowe Hall on the north side of Poonamallee Road at its junction with Rundall's Road, Vepery. As Rundall's Road was non-existent as late as 1798, the house must have faced the Poonamallee Road, whence it is judged that the Masonic Lodge was situated in the compound which now belongs to St. Andrew's Church.

Verse.

21st July, 1790.—

'THE PUNCH HOUSE.

' Forth from the Fort beyond the whirling sands
Full many a House of recreation stands,
Whose open door and fairly-lettered sign
Invite the stranger—enter here and dine.
The obsequious Landlord welcomes each on shore
In studied phrase, to thousands used before,
" Here, bring his honor's *Trunk* and cott this way."
" The weather's cursed hot "—" A smoaking day "—

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[1] *Madras Courier*, 2nd Feb. and 19th April, 1792.

[2] Probably the building, now known as *Marine Villa*, at the south end of the Cooum Bar. Originally within the limits of the Nawab's compound, it now stands in Government House Park.

[3] Cotton Bowerbank Dent, a senior civil servant.

Whilst honest Sawmy, master's head Dubash,
Secures his Keys, his Cloaths-bag and his Cash,
And like a prudent, wary, knowing elf,
Endeavours none shall rob him—but himself.
The waiter speaks of Tippoo and the news,
The Adria-Carrah[1] wipes his dusty shoes—
And gives a hint his honor quickly seizes,
He'll get for master—e'en what master pleases—
Mean while mine Host retires to cook a Tiffin
With his remark—"O, Damme what a griffin!
"Here, grill that Fowl; it only died on Sunday,
And bring the Porter-bottoms sav'd on Monday"—
Throughout the Black-town quick the news is handed,
"One Ship arrive, and all the people's landed."
Rapid as thought each swarthy vagrant flies
To catch a portion of the wish'd-for prize,
With Snakemen, Conjurers make his honour smile,
And dancing Dogs and Monkeys time beguile.
Say, should he wish a languid hour to kill—
He dashes in a Bandy to—Hog hill,
Returns delighted to his ill-made Tea,
And crowns the evening—in the Patcheree—
In noise and novelty thus pass the days;
At length my Landlady her bill displays.
"Why, Landlord, zounds! too much upon my life."
"I leave these things, your honour, to my wife;
And so d'ye see you'd best not make a noise,
For, if you do, I calls them there Sepoys"—
Abused, affronted, ridiculed and cheated,
He flies to tell his Ship-mates how he's treated—
What verse can tell the motley things that meet
In this inhospitable dull retreat,
Where fraud, chicane and every art combine
To aid the Master's wily keen design?
Here Boatswains, Gunners-Mates and common Sailors
Consort with Stewards, Midshipmen and Taylors.
Here self-dub'd Captains, Bailiffs, Barbers join,
And drown reflection in adulterate Wine.
Happy the youth whom some kind friend recalls
To peace and virtue from th' unhallow'd walls.
O! kindly act! Rescued perhaps from death,
The Youth shall bless you with his latest breath.'

29th September, 1790.—'Colonel Robert Kelly died in Camp near Arnee last Saturday.'

EXTEMPORE.

'Inured to every toil to Soldiers known,
With sense,—experience—knowledge all his own,

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[1] *Adria-Carrah:* Rao Sahib K. Rangachari, basing his opinion on a note in Wilson's *Glossary*, considers the word to be a corruption of Tam. *Adiyān*, plural *Adiyār*, manservant + *kāran*, suffix of agency.

Mature in judgment—Wise from dangers past,
The Brave, the gallant Kelly breathes his last!
Accept, benignant Spirit, hapless fled—
The sympathetic tear by friendship shed—
Dear to the martial Band their leader's praise,
Tho poor the Verse—tho simple are the lays—
Arresting e'en bright Victory's career,
To give the last sad tribute of a Tear
To him who falling in his Honor's bloom
Unkindly fate allots the silent Tomb.
Yet shall recording time his virtues tell,
And Veterans mourn that thus the Hero fell.'

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Oakeley's administration was marked by the abolition of the appointments of Steward, Scavenger, and Cutwal, the first two of which were ancient institutions. In the third case Mr. William Webb, who was at the time a Member of the Board of Trade, was ordered to vacate his office of Cutwal.[1] In the other two instances advantage was taken of the death of Mr. Joseph Garrow, the Steward, and of Simon Fonseca, the Overseer who replaced the Scavenger, to extinguish their posts. The grant of plate for the Governor's use was, at Oakeley's instance, withdrawn; the provision of furniture for the Company's houses was curtailed, and the Steward's reduced duties were turned over to the Civil Paymaster.[2] Ann Fonseca represented that the place of Overseer was conferred on her late husband in recognition of his services during the war 'when Commanding a Body of Portuguese Militia in the Black Town'; but the Military Board were directed to absorb his functions and control the Conservancy.[3]

It had long been the custom to charge special rates for Sunday boat-hire, and devote the excess to some charitable object. The Ministers and Churchwardens represented that, though the money had from 1754 to 1774 been given to the Church Fund, it was in the latter year diverted to a different channel, and they asked for its restoration. After examining the records, the Council affirmed 'that the Extra hire for Boats employed on Sundays was Originally granted by Government to the Support of the Charity School: That in the year 1764 the Vestry consented to admit invalid Boatmen to partake of any Surplus that might arise after such Appropriation; but that in the year 1774 it was resolved by the Administration of that period to apply the Entire Receipts to the Relief of disabled Boatmen or their families.' Oakeley's Government considered that the change of system should not have been made without the consent of the Vestry, and resolved that future collections should be restored to the Church on condition that the allowances paid to existing boat-pensioners should be a first charge on the fund.[1]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clxix., 13th May, 1791.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxxvii., 29th Aug., 1792.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. clxxviii., 2nd Nov., 1792.

The Mysore War attracted more than one painter of repute to the Southern Presidency. Robert Home produced both portraits and landscapes, while Thomas Daniell, R.A., painted a well-known series of views in Madras, Mysore, and the southern districts. One of these pictures, showing the east face of the Fort Square with the buttecas and the Sea Gate Colonnade, has been reproduced for this work. The original appears to have been painted in 1792:—

Mr. Thomas Daniell to Sir Charles Oakeley and Council.

'Having a Small Box (marked T.D.) containing Drawings and Sketches made by myself and nephew William Daniell in a Tour from this place to Cape Comorin, which from their perishable nature I am very anxious may be delivered as early as possible to Mess^{rs}. Edmund Boehm & London, unopened, (being previously examined here by Robert Clerk, Esq^{r}., closed by him, and the Honble Company's Seal affixed thereto), Solicit the indulgence of Government to that effect of mention being made of them in the General Letter, and for permission to send them to England on the Honble Company's Ship Ponsborne. THOMAS DANIELL.' (*P.C.*, vol. clxxxi., 25th Jan., 1793.)

The year 1794 saw three successive Coroners of Madras. On the resignation in March of Mr. Thomas Chase, Mr. Robert Williams, who was also Clerk of the Peace, was appointed. To him Government intimated that the forms observed in England with respect to inquests could not be conveniently followed in India. Summonses to Juries were issuable by the Coroner, but the assistance of the sitting Justice must be invoked for the apprehension of suspected persons. Williams resigned in June, and was followed by Mr. George Pasley as 'Coroner of Madraspatnam.'[2]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clxxxii., 25th Feb. and 15th March, 1793.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. clxxxix., 14th and 29th March, and 6th June, 1794.

The Company appear to have employed an Undertaker for the burial of soldiers at contract rates. The office was held for some time by Dr. Bell[1]:—

Dr. Andrew Bell to the President in Council.

'As it is equally unsuitable to my disposition of mind and State of health to retain a Situation which, in Spite of every precaution on my part, may bring my name in question, I beg to resign the Superintendence of the undertakers employs, and am ready to make over the Articles provided for Carrying on this employ, now in the hands of Mr. Daniel Johnson the undertaker, who, I have reason to believe, is well qualified for Conducting this business, to any person whom your Lordship[2] may be pleased to appoint. A. BELL.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxcv., 18th Dec., 1794.)

Among mercantile firms in Madras in 1790 the names are noticed of Messrs. Pelling & De Fries; Chase & Parry; Balfour, Spalding, & Colt; Porcher & Redhead; Torin & Kindersley; Roebuck & Abbott; Amos & Bowden; Francis Lautour; Shawmier & Son, and Sarquis Satur. In 1795 the style of the first three had become Adrian & John De Fries, Chase, Sewell & Chase, and Colt, Baker, & Co. respectively.

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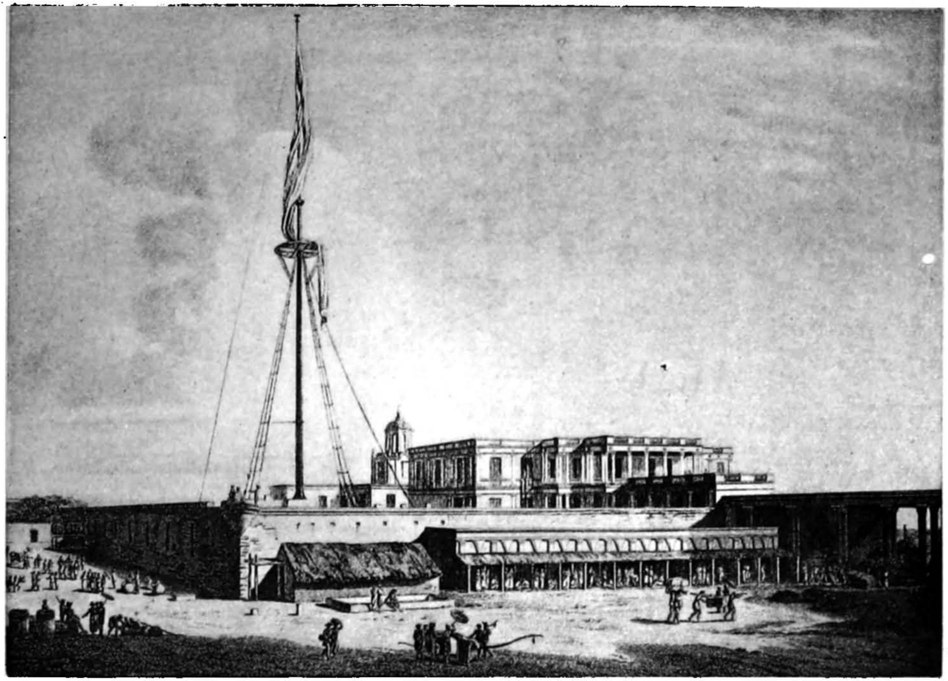
[1] In 1784 the post of Company's Undertaker was filled by Mr. Henry Chichely Michell, a covenanted civilian of seven years' standing. (*Vide List of Company's Servants* for December, 1784.) He married Miss Catherine Finley in 1785.

[2] Lord Hobart.



The Fort Square from the Sea Gate in 1792
after Thomas Daniell.

CHAPTER XXX

1794—1800

LORDS HOBART AND CLIVE—NATIVE FUNCTIONARIES

LORDS HOBART AND CLIVE.

ROBERT, LORD HOBART, eldest son of George, Earl of Buckinghamshire, was born in 1760. Entering the army at the age of sixteen, he served in the American War. In 1784 he was on the staff of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and became a Member of Parliament four years later. Living chiefly in Ireland, he entered the Irish Parliament in 1790, and took an active part in its debates. In 1793, after having served four years as Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Hobart was appointed Governor of Madras,[1] and he arrived at Fort St. George on the 7th September, 1794. His Councillors were Edward Saunders and Ernst William Fallofield, the first of whom was also President of the Board of Revenue, and the second of the Board of Trade. Thirteen months later Nawab Walajah passed away full of years,[2] and was succeeded by his son 'Umdat-ul-Umarā. Lord Hobart endeavoured to prevail on the new Nawab to consent to a revision of Cornwallis's financial agreement of 1792, but without success. On the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland, expeditions were fitted out at Madras, which subdued Malacca and Amboyna, Trincomallee and Colombo. A result of the reduction of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon was the transfer to the East India Company of the Swiss Regiment de Meuron, which afterwards did good service in the final struggle with Mysore.

In January, 1796, Major-General Alured Clarke, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of Madras by the Directors, arrived at Fort St. George, and took his seat in Council.[1] On more than one occasion he acted as President during the Governor's temporary absence.[2] Clarke resigned in March, 1797, on appointment as Commander-in-Chief in India, and was succeeded at Madras by Lieut.-General George Harris.[3] Mr. Josiah Webbe followed Robert Clerk as Civil Secretary in 1795, and on the resignation of the Military Secretary, Mr. Jackson, two years later, he became the first of a long line of Chief Secretaries, with control over the Deputies in both departments. As Principal Secretary, a salary was assigned him of Pags. 895 per month.[4] In 1798 the salaries of the Members of Council were raised to Pags. 17,000 per annum.[5]

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[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[2] His age was seventy-eight. The *Madras Almanac* of 1811 represented him to be eighty-seven.

Lord Hobart contemplated the seizure of Tinnevelly to liquidate those heavy debts which had been transferred from Walajah to his son. The Supreme Government disapproved of the measure, but consented to refer the matter to England. The Directors resolved on the 4th October, 1797, to recall the Governor. On the 21st February, 1798, Lord Hobart handed over charge at Admiralty House to Lieut.-General Harris, who, as senior Member of Council, became provisional Governor until the arrival of Lord Clive.[6] The domestic events of Hobart's administration are chronicled in the following pages. The Governor's departure was deeply regretted by the inhabitants, who recognized Lord Hobart's vigorous efforts to stem the tide of usury and oppression in the Carnatic. His first wife Margaretta, daughter of Edmund Bourke, whom he married in 1792, died in August, 1796, at Madras, and was buried in St. Mary's Church with her infant son, John, who expired five months earlier.[7]

Lord Hobart had accepted the Governorship of Madras with the expectation of succeeding Sir John Shore as Governor-General. To compensate for the disappointment caused by his recall, the

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccvi., 15th Jan., 1796.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccvii., 29th March, 1796, and vol. ccxv., 24th Jan., 1797.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxvi., 3rd March, 1797.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxcviii., 3rd March, 1795, and vol. ccxv., 3rd March, 1797.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxiii., 23rd Jan., 1798.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxiii., 21st Feb., 1798.

[7] *Handbook to St. Mary's Church*, Rev. Canon Malden. Lord Hobart subsequently married in 1799 Eleanor, daughter of Lord Auckland.

Directors conferred on him a pension of £1,500 a year. On his return home, he took part in the scheme for the union of Great Britain and Ireland, though he was an uncompromising opponent of Catholic emancipation. For four years from 1801 he was Secretary of State for the Colonial and War Department, and gave his name to Hobart Town, Tasmania. Lord Hobart succeeded to the earldom of Buckinghamshire in 1804, and in 1812 was appointed President of the Board of Control. He retained office until he met his death in 1816 through a riding accident in St. James's Park. Though obstinate and narrow-minded, he was a brave, honest, conscientious, and courteous English gentleman. His portrait, copied by H. Duke from a painting by Lawrence, hangs in Government House, Madras.

Two months after General Harris's assumption of office as provisional Governor, the Earl of Mornington, who had been appointed Governor-General, arrived at Madras on his outward voyage to Calcutta. During his stay at Fort St. George he enquired into the question of the Tanjore succession, and consulted his brother, Colonel Wellesley, regarding the attitude of Tippoo Sultan. Colonel Wellesley had come to India two years earlier with the 33rd Regiment, and in 1798 he spent some time in Madras studying relations with Mysore, and examining the country. Ever since the treaty of 1792, which stripped him of half his dominions, Tippoo had been watching for a favourable opportunity of resuming the contest with the British. He opened communications with the French, and received promises of assistance not only from the Governor of the Isle of France, but from Napoleon himself. Lord Mornington, convinced that Tippoo's intentions were hostile, resolved to take the initiative, and ordered military preparations to be begun. The Fort St. George Treasury being depleted, a public meeting was held at Madras, and a Committee appointed, consisting of Sydenham, Nixon, Allan, Webbe, Kindersley, Roebuck, Harington, and others, to raise funds. Sir Paul Jodrell, with patriotic intent, promised Pags. 1,000 from outstanding salary due by the Nawab.[1] Such was the situation when Lord Clive arrived.

Edward Clive, son of the first Lord Clive, was born in 1754.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxvii., 20th July, 1798. Sir Paul Jodrell died at Madras in 1803 at the age of fifty-eight.

He succeeded to his father's Irish barony in 1774, and sat in the House of Commons until he was, at the age of forty, created a peer of England as Baron Clive of Walcot. On Lord Hobart's recall Clive was appointed Governor of Madras, and he reached the Presidency on the 31st August, 1798. General Harris, when handing over charge, drew attention to the inadequacy of the salary of the Private Secretary, who, as the medium of communication between the Governor and the Nawab and other native Princes, was exposed to great temptations.[1]

Lord Mornington, after effecting an alliance with the Nizam, and providing that Prince with a subsidiary force of troops, resolved to move to Madras during the coming operations, and on the 31st December, 1798, he landed at Fort St. George. In taking his seat as President, he explained that his presence was not due to any want of confidence in Lord Clive, but was the outcome of a desire to be near the theatre of war, so that delay might be avoided in the settlement of the many questions which otherwise must have been referred to him at Calcutta. He wished the government of the Presidency to be carried on as usual.[2]

The Madras Army of upwards of 20,000 men under the Commander-in-Chief, General Harris, assembled at Vellore, and on the 11th February, 1799, after the despatch of an ultimatum to Tippoo, it received orders to advance. It was joined by the Nizam's army of 10,000 (including the subsidiary force), commanded nominally by Mīr 'Alam, and virtually by Colonel Wellesley, while a further force of 6,000 men co-operated from Bombay. On the 5th April the main army appeared before Seringapatam, drove in the enemy's outposts, and began the siege. A month later, on the 4th May, the assault was delivered by General David Baird,[3] and the fortified city was carried by storm with great slaughter of the defenders. Tippoo Sultan, shot through the head, was found amid a heap of slain. He was buried with royal honours in the mausoleum of his father.

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[1] Harris's Private Secretary was Mr. Stephen Lushington, afterwards Governor of Madras, who drew a salary of Pags. 104 per month. (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxviii., 31st Aug., 1798.)

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxxii., 2nd Jan., 1799. The Consultation Books were not signed by the Governor-General.

[3] General Baird, who nearly twenty years before had been captured with Baillie's ill-fated force, was but too familiar with the interior of Seringapatam.

Baird relinquished charge of the fortress on the following day to Colonel Wellesley, and the whole country quietly submitted to the British arms. The Governor-General resolved to re-establish the old Hindu dynasty, and sent Tippoo's family pensioners to Vellore. On the 22nd June the Partition Treaty of Mysore was signed on behalf of the Company and the Nizam, by which the districts of Canara, Coimbatore, Nilgiri, and Wynaud were acquired by the former, while Bellary and Cuddapah[1] were assigned to the latter. The remainder of Tippoo's dominions, forming a compact territory, were left to Mysore to be ruled by Krishna Rājā Udaiyār, then a boy of four years, a direct representative of the former rulers. During his minority, the country was administered by five British Commissioners.

The news of the fall of Seringapaṭam was received at Madras with acclamation, and for many years afterwards the 4th May was observed as an occasion of public rejoicing. The standards of Mysore were brought to Fort St. George by Lieut. Harris of the 74th Regiment, son of the Commander-in-Chief, and presented with great ceremony to the Governor-General. The following is extracted from the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 20th and 27th June :—

> 'The troops having paraded . . ., the Right Honble the Governor General, attended by the Body Guard, alighted from his carriage upon the Parade at ten minutes past five o'clock. Lord and Lady Clive, Mrs. Harris and family arrived a few minutes after, and the whole of the Civil and Military Officers were now assembled, either upon the Parade or in the balconies and windows of the adjacent houses, which, with the ramparts, streets, and all the avenues leading to the Fort, were crowded with innumerable spectators, Natives and Europeans.
>
> 'At ½ past 5 o'clock the Standard of the late Tippoo Sultan and the Colors of the French Republic, in charge of Lieutenant Harris and guarded by the Grenadiers of the 10th Foot, approached the Square and proceeded to the spot where the Governor General waited to receive them. The moment of the arrival was the most awful we ever witnessed ;—the Governor General, advancing a few steps, with a dignity not easily to be described laid his hand on the Standard of the once haughty and perfidious Mysorean, and by a firm and instant pressure bent it towards the earth. His Lordship then turning towards Lieutenant Harris, embraced him and made a brief eulogium on the British Troops, whose invincible gallantry in the present instance, as in all others, had been crowned with immortal glory.'

The Governor-General received a marquisate. His portrait by Thomas Hickey was painted at Madras by public subscription, and hung in the Exchange[1] next the pictures of Cornwallis, Medows, and Eyre Coote.[2]

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[1] These districts were ceded to the British in the following year for the maintenance of the Hyderabad subsidiary force.

Mornington next turned his attention to Tanjore. Rajah Tuljājī, who died in 1786, left a half-brother, Amīr Singh, and an adopted son, Sarfojī. The former was at that time preferred, but Lord Mornington, who had examined the matter on his first visit to Madras, decided that Sarfojī was the rightful heir. Amīr Singh was deposed, and Sarfojī recognized as Rajah. By the so-called treaty of the 25th October, 1799, Sarfojī resigned to the Company the administration of Tanjore on receiving an annual subsidy of Pags. 100,000 in addition to one-fifth of the net revenues.

The Governor-General's dealings with the Nawab of the Carnatic will be referred to on a subsequent page. During Lord Mornington's protracted stay in Madras, Lord Clive, effacing himself, laboured heartily for the public weal. He continued to reside at the Garden House while the Governor-General lived in the Fort.[3]

The domestic events of Lord Clive's administration down to the end of 1800, the limit assigned to this work, are dealt with in the sequel. The remaining period of his rule was marked by the annexation of the Carnatic, the establishment of a High Court of Judicature, with a Chief Justice and two puisne Judges, the opening of Cochrane's Canal, and the erection of the Banqueting Hall. On the 30th August, 1803, Lord Clive was relieved by Lord William Bentinck, and returned to England. He received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his services, and was created Earl of Powis. Remarkable for his physical vigour, which permitted him to work in his garden in his eightieth year, he survived until 1839. He married Lady Henrietta Herbert in 1784, and left two sons and three daughters.

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[1] The portrait of Lord Mornington is now in the Banqueting Hall of Government House. Hickey, an artist of some repute, first came to India in 1780 or 1781. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxxiv., 6th July, 1780.)

[2] The portrait of Eyre Coote was painted by Robert Home in 1795. The original perished, but a copy by Hickey is preserved in the Banqueting Hall.

[3] He is believed to have occupied the Admiralty. Hickey's picture represents the Governor-General seated in the east veranda of that building. The house used by Colonel Wellesley has not been identified. The Governor-General sailed for Calcutta on the 5th Sept., 1799, in H.M.S. *La Sybille.* (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxxviii., 5th Sept., 1799.)

NATIVE FUNCTIONARIES.

The Peddanaigue's duties and the manner of their execution are illustrated by the following extracts:—

The Town Poligar to Governor Hobart.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxcviii., 17th Feb., 1795.)

'The humble Representation [of] Codungoore Pedda Naig, Poligar.

'Having received Directions from your Lordship to seize Goda Sawmy; in obedience thereto I have set my people to watch, and made every enquiry in my power, and found a person who had concealed the said Goda Sawmy. . . . He says he delivered the said Goda Sawmy to his Brother, who should in consequence be held Responsible. . . .

'The Country Custom is that, when a Person absconded, to seize his Brothers and House,[1] to keep [them] under Restraint, and threaten them to produce the absconded Person. I have not that power here. There is no other prospect of finding the person unless his Brother is reduced to the punishment of producing him, since it appears that he has concealed him. . . .'

'CODUNGOORE PEDDA NAIG.

'A true Translation as near as can be from Gentoos.

'ANNA SAWMY, Interpreter.'

Thereupon Government ordered that Gūdāswāmi's brother should be 'confined in the Choultry.'

The Town Poligar to Governor Hobart.

'The humble Representation of Pedda Naig, Poligar for the Town of Madraspatnam.

'Having, in compliance with the Cowle granted formerly by the Honble Company, continued to receive fees from the Merchants for employing a great number of Peons at the Sea Beach to watch their Goods and Merchandizes Imported; also to watch the washing Town to secure the Company's Cloth from being Robbed; I have also employed Taliars Peons to watch the Black Town, and to wait upon some Gentlemen to execute their orders; which System continued without any Interruption till this day. Mr. James Call[2] informed now that he is directed by the Board of Revenue not to collect my fees at the Sea Beach. He would not therefore permit his People to continue to furnish me with an Account of the Imports without an order from them. The usual fees which I have hitherto received is now delayed.

'Permit me therefore to Submit the Circumstance to your Lordship's Consideration, most earnestly intreating that an order may be given to that Gentleman to furnish me with an Account of the Imports as usual.'

'CODUNGOORE PEDDA NAIG.'

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[1] *House*, meaning his family.

[2] James Call was Sea Customer.

Government Order.

'The Board are aware that the new regulations established for the collection of customs of this Presidency would deprive the polygar of the fees in question; but neither the utility of his office nor the merit of his conduct entitle him to any exemption from the General rule.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccvii., 12th March, 1796.)

Complaints of the Peddanaigue's neglect of duty had been made on more than one occasion. He was reported by the Justices for having permitted the escape from the Poligar's Choultry of a man named Chinnian, one of four prisoners convicted of robbery and sentenced by the Court of Quarter Sessions of January, 1795, 'to be publickly whipt three times, and to be kept to hard labour on the Roads and public Works for the space of two years.'[1]

The withdrawal of official protection amounted to the virtual extinction of the Poligar. The inhabitants of Black Town expostulated:—

Petition of the Inhabitants.

'That, from the Establishment of Madras, Peddanaik the Poligar had Continued to receive certain fees from your Petitioners and Merchants for Watching their Houses and Goods, and held himself responsible for thefts Committed at your Petitioners' Houses, and of the said Merchants' Goods and Merchandize. . . . Government having lately ordered the said Poligars fee , . . [to] be discontinued in Consequence of his having incurred your displeasure, thereby the Office of the said Poligar became abolished, and your Petitioners are constantly laboring under great fear and Apprehensions to secure their Properties: therefore may it please your Lordship to order the said Poligar's fee to be paid by your Petitioners and Merchants as usual, in Condition of his Answering the thefts Committed at your Petitioners' Houses, which shall induce him to Employ a number of Watchers and thereby to secure your Petitioners' Property's. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxviii., — June, 1797.)

The Police Committee, which was appointed a little later, advised the reappointment of a Poligar,[2] and Lord Hobart gave way and issued a fresh Cowle:—

Minute by Lord Hobart.

(*P.C.*, vol. ccxxii., 5th Jan., 1798.)

'The President informs the Board that the principal inhabitants, being desirous of restoring the office of poligar, are willing to contribute the same fees for his establishment as were received by Pedda Naig. His Lordship therefore proposes that Codungore Angarapah Naig, Son of the late poligar, be appointed, and lays before the Board draft of a cowl to be granted in consequence—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccviii., 1st April, 1796.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxi., 1st Dec., 1797.

'*A Cowl* granted by the Right Honble Lord Hobart, President and Governor of Fort St. George, and the Council thereof, To Codungoore Ungarapah Naig—

'1st. Having constituted and appointed you to be watchman of the City of Madras and of the washing Grounds near the Bound Hedge on the following Terms, you must keep a sufficient Number of good Peons, not less than 100 at least, for the preventing of Robberies and other disorders in the said City; and for their maintenance we allow you the following Custom,

'2nd. That for all Goods brought into the Land Custom House by all the Native Merchants you shall receive fees as formerly, vizt. On Piece Goods as cleared at the Custom House, Seven and one half Cash on each Pagoda value; On weighing Goods as cleared at the Custom House, twenty Cash on each Pagoda value.

'3rd. That you shall collect from all Goods of all the Merchants, excepting Europeans, paying Duty at the Sea Gate, as formerly; Piece Goods, Raw Silk, Drugs, Grain, Lamp Oil Seeds, twenty seven and a half Cash on each Pagoda value; on Paddy, Rice, Comboloo . . ., Timbers, Planks, Palmiras, Reapers[1] and Redwood, seven and a half Cash on each Pagoda value.

'4th. That all inhabitants of the Town, excepting Europeans, shall pay you yearly, for a Great House three fanams, and small Houses two fanams.

'5th. The Peons aforementioned are to be always kept and employed for the security and Peace of this City of Madras as the Governor shall direct.

'6th. When any person paying Custom as aforesaid to you has been robbed, such Person shall acquaint you, and if satisfaction is not obtained in due time, in any case not exceeding two months, application shall be made to the Governor or the Justices of the Peace, who will take proper measures to cause you to make good the property.[2]

'7th. The Honble Company will allow you the usual fee of seven and half Cash on each pagoda value of cloth for watching their Cloth at the washing Green, but it is required that you should make good the property that may be robbed.

* * * * * *

'HOBART, &c., Council.'

The remaining paragraphs required the Poligar to report the arrival of vagrants, and to apprehend robbers and bring them before the Justices. Government approved the cowle, and Kodungūr Angārappa Nāyak was formally installed as 'poligar of the black town and of the washing town.'

The same Customs regulations which were complained of in 1796 by the Peddanaigue affected also the Ḳāẓi of Madras. The functions of Ḳāẓi had been exercised for a long period, but it was not until 1777 that Government formally recognized the office, and the incumbency of Mohī-ud-dīn Abū Bāḳar. This man, who was grandson of the Fort St. George Mulla of 1694, had received his first commission from Nawab Anwār-ud-dīn Khān, yet he was still alive and serving in 1796. He now petitions Government, draws attention to the Consultation of the 27th August, 1777,[1] in which the origin of the office is set forth, states that the payment of the prescribed fees from Moslem merchants was arrested in January, 1796, and concludes by praying for compensation:—

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[1] *Reapers*, roofing battens.

[2] The Poligar was thus the prototype of the modern Burglary Insurance Company.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board deferred to make the Cauzy any compensation for the loss of his russums,[2] which were abolished upon the introduction of the new regulations for the sea Customs, until the Court of Cutcherry, at that time in contemplation, should be established, by which it was supposed that a means would be opened to provide for him in a professional manner; but as the small Compensation which the Superintendant proposes for an attending Cauzy at the Cutcherry is, in the Opinion of the Board, inadequate to the loss which Mahomed Abo Bauker has sustained by the abolition of his russomes, Resolved, in consideration of that loss, of his long attachment to the English Government at Madras, and of his general good Character, that he be allowed a pension of fifty Pagodas per month for his life only, payable by the Board of Revenue out of the produce of the Sea Customs.

'Resolved that the Cauzy be also permitted to draw the fees established for him by the regulations, in addition to his pension.

'Resolved that his constant attendance at the Cutcherry, whenever his presence may be required, be the condition on which he holds his pension. . . . (*P.C.*, vol. ccxii., 4th Nov., 1796.)

In 1800 the Civil Auditor, Mr. Cecil Smith,[3] suggested that the Town Conicoply should be placed under 'the Justices Department, being from his appelation the department to which he would appear to belong, although I am unacquainted with the nature of the duties he has to perform.' Lord Clive's Government, however, determined that the ancient office should be forthwith abolished:—'The office of Town Conicoply appears to the Board to be unnecessary, and it is accordingly agreed that it be discontinued; but in consideration of the length of service of the present incumbent, resolved that he be allowed to enjoy the amount of salary during his life.'[4]

A curious petition from a man who had been interpreter to

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[1] Transcribed on an earlier page.

[2] *Russum*, from Hind. *rusūm*, fees, perquisites.

[3] Cecil Smith, a civil servant of 1790 married Miss Eliza Topping in 1793.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. ccxliv., 6th June, 1800.

General Mathews was received at Madras at this period, and it is here inserted. After a prolonged defence of the fortress of Bednore in 1783, Mathews surrendered the place to Tippoo on condition that he should be free to march to the coast. His force, however, emptied the treasury, and Tippoo, declaring that terms had been violated, made prisoners of the troops. Mathews himself died at Seringapatam, having been forced, as is believed, to drink a cup of poison. His unfortunate Madrasi interpreter languished in confinement until the campaign of 1799 ended the tyrant's rule and life :—

Petition of Muttu Krishna to Lord Clive.

'The humble petition of Moodokistna, formerly servant to the late General Mathews, and publick Interpreter for him when he Commanded in chief on the Malabar Coast and at the time when he was Captured. . . .

'That your Petitioner in the year 1765, being then about 14 years of age, was taken into the Service of the late General Mathews, then a Captain under this Presidency.

'That he acquitted himself so much to his master's satisfaction, and manifested so early a Couragious and enterprising spirit, that his Master caused him, at his own Expence, to be instructed in different languages and in the use of arms and military Exercises, and took him with him upon all the Services upon which he was employed, and very early was induced to place great Confidence in him, as in these Services your petitioner was usually so fortunate as to procure, by much personal risk, better intelligence and information than could be procured by others, and was thereby enabled to lead his Master with the main body, or such detachments as he frequently sent out, by routs which enabled them to Countract and surprise the Enemy, and thereby insure Success. That these his active and faithfull services endeared him so much to his master, who was a most gallant and active officer, that . . ., when about to proceed to Europe, he would not part with him to any of the many officers who were desirous to take him into their service, and to whom he was generally known by the name of Snake, a name his Master had given to him from the skill he had constantly manifested in conducting the troops through ways scarcely known and deemed impenetrable; and he directed his attorney, Mr. Edward Saunders,[1] to consider him as still his servant, though absent, and to make him an allowance of eight pagodas per month; and this he did both times that he went to Europe.

'The result of his Master's last Visit to Europe was his being appointed Brigadier General, and sent to command in chief at Bombay; and, on his arrival there, he immediately wrote to his attorney here to provide liberally for Snake's Expences and send him to him directly; . . . and your Petitioner did not hesitate to leave his family and embark for what was to him a new world.

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[1] Edward Saunders, a civil servant of 1762, was Civil and Military Paymaster in 1782.

'When he arrived at Bombay, his Master had gone to the Malabar Coast, and your Petitioner . . . was Embarked in three days and sent to join hi and did join him when he was carrying on the siege of Annoporam; and tw days after, the officer who Stood appointed as publick Interpreter had bee killed by a Cannon shot, and he was by his Master appointed to the post publick Interpreter for the Honble Company. . . ; and he actually held th Employment at Bedanore, where his Master Commanded in Person whe Tippoo Sultaun came against it with his whole army, and the General w soon reduced to the necessity of surrendring, but not without obtaining Honb Terms, which the faithless Sultaun, however, never adhered to.

'After the surrender of Bedanore he was only suffered to enjoy the light his Master's Countenance nine days, at the end of which the General, Contra to the stipulated terms, was sent to Seringapatam, and at that moment w your Petitioner deprived for ever of the Patron in whom all the hopes himself and family were Rested. Your Petitioner was continued in Clo Confinement and under most rigorous treatment in Bedanore, where w many wounded Europeons, officers and soldiers, for ten months; but th Mr. Sadlier, Member of Council of this Presidency, arrived on the Malab Coast to settle a Peace and procure the releasement of all Presioners. A this was no sooner announced to the Sultaun than he sent order that yo Petitioner should be fettered to one of his servants and sent to Cabalodro an unhealthy hill Fort at some distance from Bidanore, and where, on arriv he was released from the fetter which bound him to his servant, but his le were bounded with very heavy Irons, and he was thrown into a small a most dismall dungeon, but from which he was occasionally permitted to co out in the day time. . . . In this situation, ignorant of everything that w passing in the world and of what was to be his own destiny, he has remain Sixteen years upon a daily allowance of a Seer of rice and fifteen Cash, a the annual allowance of two pieces of course lunien cloth and two pieces Cumbly.[1]

'Your Petitioner will not shock your Lordship's humanity by a recital of t loathsome and poignantly distressing Circumstances attendent on such Situation: they will but too naturally Occur to a Person of your Lordshi sensibillity. Your Lordship will at once feel that his sufferings have be great, and that sixteen of the forty eight years of his life have been pas in Complete misery; and he trusts that it will at the same time occur your Lordship that these his sufferings must have been solely owing to having been considered by the late Sultaun as a native who had been faith and too usefull to the Honble Company, whom he therefore resolved to pun in the first instance, and whom he probably hoped, by severity of treatme to render at some future time subservient to his own purposes.

'It has . . . pleased the devine Will, however, that the reputation y petitioner had of being in the Esteem of Brittish officers has proved cause of his diliverence after the Deth of Tippoo Sultaun and the Conques Serungapatam. In the first confusion naturally arising from such Circu stances, a rebellious usurper of the name of Dondia got possession of Countries in which your Petitioner was confined, who, when encamped ab an Hundred miles from the place in which your Petitioner had been so l buried alive, and ha[r]d pressed by Lieut. Colonel Dalrymple, sent orders the release of your Petitioner and a Daly[1] to bring him to his Camp, and fortunately for him he had the audacity to send your Petitioner as a Vakeel to Lieut. Colonel Dalrymple, who instantly afforded to your Petitioner the means of returning to his family, who had long considered him as one who had been deprived of life by the inhumane Tyrant.

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[1] *Cumbly*, from Hind. *kamlī*, a coarse blanket.

'Here again, under the protection of the British flag and under the Auspices of your Lordship's benevolent Government, he ventures to solicit and to hope that his long suffering and faithfull services may, through your Lordship's Goodness, procure for him a mitigation of his present suffering arrising from premature but probably incurable infirmities and absolute indigence, by a pension for life such as [he] may be deemed to merit after a due Consideration of all the Circumstances of his hitherto unexampled Case.

'MOODOOKISTNA, or so Call Snake.'

Government Order.

'In Consideration of the faithfull Services and consequent tedious imprisonment and sufferings of Moodukistna, as represented in the foregoing Petition, agreed that he be allowed a pension for life of Twenty (20) Pagodas per mensem, to be paid by the Civil Paymaster General.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxl., 20th Dec., 1799.)

It may be mentioned that, after the release by Tippoo in March, 1784, of the bulk of his prisoners, the fate of General Mathews and the officers with him was for some time left in doubt. In July the following circumstantial account, by an unnamed subaltern who shared the Brigadier's confinement, was published in the *India Gazette*:—

Fate of General Mathews.

'General Matthews and all the prisoners above the rank of Lieutenants were invited to an entertainment prepared by the direction of Tippoo. The Subalterns were hurt that they were left out of the invitation. As soon as the Company met, a large bowl was brought them, out of which they were desired to drink. The request immediately caused a suspicion in the officers that poison was infused in the potion, and therefore they refused to drink. Upon which a set of armed men was let into the room, who forced the liquor down the throats of those brave men in spite of any resistance they could make. The poison was too powerful not to have the effect this inhuman betrayer intended, and the following Gentlemen fell a sacrifice to this violent breach of all laws human and divine. . . .' (*India Gazette*, 12th July, 1784.)

[Appended are the names of four King's and thirteen Company's officers who suffered with the General, as well as of two others who fell victims to poison at Bednore.]

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[1] *Daly*, probably *doolie*, from Hind. *dolī*, a light palanquin, consisting of a cot suspended from a pole.

Colonel Brathwaite, on his release from confinement, was called on by Lord Macartney for his opinion as to the truth of the reports regarding General Mathews. Brathwaite concurred in the general belief that several officers died by violence, but had reason for thinking that the General was not among the number.[1]

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[1] *History of the Madras Army*, Wilson, ii. 130.

CHAPTER XXXI

1794—1800

COURTS OF JUSTICE—THE COMMITTEE OF POLICE

Courts of Justice.

Towards the end of 1795 some friction occurred between Government and the Mayor's Court. The Council applied to the Court for the rules regulating law charges, and for an account of the fees allowed to its officers. The Court took exception to direct address by the Secretary to Government, holding that application should have been made to its Registrar, Mr. G. Taylor, and it declined to supply the information sought:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board observe . . . a decided indisposition on the part of the Honble the Mayor's Court to comply with the request which was made to them in conformity with the directions of the Honble the Court of Directors, because the informality on which they ground their objection is not real. The records contain frequent instances in which that Court has been addressed immediately from the Secretary; and the very nomination of the Mayor, than which nothing can be more essential to the Court, is communicated to the Court itself by the Secretary, according to a form long established in the office.

'Resolved therefore to communicate to the Honble the Court of Directors the mode in which the Mayor's Court have declined complying with their request.' (*P.C.*, vol. cciv., 11th Dec., 1795.)

The difficulties hitherto experienced in administering justice in civil causes between natives prompted Lord Hobart to propose the erection of a Cutcherry Court under the powers conferred by the Act of 1793:—

'*Minute of the President proposing the Establishment of a Court of Adaulet*[1] *for the decision of Civil Causes between native and native.*

'The serious inconveniences which are felt by the native Inhabitants of Madras for want of a jurisdiction to determine questions of Property, except in cases where the parties voluntarily agree to submit to the decision of the Mayor's Court, has long attracted the attention of the President as an evil to which it is the indispensable Duty of those entrusted with the Government to provide a Remedy. The necessity of it may be conveyed in a few words:—At this moment, in a Commercial Capital and under a British Government, where either of the Parties is indisposed to Justice the Creditor has no legal means of recovering his debt, nor the heir his Inheritance. . . .'

The President adds that he has satisfied himself that no real bar exists to the removal of this grievance, and he is fortified by the opinion given in 1786 by legal authorities. He accordingly proposes the following regulations for a Cutcherry Court which he has drawn up with the assistance of the Attorney-General:—

Regulations for the Cutcherry Court.

'The Right Honble the President in Council, observing the inconvenient consequences of that Clause in the Charter of 1753 which, without establishing any native Tribunal at Madras, precludes the Mayor's Court from taking cognizance of suits between the native Inhabitants unless both Parties agree to submit to its decision, is convinced that the will and pleasure of his late Majesty King George the 2nd, as expressed in the Charter, "that suits arising between the native Inhabitants should be determined among themselves" must ever remain inoperative without the decided interposition of Government, has, in virtue of the Powers vested in him by the Act of the 33rd of his present Majesty, Chap. 52, determined to give effect to the gracious intentions of his late Majesty by the institution of such regulations for the administration of Justice as may be deemed conformable to the Ancient usages of the several descriptions of natives; and for this purpose he has thought proper to order and direct—

'That a Court of Cutcherry, under the superintendance of a Civil Servant of the East India Company, shall be established at Madras, to be held twice in every week, or as often as occasion shall require, for the decision of all civil suits between the Native Inhabitants wherein the value of the thing sued for shall exceed five Pagodas and shall not be submitted by both Parties to the decision of the Mayor's Court.

'That the Court of Cutcherry shall have and use a seal of a circular form . . . with this inscription in the Malabar language and Character, 'The Cutcherry of Madras,' and the Company's Arms in the Center. . . .

'There shall be attached to the Court of Cutcherry one Canongoe,[2] or

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[1] *Adaulet*, from Hind. *'adālat*, a Court of Justice.

[2] *Canongoe*, registrar; from Pers. *kanūn-go*, speaker of the rules.

Register, to record the proceedings, and one Examiner for the Examination of Witnesses, and one or more Translators to render them into the English language, and one Daroga[1] to execute the Decrees and orders of the Court, and to take charge of such Debtors or others as shall be committed to his Custody; and there shall also be attendant on the Court such and so many Talliars, writers and servants as the Superintendent, with the approbation of Government, shall think requisite.

'The Daroga shall have the Nomination and appointment of his Goaler, and of such and so many Deloyets[2] as he shall think necessary to assist him in the execution of his Office. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxii., 25th Oct., 1796.)

The Council adopted the Governor's proposals, and appointed Mr. Nathaniel Edward Kindersley to be Superintendent of the Court on a salary of Pags. 600 per month pending the approval of the Directors. Kindersley nominated officers of the Court, and reported that 'the Offices and Court Yard of the House hired for the Court of Cutcherry will . . . be sufficient to answer the purpose of a Debtors Jail.'[3] Early in January he intimated that thirty-one cases, involving a value of Pags. 17,843, had been decided in seven weeks, and that he saw before him a great press of work. Mr. George Stratton was accordingly appointed to be his Assistant.[4]

The receipt of a new Charter of Justice, which provided for the appointment of a Recorder in the person of Sir Thomas Strange, put a period to the existence of the Cutcherry Court. Mr. Kindersley was directed so to arrange his cases as to close the Court on the 31st May, 1798.[5] The office of Choultry Registrar, which had been placed under the control of the Cutcherry Court, was then restored to its ancient footing.[6]

Meanwhile, the Justices of the Peace, John Chamier, Walter Balfour, and George Taswell, asked that the lease of their Courthouse in Charles Street might be renewed. The owner, Andrew Ross, was dead,[7] but Messrs. Roebuck and Abbott, the Administrators, were willing to prolong the period. One of the godowns had been adapted for the confinement of European prisoners, 'who cannot so well be sent to the Poligar's Godown'; and the Justices dwelt on the convenience of the house both for their own accommodation and the transaction of sessions business. Their request was granted.[1]

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[1] *Daroga*, chief constable; from Hind. *dārogha.*

[2] *Deloyet*, police peon; from Hind. *ḍhalāit.*

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxii., 4th Nov., 1796.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. ccxiv., 6th Jan., 1797. George Stratton, jun., entered the civil service in 1793, and became a Member of Council in 1820.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxv., 12th May, 1798.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxvi., 26th May, 1798. The office of 'Choultry Register' was filled by Mr. John Stuart Smith, who succeeded Mr. George Parry in 1795. (*P.C.*, vol. cciv., 27th Nov., 1795.) Smith and Parry both entered the civil service in 1789.

[7] Andrew Ross died in 1797, aged seventy-nine, after a residence in Madras of forty-five years. (*List of Inscriptions*, J. J. Cotton.)

Sir Thomas Strange did not reach Fort St. George until after Lord Clive had assumed charge of the government.[2] Son of Sir Robert Strange, artist and engraver, and younger brother of James Strange of the Madras civil service, Thomas Strange was called to the bar in 1785, and six years later, at the age of thirty-five, was made Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. From this post he was recalled to England, and knighted on appointment as Recorder of Madras and President of the Court of Mayor and Aldermen. In October, 1798, Sir Thomas intimated to Government that he proposed to assemble the Mayor and Aldermen on the 1st November in order to publish the Charter of the 20th February, 1798, 'for erecting a new Court of Justice in the room of the existing Jurisdictions of this Presidency.' He remarked that 'from what I have seen of the present Mayor's Court-House, it seems to me, in point of Convenience as well as appearance, to be by no means adapted to the object which His Majesty must be presumed to have had in view. . . . But if I am rightly informed, it is still more deficient in point of Security.' He accordingly asked Government to place a suitable building at his disposal.[3] The Mayor's Court made a representation on the same subject:—

The Registrar of the Mayor's Court to the Secretary to Government.

'Sir Thomas Strange, the Recorder, has signified his Intention of publishing his Majesty's Charter constituting the Court of the Recorder at Madras on the 1st November. The Court therefore request that your Lordship will be pleased to direct that a House suitable to the new Establishment be prepared for their reception. At the same time beg leave to point out the Madras Exchange as a building in their minds the best calculated for the purpose, and for such offices as may be required under the new Charter. G. TAYLOR, Register.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxx., 23rd Oct., 1798.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxiii., 19th Jan., 1798.

[2] Sir Thomas Strange married (1) Janet, daughter of Sir Robert Anstruther, who died at Madras in 1799, and (2) in 1806 Louisa, daughter of Sir William Burroughs. Sir Thomas resided at Brodie Castle, on the Adyar River.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxx., 26th Oct., 1798.

A report by the Chief Engineer shows that Strange's apprehensions were well founded, and that the old Court-house in Choultry Gate Street was indeed tottering in decay. Built originally of brick in mud, the walls exhibited cracks from top to bottom, the ground floor was 'all undermined by Bandicotes,' the beams supporting the Hall were cracked and shored up, the joists of the east veranda were 'swagged,'[1] and the 'Turnpike stair' was in a ruinous condition. Government offered to allot 'the house appropriated to the late Court of Cutcherry in the black town,' but Sir Thomas considered its accommodation insufficient, and asked for a more commodious building. Ultimately a house, 'formerly Mr. Stone's,'[2] belonging to Mr. Francis Lautour was taken at a rental of Pags. 200 a month for use as a Court-house. The warehouses beneath the edifice were however reserved for the use of the Company.[3]

The new Charter was proclaimed on the 1st November, 1798.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Recorder, Mayor and Aldermen, &c., in pursuance of his Majesty's Letters patent having this day assembled themselves in the Town Hall and proceeded to qualify themselves for the execution of the several powers and Authorities thereby vested in them, report themselves in waiting (having previously intimated their intention) for the purpose of presenting the exemplification of the Charter to the Right Honble the President in Council.

'The Recorder, &c., are then introduced, and Sir Thomas Strange, having gone through the Ceremony of presenting to the Right Honble Lord Clive a transcript of the Charter, then retires with the Mayor, &c.

'The following proclamation, which had been prepared for the purpose, is sent to the Recorder to be laid before the Court and promulgated by their authority :—

'*A Proclamation.*

'George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth.

'Whereas His most gracious Majesty, by his Letters Patent bearing date at

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[1] *Swagged*, sagged.

[2] Mr. J. M. Stone had been the owner of two houses in the Fort—one in St. Thomé Street and the other in Charles Street. The former was, or had lately been, rented for the accommodation of naval officers, and the latter, which is believed to have been allotted to the hostage princes of Mysore, appears to have become the Court-house. It was probably the southernmost house on the west side of Charles Street, opposite the edifice occupied by the Justices of the Peace. The block of buildings lying between Charles and James Streets was afterwards pulled down, and the present wide road is called Charles *and* James Street.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxx., 1st and 2nd Nov., 1798.

Westminster the 20th day of February in the 38th year of his Reign, Did of his especial Grace think fit to direct and ordain that a new Court of Judicature should be established for the Settlement of Madraspatnam and the Factories and Territories Subordinate thereto and dependant thereon, which should be called "The Court of the Recorder of Madraspatnam," and should be holden by and before one principal Judge, who should be called the Recorder of Madraspatnam and should be the President of the said Court, and by and before the Mayor and three of the Aldermen of Madraspatnam to be from time to time selected in rotation to be assistant Judges thereof. . . . This is therefore to Proclaim and Publish that the Court of the Recorder of Madras is in due manner constituted and established, and that all Judicial Powers and authorities heretofore exercised by the Mayor's Court at Madras, and by the Governor and Council as a Court of Appeal from the same, and by the Court of Oyer and Terminer and Goal delivery, have, by vertue of the directions contained in His Majesty's Letters Patent, thereby ceased and determined; and that all Civil, Criminal, Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Jurisdiction will hereafter be exercised in the Court of the Recorder of Madras. . . . God save the King!' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxx., 1st Nov., 1798.)

The Commissioners of the Court of Requests represented that their jurisdiction under the new Charter extended to causes not exceeding eighty current rupees in value, and they suggested that such limit be regarded as equivalent to twenty Star pagodas. In view of the advance from the old limit of five pagodas, and of an expected increase in the number of causes to be tried, they asked whether they might sit oftener than once a week, and inflict confinement for a longer period than the old maximum of forty days. The Attorney-General, to whom the inquiries were referred, replied to both questions in the negative, and stated that the Court of Requests must continue to act under the Charter of 1753, commissions being regulated as heretofore by the orders of the Directors.[1]

The Mayor, Mr. William Abbott, with Aldermen James Call, William Webb, Benjamin Roebuck, Alexander Cockburn, Richard Chase, Henry Sewell, James Daly, and Richard Yeldham,[2] applied to Government to grant them stipends in view of the great increase in their work due to the administration of justice in criminal as well as civil causes under the new Charter. They suggested Pags. 3,000 per annum for the Mayor, and Pags. 2,000 for each of the nine Aldermen,[1] or Pags. 21,000 in all. They mentioned that the Justices of the Peace acting under them were paid Pags. 100 a month, that the Mayor no longer received fees on process, and that the Aldermen in succession performed the duties of Clerk of the Market. Government resolved to forward the application to the Directors, but the impending erection of a Supreme Court and abolition of the Mayor and Aldermen rendered a disposal unnecessary.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxx., 23rd Nov., and 6th and 14th Dec., 1798.

[2] James Call applied in July, 1799, for leave to go to the Cape and England for the benefit of his health, 'after an uninterrupted residency of thirty five years in India' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxxvi., 5th July, 1799). He expired, however, before he could embark. Sewell and Daly died at Madras in the following year. Yeldham, who survived till 1820, gave his name to a road in the Luz connecting Moubray's Road with the Mount Road.

Sir Thomas Strange addressed Government on the 7th January, 1799, reviewing his work of the last two months, and forwarding lists of the officers of the Court and the practising Advocates and Attorneys.[2] He said that the changes in *personnel* had been few. The former Clerk of the Peace had become Clerk on the Crown side, and a new office of Master should be created. The Sheriff ought, he considered, to receive a fixed stipend. That officer 'has been in the practice of retaining one third of the Sum allowed for his Bailiffs at Madras, and of drawing for no less than fourteen others who do not exist, producing in the whole the Sum of Pagodas 104 per Month, together with poundage upon sales.' An increase of salary was recommended for the Keepers of the Debtors' and Felons' Gaols, who received Pags. 10 and 8 respectively, and for the Court Serjeants or Mace Bearers a rise from Pags. 5 with fees to Pags. 15. The Advocates and Attorneys all held the Company's licence, and had practised in the Mayor's Court. Sir Thomas observed that rules of procedure had not yet been drawn up, but that the territorial limits of Madras assigned by Government had been adopted. Lautour's house, he added, proved a convenient and comfortable Court.

Officers of the Recorder's Court.

	Arrived.
'Cecil Smith, Accountant General (Senior Merchant)	May 1790
Stephen Dinely Totton, Clerk of the Crown and Register of the Court of Admiralty (Barrister)	March 1794
George Taylor, Prothonotary and Register	July 1787
John Abbott, Deputy Prothonotary and Register	Jan. 1794

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[1] Each Alderman sat for four months of the year, but he performed duties as Justice of the Peace, etc., during the remaining eight. The Mayor, of course, sat throughout the year.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxxii., 18th Jan., 1799.

	Arrived.
George Lys, Examiner (late Captain H.M.'s 76th Reg^t.)	July 1788
L. H. Sterling,[1] Sealer (late Lieut. H.M.'s 74th Reg^t.)	May 1791
Mansfield Plenderleith, Clerk to the Recorder	Sept. 1798

Four Interpreters.
Two Serjeants and Mace Bearers.'

Legal Practitioners.

		Arrived.
'James Stuart Hall	Advocate, Attorney & Proctor	1775
John Chalmer	Do.	1788
Robert Williams (late 19th Dragoons)	Do.	1785
Emanuel Samuel (late Surgeon)	Do.	1791
Alexander Anstruther (Barrister)	Do.	1798
Gilbert Ricketts	Do.	1791
George Macmahon	Do.	1795
C. M. Bushby	Do.	1798
James Sutherland	Advocate & Attorney	1792
H. A. D. Compton (late Lieut. 74th Reg^t.)	Do.	1790
Fownes Disney[2]	Do.	1797
Charles Walters	Do.	1797
Michael James	Do.	1798'

Government approved generally of the Recorder's proposals.

For the second time the Grand Jury drew attention to the prevalence of hooliganism in Triplicane:—

Presentment of the Grand Jury.

(*P.C.*, vol. ccxxxii., 1st Feb., 1799.)

'*Madraspatnam Sessions.* We the Grand Jury of the Town of Madraspatnam . . . Do present that the Village of Triplicane abounds with Nuisances of a Public Nature, and is the resort of a Number of People who Conduct themselves frequently in a manner so disorderly and outrageous that the Lives of His Majesty's Subjects in passing through the same, as they are frequently Obliged to do, are put in Danger: an Instance of which occurred within the last few days, when two Gentlemen, Namely Mr. Henry Brown and Mr. John Wallace, passing thro' the Street, were outrageously assaulted with Rockets and Stones by a large body of the Inhabitants tumultuously assembled. . . .'

'JOHN ROWLEY, Foreman.'

In forwarding this presentment to Government, the Recorder suggested that the Nawab be addressed. He added:—'In proposing this, the Court assumes as incontrovertible that Triplicane is within its Jurisdiction, being a part of Madras the limits of which, as lately defined by this Government, comprehend without excepting that Village. . . .' Lord Mornington, who had assumed direct control of the Government during his stay in Madras, wrote as follows:—

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[1] Luke Hauteville Sterling gave his name to Sterling's Road, Nungumbaukum.

[2] Fownes Disney conferred his name on Disney's Gardens, Kilpauk.

The Governor-General to Nawab 'Umdat-ul-Umarā.

'As instances of this daring and insulting conduct on the part of the inhabitants of Triplicane have frequently occurred, I must express my expectation that your Highness will take effectual measures without delay for punishing the delinquents in the present instance, and for preventing in future enormities so injurious to the tranquillity and good order of the Country, and so disgraceful to the authority of the Government. MORNINGTON.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxxii., 2nd Feb., 1799.)

The following year witnessed the abolition of the ancient institution of the Choultry Court:—

Minute by Lord Clive.

'When the members of the Government acted as justices of the Peace, a Court denominated the "Choultry Court" was instituted for the adjudgment of cases of landed property within the boundary, and for registering the transfer of that property among the Native Inhabitants. This arrangement evidently arose from the want of better means to administer justice in cases of this Nature; and I find accordingly that the duties of the Choultry Court were transferred on the establishment of the temporary Court of Cutcherry. The records of the Court of Cutcherry were transferred, with the exception of those of the Choultry Court, to the Court of the Recorder on the late establishment of that Court. As this institution provides ample security for all property within its jurisdiction, as the rights of the Company in land will be sufficiently guarded, It will be expedient that the Choultry Court shall be entirely abolished, and that the records of it shall be transferred to the Court of the Recorder.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxlii., 18th March, 1800.)

The Council assented, and the next day the Chief Secretary ordered Mr. A. Brooke to deliver over 'the whole of the records and papers which were left in your charge by the late Register.'[1]

The Recorder's Court, into which the Mayor's Court had been absorbed, was extinguished in 1801, when its functions were merged in a Supreme Court of Judicature, which was erected on the 4th September, with Sir Thomas Strange as Chief Justice,[2] and Justices Henry Gwillim and Benjamin Sulivan as puisne Judges. The Supreme Court sat in the building formerly appropriated to the Recorder's Court, but in 1817 it moved to an edifice on the site of the Marine Yard next the Custom House. Under the regulations of 1802 the following additional courts were established:—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxliii., 19th March, 1800.

[2] Sir Thomas Strange took an active part in the public life of Madras. On the embodiment of the Militia in December, 1798, he commanded one of the two companies of *Fort Militia.* There were four companies of *Black Town Militia* under Mr. E. W. Fallofield, one of *Armenian Militia,* and four of *Portuguese Militia,*

Zillah[1] *Courts* for the trial of civil suits in the districts.

Provincial Courts of Appeal from the Zillah Courts. These Courts were abolished in 1843.

Sudder Adawlut,[2] or Chief Court of Civil Judicature for the trial of appeals from the Provincial Courts of Appeal.

Courts of Circuit for the trial of persons charged with crimes. These Courts were abolished in 1843.

Foujdary Adawlut,[3] or Chief Criminal Court.

In 1862 the functions of the *Sudder Adawlut* and *Foujdary Adawlut* were merged in the High Court, which administered justice as a Court of Law and Equity, of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery, of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and of Admiralty.[4]

About 1905 the ancient records preserved in the High Court were overhauled, with the result that a number of interesting documents were discovered, besides books of proceedings of the Mayor's Court.[5] Among the former were sundry Commissions, Letters Patent, and Charters, the Affidavit of Lord Pigot of the 26th November, 1776, sworn before Alderman Eyles Irwin, and twenty-three Letter Books of the East India Company ranging from 1762 to 1780. These books and papers were transferred to the Government Office. The Mayor's Court books comprised:—

Register of Records of the Mayor's Court containing plaints and decrees of the years 1731-33, 1743, 1753-55, 1760, etc., down to

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and Lord Clive commanded the whole force. Sir Thomas resigned office in 1817 to return to England. An excellent portrait of him, by Lawrence, hangs in Government House, Madras. Other portraits, by Benjamin West and Martin Shee, are preserved at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Christ Church, Oxford, respectively.

[1] *Zillah*, district; from Ar. *ẓila*.

Sudder Adawlut; from Ar. *ṣadr*, chief, and *'adālat*, court.

[3] *Foujdary Adawlut*; from Pers. *faujdārī*, criminal jurisdiction, and Ar. *'adālat*, court.

[4] *Rules of the High Court of Madras*, S. Biligiri Aiyangar.

[5] With the permission of Mr. A. L. Hannay, I.C.S., late Registrar of the High Court, these records were examined by the writer.

1797. In 1731-33 there are plaints of 'Budryah,' 'Gengaram,' 'Sunca Ramah,' George Drake, Matthew Empson, John Powney, Lewis D'Madeiros, George Morton Pitt, George Torriano, Peter Eckman, and Edward Harrison; and in 1743 there is one of 'Tomby Chitty.'

Register of Records of the Court of Appeals against Mayor's decisions for 1755-60, 1768-70, etc., down to 1797.

Proceedings of the Mayor's Court as King's Ordinary for granting Wills, etc., for 1755, 1759, 1761, etc., down to 1793.

Minute Book of the Town Hall Court, five volumes for 1740-46, 1753, and 1758.

Register of Records of Miscellaneous Proceedings of the Town Hall Court, fifty-five volumes for the period 1761-95.

Will Books for 1735-46, 1753-56, 1759, etc., down to 1861.

THE COMMITTEE OF POLICE.

The duties exercised by Sir Archibald Campbell's Committee of Police and its successor, the Committee of Regulation, among which were the control of the markets and the settlement of prices and wages, had fallen into desuetude with the abolition, in 1791,[1] of the office of Cutwal, held by Mr. William Webb. Lord Hobart saw the need for a revival of these functions, and took measures accordingly. Before these are described, it will be convenient to touch lightly on the allied questions of conservancy and assessment. The Act of the 33rd George III. gave power to levy municipal taxes, and town cleansing was effected by contract under the control of two officers called 'Surveyors and Collectors' of assessment. These persons, Messrs. J. S. Smith and W. Cockell, forwarded tenders in July, 1796, from three persons, of whom two were natives, while the third was Mr. John Dieurstedt. The last was selected, and the Organist thus became 'Scavenger Contractor,' engaging to maintain sixty carts of uniform pattern, with good buffaloes, for an annual consideration of Pags. 4,680. Six of the carts were to be employed daily in the Fort, and the remainder were to perambulate the Black Town in such manner that every street should be dealt with twice a week.[2] The inhabitants regarded the prescribed degree of cleanliness as excessive, and expostulated :—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clxix., 13th May, 1791.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxi., 29th July, 1796.

Petition of the Inhabitants.

'The humble Petition of the Inhabitants in General residing within the Black Town Walls of Fort St. George.

'That your Petitioners beg leave to submit that the Scavenger's duty which they usually paid from time immemorial was only at the rate of 10 fanams per every hundred Pagodas on the Valuation of their Houses and Grounds ; but Government have some years before resolved to receive at the rate of 30 fanams as temporary Collection, which your Petitioners Continued to pay for some time. . . .

'That in the year 1795 Government having thought proper to Order an assessment of 5 Per Cent to be Collected from your Petitioners on the supposed Annual Rent of their Houses, &c., said to be for the purpose of Cleaning the Streets and Building Drains, &c., . . ., Your Petitioners wish no more Cleaning and repairs as had been done for a Century and upwards, with the Collection of the Scavengers duty at the rate of 10 fanams. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxviii., — June, 1797.)

The Collectors and Surveyors, Messrs. W. Cockell and C. Breithaupt, reported that much labour had been expended not only on cleaning and repairing the streets, but also on bridges and 'under Ground Channels.' The inhabitants, however, they said, cared nothing for cleanliness, and their payments were much in arrear. Three months later the Collectors complained that, notwithstanding an 'Order given at the General sessions held the 5th October 1796 for the making of Cesspools in the Town of Madraspatnam, no attention whatever has been paid to it by the Inhabitants.' Among those declining to pay assessment are Mr. Umpherston of Stringer Street, Mr. John Mendez of Pariana Maistry Street, Messrs. Francis Joze and A. Fonçeca of Semboodoss Street, Mr. Jacob Pettum of Armenian Street, and sundry natives in other specified thoroughfares. Government directed these persons to be warned that persistence in refusal would involve distraint on their property.

Assuming the privilege of age and long residence, Mr. James West urged the restoration of the office of Cutwal of the Market, and offered himself as incumbent. Remarking that the post was instituted 'when Madrass had not one third the number of Inhabitants it has now,'[1] he considered its abolition from motives of economy to have been a retrograde step :—

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[1] The allusion is to the time when the office of Clerk of the Market was revived.

Mr. James West to Lord Hobart

[Though harvests have been abundant, prices rule high], 'great part of which no doubt grows out of Sir Charles Oakeley's . . . mistaken rules to Oeconomy, and tho he button'd up his own Coat to the Coller and observed there was no need of a Westcoat in so warm a climate, he could not nor ought not to have thought a *Westcoat* was Extravagant or unprofitable, whatever his thought were of a double garment. . . . The British arms, my Lord, have been long successful in India, and tho' such extent of Country is now in possession, I remember the time when the Company's Power, fate and defence were all within the walls of Fort St. George; and from such defence nobly made success follow'd and gave possession of the Carnatic, and from such happy success, Power and Plenty. I hope they will make me the Instrument to releive the poor and not to send the empty away. . . . JAMES WEST.'[1] (*P.C.*, vol. cxcix., 10th April, 1795.)

In December, 1796, we find the Mayor and Corporation electing one of their number, Mr. Richard Chase, to be Clerk of the Market for the ensuing year, thereby reviving an ancient practice.[2] A year later the Mayor's Court, hearing rumours of a contemplated absorption of the office by Government, represented that the post had been held by one of the Aldermen in rotation since the year 1733, and that the appointment had been annually recognized by beat of official tom-tom. They protested against any change of system.[3]

The Attorney-General, to whom the question was referred for opinion, pointed out that the reference to the year 1733 involved a technical error, inasmuch as the present Mayor's Court was constituted under the Charter of 1753. Mr. Sulivan, while quoting the Consultation of 12th July, 1771, to show that the Mayor's Court had made the appointment of Clerk of the Market from 1753, pointed to the Directors' letter of the 27th November, 1771, conveying Counsel's opinion that the Charter gave the Mayor no power to do so. He added:—

Attorney-General's Opinion.

'The Mayor and Aldermen . . . are not the Head of a Town Corporate (for in the Charter there is no incorporation of the Inhabitants), and can therefore claim none of the Franchises usually conferred on Towns Corporate. They have not the Government of the Town, and therefore no authority to interfere in the Police of the Town. They have no grant of a Market, and therefore no power to appoint a Clerk of the Market. . . . In short, they do not seem to have a Grant of any Franchise whatsoever, and consequently no ground on which to establish a claim to the office they have so long been permitted to retain. . . . BENJAMIN SULIVAN.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxii., 5th Jan., 1798.)

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[1] The writer of this letter appears to have been the James West who arrived with Draper's Regiment, became a free merchant, and died in 1802. The death of another James West, who is described as 'Ensign,' is recorded in 1782.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxiii., 23rd Dec., 1796.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxi., 22nd Dec., 1797. Mr. Ralph Mansell was Clerk of the Market under the Corporation in 1730 (*P.C.*, vol. lx., 26th Sept., 1730). The post was created much earlier, however—probably in 1678, when John Barker was appointed (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 9th Dec., 1678).

Government accordingly resolved to assume the appointment in connexion with Lord Hobart's Police scheme, which originated as follows:—

Minute by Lord Hobart.

'The President acquaints the Board that, having seriously reflected on the acknowledged inconvenience suffered by the Community of Madras for want of a regulated police, he had selected a Committee with a view to make the enquiries necessary to a permanent system, and had addressed the following Letter to them—

'"To Mess^rs^. Oakes, Chamier, Kindersley and Major Allan.

'"The inconvenience generally felt and complained of by the Resident Inhabitants of Madras for want of established regulations respecting the price and sale of provisions, the wages of Artificers, Palankeen boys, Coolies and other descriptions of Labourers, having induced me to revise the proceedings of Committee formerly instituted with a view to remedy similar inconveniences, but which, for reasons that I am not accurately informed of, were not productive of the intended effect, I am led to hope that, with your assistance, an attempt at present may be attended with a more successful issue. . . ."' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxi., 1st Dec., 1797.)

The Committee, who received their instructions in October, reported that they had summoned the market suppliers and told them that, as prices had of late been arbitrarily raised without discretion, a reduction of profits must now be expected:—

Report of the Committee of Police.

'We may venture to say that the Inhabitants of Madras, down to the lowest Orders, are not to be surpassed in Acuteness at any call of Interest: the observation is drawn from us in reference to what passed in our Conferences with the Dealers. We mean not to say they were disrespectful, but certainly they were not over-awed before us: they argued with Freedom, they penetrated the Drift of every Interrogatory, and, as occasion required, sought Shelter under the most subtle Evasions. It was in vain that reasoning was opposed to their assertions though palpably destitute of truth. Resorting therefore to information drawn from different Quarters, and whose concurrence, aided by calculations stronger than assertion or Argument, made them know we were not deceived, they accepted the terms held out from your Lordship. We have dwelt upon this point longer than we might otherwise have done in

Order to satisfy your Lordship that the Reduction of price to which they have consented in no degree bears hard on them. . . .

'Your Lordship will observe that the proposed reductions of Price are upon the following Articles—Bread, Fish, Beef, Veal, Mutton, Kid, Pork, Poultry, Wild Fowle, Fruit, Hire of Palankeen Boys, Coolies, Carts, &c., and we cannot doubt that similar reductions may be made in the various Articles furnished to the Market and for sale in the black Town. . . .

'We take leave to submit to your Lordship the expediency of appointing a Poligar to the black Town, and shall conclude with observing that much conveniency would arise to the Settlement if a piece of Ground could be provided in a centrical Situation upon which the Public Market may be erected. . . .[1] T. OAKES, JOHN CHAMIER, N. E. KINDERSLEY, A. ALLAN.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxi., 1st Dec., 1797.)

For these gentlemen a permanent Police Committee was substituted, consisting of the three Justices, Messrs. John Chamier, Walter Balfour, and George Taswell, with the Superintendent of the Cutcherry, Mr. N. E. Kindersley, and the Town Major, Major Alexander Allan. They proposed an establishment consisting of a Clerk of the Market, Pags. 150, Secretary to the Committee, Pags. 100, Cutwal, Pags. 50, Assistant Cutwal, Pags. 10, with Interpreter, Writer, Conicoplies, and Peons at ordinary rates. The total cost, Pags. 360 per month, the Committee proposed to raise by voluntary contribution. Among the subscribers at a public meeting we find James Anderson, James Brodie, Peter Cassin, Richard Chase, Thomas Chase, Barry Close, Basil Cochrane, C. B. Dent, E. W. Fallofield, J. Goldingham, W. Harington, Paul Jodrell, Francis Lautour, Eccles Nixon, Gilbert Ricketts, Benjamin Roebuck, Henry Sewell, Benjamin Sulivan, William Sydenham, and Richard Yeldham. Government approved the Committee's proceedings, and appointed Mr. J. Dennis to be Superintendent of the Market.[2]

In the following June the Police Committee reported their proceedings from the beginning. Since the 1st January they had sat daily. The dealers of Vepery, San Thomé, and the Mount, encouraged by the Amildars[3] of the Collector of the Jaghire, Mr. Lionel Place, had refused to abide by the Madras rates. The Committee complained of obstruction by Mr. Place, and asked that the outlying villages of Madras, including Trivatore and the Mount, should be placed under their control. To meet the cost of establishment without dependence on subscriptions, they had raised the selling prices of articles of luxury. They added:—

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[1] This is a singular statement, seeing that Popham's market was reported well advanced at the beginning of 1789, and that its completion was expected by the 1st March of that year.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxi., 22nd and 29th Dec., 1797.

[3] *Amildar*, native collector of revenue; from Pers. *'amaldār*.

Report of the Committee of Police.

'The principle on which we have acted has ever been that the profit on the Articles brought to market should center in the hands of the Dealers, and should be as great as heretofore; and that the Brokers, or the Class of Servants Called Butlers and Compradores, who intermediately purchased the Articles at easy rates from the Dealers, and retailed them afterwards at exhorbitant advanced prices, should be the only sufferers by the Retrenchment. . . . JOHN CHAMIER, WALTER BALFOUR, JOHN MALCOLM,[1] GEO. TASWELL.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxvi., 15th June, 1798.)

Government expressed themselves well pleased with the Committee's exertions, and extended their authority as desired.

The Committee of Police was still in existence at the end of the century, as evidenced by a complaint from them against Mr. Fownes Disney, an attorney of the Recorder's Court, for assaulting their subordinates. Disney, expressing surprise at the imputation, attributed it to malice on the part of Mr. Taswell, whom he had lately had occasion to cross-examine in Court, and with whom he was in consequence not on speaking terms:—

Mr. Fownes Disney to the Secretary to Government.

'The only circumstance that I can recollect to which your letter can possibly allude happened several months ago. I remember I was in the Evening going out to the Garden in my Palanquin, and after passing the Bazar I was surprized at being suddenly set down by my Boys, who at the same time declared that one of my Servants who had gone to the Bazar for Fish was beat by two men, whom they immediately pointed out to me, and whom I slightly chastized. As I never hear'd more of the matter, I am totally Ignorant who the men might be, or what was the quarrel with my Servant. Your letter informs me they were Servants of the Police, and in the Execution of their publick duty. I incline to suspect his Lordship in Council has been misinformed as to this fact: they were Naked Cooleys without any distinguishing Dress of being servants of the Police, and the serjeants and others standing present of the Police did not object, or suggest that they were in the service of the Police, or that beating my Servant was in the execution of their publick duty. On the contrary, they informed me the Police Committee had given up the Controul of the Fish Bazar. . . . FOWNES DISNEY.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxlv., 4th July, 1800.)

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[1] John Malcolm was Town Major.

CHAPTER XXXII

1794—1800

AFFAIRS OF THE ROMAN CHURCH—THE WATERWORKS—THE LIGHTHOUSE—THE NATIVE HOSPITAL

AFFAIRS OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

THE Syndics of the Capuchin Church represented in 1792 that tolerable order had been maintained under Sir Archibald Campbell's regulations until the death of Raphael and departure of De Souza. They complained that, after the loss of these prominent members, Father Ferdinand had again attempted irregularities, and was endeavouring to alienate Church funds by selling a Company's bond of Pags. 8,000. Government forbade the Superior to dispose of the bond:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Capuchins as Mendicant Friars can possess no Property. They are administered by Laymen called Temporal Fathers. Padre Ferdinand claims part of the Property in their Possession as belonging to their convent, as what they acquired by their Industry and the Savings of their Œconomy. But in this acquisition is included a very Capital Article which more properly is the Property of the Community of the Roman Catholic Christians of this Settlement, vizt. The compensation allowed by the Company for the Demolition of the Roman Catholic Church in the White Town of Madras, being 12,000 Pagodas[1] and the Interest upon it since 1772, from which time the Capuchins here have received the Interest, forming, in the Space of 20 years, no less a Sum than 19,200 Pagodas besides the Capital. . . . About a Twelve month ago he [Father Ferdinand] sold the Capuchins' Garden in the Black Town for 10,000 Pagodas. We understand he has received the greater part of this money, of which he has rendered no Account. Nothing will suit better the Views of the Syndics than to deposit in the Company's Treasury all the Papers and Bonds belonging to the Church Stock of the Roman Catholics of Madras. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. clxxiv., — Feb., 1792.)

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[1] Pags. 12,000 was paid by Fort St. George, and Pags. 3,000 by the Court of Directors. (*P. from Eng.*, 23rd March, 1770.)

The charges against the Superior having been referred to San Thomé, the Bishop came to Madras on the 17th March, and demanded of Father Ferdinand his papers and bonds. 'The said Superior answered that he came to this Church with his Stick and Breviary, and with them he would go out, and accordingly he went away.' Father Benjamin then consented to be answerable for all property, and ultimately bonds for Pags. 54,100 were deposited in the Treasury.

Some correspondence of 1795 relating to an encroachment on Church land at the Mount is not without interest. The Bishop of Mylapore complained to the Governor on the 3rd March that, six months previously, Lieut. Gourlay of the Artillery had pulled down a ruined house which was Church property, standing at the foot of the Mount. With the materials the officer was erecting a new house on adjacent Church land. The Vicar had referred the matter to Colonel Thomas Geils, commanding the Artillery at the Mount, who asked for proof that the demolished building belonged to the Church. The Bishop cites his diocesan records to show that the house was a gift from Lewis da Costa, a merchant of Calcutta. He adds:—

The Bishop of Mylapore to Lord Hobart.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxcviii., 6th March, 1795.)

'The Church at the Mount has been a Sanctuary famous for its Devotion for upwards of Two hundred years, protected by the Country Powers and cherished by the English Government since they became Masters of this Continent. Colonel Geils placed a Saluting Gun on the Flat at the Top of the Mount on the 16th of last Month. The Shock occasioned by its firing brought down the door frame and a part of the Wall of the Dwelling House of the Padre. It may not be improper to observe to your Lordship that during the last French War a Signal Gun was set on a lower part of the Hill, the firing of which could be of no detriment to the Buildings at the Top.

'A New Bell, which was put up four years ago, has by the frequent handling of the Lascars been cracked. The Church runs equal risk with the House. . . .'

'BISPO DE MAILAPUR.'

Government called for a report from the Commandant. That officer wrote to the Bishop on the 12th as follows:—

Colonel Geils to the Bishop of Mylapore.

'I have no doubt but the Church at the Mount has been at all times famous as a Sanctuary, as well as for its devotion for these two hundred years, as you state; but I should be glad to know from so respectable an authority as that of the Bishop of Saint Thome the date of it's first Establishment as a Christian Church, and whether or not the report is true that this Church in its first establishment was for wise reasons engrafted on a Pagan place of Worship, likewise of great sanctity, as in determining the claims of the Bishoprick of Mileapour to the great Mount it may naturally occur from the above circumstances to his Lordship in Council that some prior claims may hereafter be submitted by the Hindoos for the wisdom of Government to deside upon. . . .

'The breaking of the bell I am . . . to hope is not without a remedy, as I have got one, it is true of Pagan construction, taken at Rayacottah. My right to this bell possibly may not be better ascertained than that of the Church is to the Mount. However this may be, I have by some means or other got hold of this Pagan Ornament, and if you will have the goodness to have it examined to see if it will answer, or if there be any objections to converting this heathenish Instrument to Christianity and hanging it up in the Church in the room of the broken Bell, I shall consider myself very much obliged by your doing me the favor to accept it. THOMAS GEILS.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxcix., 10th April, 1795.)

The Bishop's Secretary examined the 'Inventory of the Mount Church,' and certified on the 17th March to the following extract:—

Extract from the Inventory.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxcix., 10th April, 1795.)

'In virtue of the order, I faithfully copied from the Book of Inventory of the Mount Church, Folio 5th, the following Passage—

'"The House I purchased from Melcan I rebuilt myself, and sold it to Lewis da Costa for one Hundred and fifty Pagodas; but finding myself afterwards in want of it for the purpose of keeping Paddy, Chunam and other articles . . . I wrote to Lewis da Costa, offering to take it back from him for the same price . . ., to which he answered me in a letter that I now have here to this purport, That he gives the said House to the Church on condition of saying a Mass yearly, at the time of the feast, for his intention and family, and after his Decease to be applied for his soul. I accepted the same on the above conditions in my own name and of the future Vicars. In testimony of which I have hereunto set my Hand the 28th June 1775. FRE MANOEL DA VIRGEM MARIA, VICAR."

'(Signed) P. DOMINGOS MANOEL MASCARENHAS,
'Secretary.'

The Bishop addressed the Governor again on the 28th, enclosing copies of the two foregoing documents. He said:—

The Bishop of Mylapore to Lord Hobart.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxcix., 10th April, 1795.)

'Soon after the Discovery of India by the Portugueze, settlements were made on this Coast, one of the principal of which was Maliapur, then called St. Thomas from the Tradition that subsisted that the Apostle of that name had preached the Gospel in these parts, where he died a Martyr. The City of St. Thomas was erected into a Bishoprick in the year 1606 by Pope Paul the fifth, which was determined by the name of that Holy Saint, long after the Church at the Mount had been founded, which was in 1545.

'Of the Antiquity of the Church at the Mount and the veneration it was held in by the Pagan Natives, mention is made by several Authors, particularly in the Histoire Chrestienne, and by Jacinto Freyre de Andrade in his life of Don Joao de Castro, fourth Viceroy of Goa.

'My humble Complaint is that the ground where Lieutenant Gourlay has built a new House has always been the property of the Church, which should not have been taken poss[ess]ion of or encroached upon, but continued to the Owner, and that the old ruinated House at the foot of the Mount which was the property of the late Mr. Lewis da Costa (to the value of one hundred and fifty Pagodas) by fair purchase, and made over by him to the Church, . . . shall be restored to the Rightful owner. . . . To remove the Gun from the top or flat part of the mount, and that the Care and Use of the Bell shall be entirely under the Clergyman who officiates there. This will be puting things upon the ancient footing, as there can be no doubt entertained of the Right of the Church to the whole of the Mount by the undisturbed Possession of upwards of Two Centuries and Half.'

'BISPO DE MAILEPUR DE S. THOME.'

Colonel Geils replied to the Government reference on the 16th April, saying that he had applied to the Bishop for documents, and had at the same time promised to repair the damage done :—

Colonel Geils to Government.

'But in all this I am apprehensive, from my not being favored with an answer, the bishop may have taken offence—which I am extremely concerned for—at a part of my letter wherein I requested to be informed, . . . for the information of his Lordship, whether or not the Report was founded of the present Church at the Mount having been originally engrafted on a Hindoo place of Worship, as it might hereafter be consistant with the wisdom of Government, in determining the Right of the Bishoprick of Mile-a-pour to the Lordship of the great Mount, to advert in their decision to the claims of the natives, which I understand had never to this day been altogether relinquished. THOMAS GEILS.'

Government Order.

'Agreed to desire that Lieutenant Gourlay may be immediately required to reimburse the Bishop of St. Thomé for the value of the materials taken by him from the old house, and to restore the ground on which he has lately built ;— and that in future no one be permitted to build on the top of the Mount without obtaining the Bishop's consent. As Colonel Geils has stated no reason why the gun should continue to be fired at the top of the Mount, and as the discharge of it appears to be very injurious to the buildings there, Resolved also that it be immediately removed, and that the bell be left, as requested by the Bishop, to the sole use and care of the officiating curate.' (*P.C.*, vol. cc., 14th May, 1795.)

Three years later the Curate or Vicar, the Rev. Fre Jose da Graça, represented to Government that having, under instructions from the Bishop, completed the house begun by Lieut. Gourlay, he let it to Lieut. Edward Geils of the 19th Light Dragoons. Then the priest, being himself in need of stable accommodation, 'demolished an old Godown of another House belonging to the Church, Situate at the foot of the Mount, and thereon built a Convenient place for the purpose intended.' Lieut. Geils promptly occupied it, and refused to move, though he had stabling for three horses attached to his residence. Colonel David Smith, commanding at the Mount, to whom the priest complained, stated that he had no authority over King's officers. The matter was accordingly referred to Government. Ultimately a Court of Inquiry was held, and the Vicar recovered possession of his stable.[1]

Father Benjamin, the Superior of the Capuchins, having resigned, the Rev. Father Demase was nominated by the Bishop and confirmed by Government. Applying for an interview with the Governor, Father Demase wrote:—

Father Demase to Lord Hobart.

'It is now nearly three years since I sought refuge under the British flag, the flag that flies triumphant over that of every other nation in the universe. Under its protection I hope to pass in peace the remainder of a life that had well nigh fallen a sacrifice to the people of Pondicherry, no motives being able to induce me to bind myself by that iniquitous Oath they administered, or to calmly witness the outrages that were daily committed against an unfortunate king and against the peace of society at large. I have now almost attained 70 years of age. The short time I have yet to live shall be devoted to the restoring of peace and regularity to the Order over which I now preside, and in rectifying the abuses introduced by my predecessor, whose conduct was at length so highly irregular that his expulsion became necessary. . . . DEMASE, Superior of the Capuchins.' (*P.C.*, vol. cci., 12th June, 1795.)

Owing to age and infirmity Father Demase retired at the end of the following year, when the Bishop offered Father Ferdinand[2] as Superior, and proposed 'Eight Persons of Property and fair Character' for selection of four as Syndics. They were Adrian De Fries, John De Fries, Francis Lautour, S. M. Moorat, John Cachart, D. R. Baboom, John Mendez, and William Rutter.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxvi., 29th June, 1798.

[2] Presumably not the same person as Father Benjamin's immediate predecessor.

Government chose the first four, and accepted Father Ferdinand as Superior.[1]

Ferdinand died in February, 1800, and was succeeded by Father Laurent,[2] whose misfortune it was to rouse the ire of Lord Clive. The exact nature of the offence alluded to in the following intercessory letter from one of Father Laurent's clergy is not specified in the records, nor has any reference to it been traced in the newspapers of the time:—

The Rev. Father Drouillard to the Secretary to Government.

'It is with the utmost concern that I trouble you by taking the liberty to inform you that the R. F. Superior of our Convent is now in confinement by the orders of the Right Honble the Governor on account of the Wedding of My Lord George Stuart.[3] No doubt that Clergyman did very wrong; but in the mean while I beg you the favor to observe, your Honor, that he is very young; that he arrived in this Settlement not since long time, by the protection both of the British Resident at Poonah and of the British Resident at the Court of Nizaum Ali Khaun; that he has been confirmed as Superior of Madras but from very few Months by the Right Honble the Governor in Council himself; he knows not at all the laws, Customs and Manners of this Presidency; and then he did wrong, but only by mere ignorancy and excessive goodness. If he should know that he makes any thing contrary to the R. H. B.[4] Government, he will prefer to die than to do it, since we always enjoyed the protection of the British flag: he is sunk in such a deep sorrow from the very moment that he understood to have provoked the Anger of his Lordship by his imprudent behaviour that he is neither able to eat nor to repose. Therefore I entreat very humbly your Honor to take his unfortunate case into your mature and benevolent consideration, and to be kind enough as to obtain his release from the Right Honble the Governor by your powerful patrocinium. All the English Gentlemen who are acquainted with our M. R. F.[5] Superior, all the Clergymen as well as the whole Roman Christianity may assure you that he is one of the best Clergymen, that he is never to do any evil to his neighbour, and accordingly that he committed such a great error by an exceeding sweatness of temper or weakness by experienceless behaviour, and not knowing at all the orders of the R. H. Government.

'This is the first time that he has been mistaken on that matter, and no doubt that in the future such a false step will never be committed by him. How much happy are we if your Honor will vouchsafe to help him in his unhappiness, since he is universally liked, esteemed and regarded by every one from the very moment he has been chosen as Superior unanimously by the general votes both of all the Clergy and of all the Christianity. Such an exceeding favor shall be always acknowledged by us, and our duty as well as our happiness shall be taken every opportunity to prove our sincere gratitude. Be pleased, Honored Sir, to let know to the Right Honble the Governor that by vouchsafing to show the most special Clemency to that Clergyman and to forgive such a great wrong, his Lordship will find for ever our hearts thankful to his Excellency, that his name shall be always recollected in our Memory with thousand praises, and that his very excessive benevolency engraved in our hearts for our life long. . . . F. PETER DROUILLARD.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxlvii., 18th Oct., 1800.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxiii., 23rd Dec., 1796.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxlii., 28th Feb., 1800.

[3] George Stuart, R.N., younger son of the fourth Earl of Bute, married Jane, daughter of Major-General James Stewart.

[4] Right Hon. British.

[5] Most Reverend Father.

The Secretary to Government to the Bishop of San Thomé.

'The Superior of the Capuchin Church (Father Laurent) having disobeyed the regulations established for conducting the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church at this Presidency, and having thereby given just cause of offence to the Right Honorable the Governor in Council, I am directed to Acquaint you that His Lordship in Council has resolved to punish the irregular and disrespectful behaviour of that person by withdrawing from him the protection of the British Government; and you will accordingly communicate to him His Lordship's Orders for quitting the British territories.

'His Lordship in Council expects that you will see these orders carried into effect with the least delay possible, and I am directed to desire that you will report to his Lordship in Council the period of Father Laurent's departure from this Presidency. G. BUCHAN, Secretary to Government.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxlvii., 19th Oct., 1800.)

The Bishop, Fre Jose da Graça, in announcing that Father Laurent left the place on the 5th November, nominated Father Jean Baptiste as Superior subject to the approval of Government.[1]

THE WATERWORKS.

In 1791 Major Maule and Mr. William Webb, with the design of increasing the revenue from the Waterworks, had advised that 'the Inhabitants who draw water from the Works in the Fort should be charged at the rate of one Rupee per Month, with an additional Rupee for all such as might also have their Garden-houses supplied.' They furnished lists of 63 'Inhabitants residing at their Garden Houses'; of 42 'Civil Servants taking Water Daily from the Fort Pipe,' showing the quantity taken, ranging from 1 pot by Mr. Webb to 40 pots by Sir Charles Oakeley, aggregating 402 pots in all; of 29 'Gentlemen having Apartments in the Fort, who do not appear to have taken Water from the Pipes'; and of 177 'Inhabitants taking Water from the

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxlviii., 21st Nov., 1800. Bishop de Graça assumed charge in April, 1800, on the demise, three months previously, of his predecessor.

Pipes of the Fort;' with the quantity taken by each, aggregating 504 pots. The proposition was duly approved.[1]

Mr. George Baker submitted a prolix communication in 1794, recommending that additional wells be sunk both at the Seven Wells site and on the Esplanade, and urging that, for the convenience of the shipping, each set of cisterns in the Fort should communicate with the beach by a separate pipe.[2] After some delay, Colonel Gent, who had succeeded Major Maule as Superintendent of the Waterworks, reported on Baker's proposals.[3] He explained that the cisterns were arranged in two series to the north of the Sea Gate and two series to the south, that only one series on each side communicated with the beach, and that the connexions between individual cisterns were placed at so high a level that the tanks could not be entirely emptied. He advised the lowering of these connexions and the piercing of the rampart by two additional pipes, so as to secure increased delivery on the beach for the shipping in the south roadstead. He agreed with Baker that four more wells should be 'sunk at the Company's Well ground in addition to the four already there,' the daily Garrison consumption having increased from 20 to 40 tons. He disapproved Baker's idea of making additional wells on the Esplanade, remarking that 'there are already six wells on the north Esplanade and Glacis: these are but little resorted to by the Inhabitants; and on a Trial of the Water lately, and boring the Ground in that neighbourhood, I found all the water more or less Brackish.'[4] Gent's views were accepted, and the alterations were carried out in December, 1796, at a cost of Pags. 1,420.

Major-General Patrick Ross, who had, on return to Madras, resumed the appointments of Chief Engineer and Superintendent of the Waterworks, proposed in 1799 to lay a line of pipes along the interior of Black Town rampart to a new reservoir of 200 tons capacity, to be constructed near the Custom House for the service of ships in the north roadstead.[5] This work, however, does not appear to have been executed. In the following year the control of the Waterworks passed from the Chief Engineer to the

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. clxx., 16th July, 1791, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxxii., 15th Sept., 1791.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cxciii., 5th Sept., 1794.

[3] George Baker died in July, 1799, at the age of seventy-seven.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cciv., 14th Nov., 1795.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxxix., 8th Oct., 1799.

Board of Trade. The Master Attendant was also placed under the orders of that Board.[1]

Through almost the whole of the nineteenth century, the care of the Waterworks was vested in successive members of a family named Nicholas. The first, whose Christian name has not been ascertained, was succeeded by his nephew Sylvester Nicholas. Sylvester died in 1858, and was followed by his son Joseph, who expired in 1871. The latter gave place to Mr. E. A. S. Nicholas, who remained Superintendent until his death in 1905.[2]

THE LIGHTHOUSE.

In February, 1795, Captains W. T. Money, T. D. Foulkes, and A. J. Applegarth, commanders of Indiamen, represented to Government the advantage to navigation which a lighthouse in the Fort would confer. They said that ships nearing Madras at nightfall from the southward were compelled to lie to, and risk the shoals of Covelong, while those approaching from the northward had to guard against the sand-banks of Armagon and Pulicat. A fixed light would enable vessels to enter the roadstead at all hours. Government assented, and informed the commanders that their wishes would be met. The Chaplains were then consulted on the eligibleness of the steeple of St. Mary's Church as a site:—

The Secretary to Government to the Rev. Benjamin Millingchamp.

'I am directed to inform you that a proposal has been made to the Right Honble the President in Council for the erection of a light house on the steeple of St. Mary's Church; and as many public advantages may be expected from such a measure, his Lordship feels every disposition to adopt it unless there should be any solid objection of which he is not at present aware. Before however his ultimate sanction be passed, he thinks it proper that his wishes should be communicated to the Chaplains. ROBERT CLERK, Secretary.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxcviii., 14th Feb., 1795.)

In reply, the Chaplains drew attention to the engagement made in 1680 that the church should be put to no secular use, and at the same time they reminded Government of their promise of 1793 to contribute towards the rebuilding of the spire. At this period, then, the church seems to have possessed only a tower, the summit of which would have been a convenient situation for a light chamber.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxliii., 19th March and 18th April, 1800.

[2] Communicated by Mr. C. S. Nicholas, brother of the last incumbent.

The Chaplains to Government.

'At the dedication of St. Marys, when the Reverend Richard Portman received the Church as a sacred charge and free will offering from the Governor of Fort St. George (to whom powers had been delegated for that purpose from the Bishop of London) and the other contributors to the expence of the building, the parties respectively promised for themselves and their successors "to refuse and renounce to put the Church or any part of it to any profane or common use whatsoever."

'We beg leave to add that the Parishioners assembled in Vestry on the 12th Instant requested the chief Engineer to superintend the Building of a Spire, agreeably to a former resolution sanctioned by the Court of Directors and by Government. B. MILLINGCHAMP, RICHARD LESLIE, A. BELL.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxcviii., 27th Feb., 1795.)

The Senior Churchwarden to Government.

'The Vestry, at a meeting held the 29th December 1792, having taken into consideration the propriety of rebuilding the Steeple of St. Mary's Church, which has remained long in a mutilated and decaying condition, They represented to Government their inability to execute the work owing to the low state of the Church funds . . ., and solicitted the aid of the Honble Board to contribute a proportion of the expence. . . .

'At the last meeting of the Vestry, the measure of rebuilding the steeple of St. Mary's church having again been resumed, it was resolved to be carried into execution, and that the sum[1] which the Honble Board had consented to contribute should be applied for. . . . J. TULLOH.'[2] (*P.C.*, vol. cc., 5th May, 1795.)

Government finally selected the roof of the Exchange as the position for the light. The lighthouse, which appears to have been a framed iron structure, carried a lantern, reflectors, and twelve lamps burning cocoanut oil.[3] It was completed by the end of 1796:—

The President of the Exchange Committee to Lord Hobart in Council.

'I take the liberty of representing to your Lordship that the Light House which, at your Lordship's request, was resolved to be built by the Exchange Company, is completed, and will be ready to be opened at such time as your Lordship shall be pleased to appoint. The Severe Gale it stood last Monsoon when incomplete, and the bad weather it has stood this Monsoon without the smallest effect produced on it enables it to be said that it will be adequate to withstand any Weather which it may experience. B. ROEBUCK.'[4]

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[1] Pags. 2,000. Half this sum was now advanced.

[2] Partner in the firm of Tulloh, Jervis, & Brodie.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxiv., 23rd March, 1798.

[4] Roebuck's official appointment at this time was Military Paymaster-General.

Government Order.

'I am directed by the Right Honble the President in Council to . . . express his Lordship's satisfaction at the completion of the light house, and to recommend that it may be opened immediately, since this is the season of the year at which it may be reckoned most useful to ships coming into the roads. JOSIAH WEBBE, Secretary.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxii., 22nd Nov., 1796.)

In 1798 Mr. Roebuck reported the cost of maintenance of, and improvements to, the lighthouse, and proposed a Light duty on vessels at the rate of 1¼ pagodas per mast, part of which was to be used in defraying the original cost of construction. He forwarded a letter from Mr. P. M. Cassin, 'who has superintended the light House since its Construction':—

Mr. Cassin to Mr. Roebuck.

'Having carried into execution a plan of a Light House given in by you, and superintended the Management of it to the present time, I can with great truth assure you that it requires no small degree of attention to keep those who attend [up] to their duty. The situation in which I live having given me an Opportunity of seeing it at all hours of the night, I have often found it necessary to dispatch a trusty Person to the Exchange to keep the Peons and serjeant to their duty; and frequently came there myself before the Gates were shut, as I was well aware of the Mischief that might arise to Vessels approaching the Roads at Night on such a guide, and not finding it. . . . P. M. CASSIN, Acting Superintendent of the Light House.'

[*Enclosure.*]

Memorandum of the trading Vessels of different Classes . . . that came into the Roads of Madras from the 23rd November 1796 to the 23rd November 1797, vizt.

147 Ships - - - - - - -	3 masts,	441 masts	
44 Brigs, Ketches and Snows - -	2 Do.	88 „	
707 Sloops, cutters and small Donies[1] -	1 Do.	707 „	
			1236

Honble Companys Ships that arrived in the abovementioned time—

44 Ships - - - - - - -	3 masts,	132 masts	
2 Brigs - - - - - - -	2 Do.	4 „	136
		Total Masts -	1372

at 1 and ¼ Pagoda per Mast is Star Pagodas 1,715.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxiv., 23rd March, 1798.)

Cassin offered to meet maintenance charges if he were granted an allowance of Pags. 100 a month. On the recommendation of the Board of Trade, Government approved a scale of Light dues based on tonnage. The rates ranged from ¼ pagoda for a vessel of 50 tons to Pags. 5 for one of 900 tons. The collections were to be paid to the Exchange Committee.[1]

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[1] *Donies, dhonies,* from Tam. *toni,* small native craft.

According to a note published in successive issues of the *Madras Almanac*, 'the Light House on the Exchange in Fort St. George was erected by the Exchange Committee, with the sanction of Government, in December 1796 . . . The Light is 90 feet above the level of the Sea at high water; it can be seen from the decks of the Honorable Company's Ships about 17 miles, and from their mast-heads near 26 miles.'[2]

THE NATIVE HOSPITAL.

In 1797 Assistant-Surgeon John Underwood proposed the erection of a hospital and dispensary for the native poor of Madras. He offered to construct the buildings himself if Government would provide ground and pay a rental not exceeding Pags. 100 a month. The cost of establishment was to be met by voluntary subscription, and a Surgeon, approved by Government, would attend the institution.[3] These proposals were referred to England, and in due course sanctioned by the Court of Directors.[4] Erskine Nimmo, a free mariner who had had thirty years' Indian experience, and, according to his own account, 'hath upon all occasions behaved himself as becometh a Gentleman and a good Citizen,' offered to conduct a lottery for the promotion of the good work, lodging the money 'in either of the Two Banks,[5] or in a good and sufficient house of Agency'; but his proposal was declined.[6] The hospital was, however, completed in 1799:—

Dr. John Underwood to Lord Mornington in Council.

'In consequence of the promised support of Government, with the Sanction of the Honble Court of Directors, I beg leave to Acquaint your Lordship that I have erected a Commodious Hospital and Dispensary for the relief of Native poor of every Cast, and which I flatter myself will be approved by your Lordship as it already has been by all who have inspected it. . . .

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxv., 11th May, 1798.

[2] *Madras Almanac* for 1822.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxvi., 6th March, 1797.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxx., 20th Oct., 1798.

[5] The *Carnatic Bank* and *British Bank*. (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxxii., 11th Jan., 1799.)

[6] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxxi., 30th Nov., 1798.

'I solicit your Lordship to be pleased to place this Institution upon a similar plan to the Lunatic Hospital,[1] taking the buildings on a Lease, and granting such a monthly rent for the same and probable repairs as you may think reasonable and proper. I further solicit your Lordship to grant such an allowance to the Superintendant Surgeon as you may deem expedient for his personal attendance. . . . JOHN UNDERWOOD, Assistant Surgeon.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxxviii., 23rd Aug., 1799.)

Dr. Underwood stated that the total cost had been Pags. 9,813, of which Pags. 304 was paid for land, an area of upwards of thirty cawnies, to the inhabitants of 'Poorshewark.' The buildings were of brick in chunam, and an excess over the estimate was due to the provision of a ward for Brahmans, who, it was at first thought, would be reluctant to attend. Since the 1st May many poor had been relieved. The annual subscriptions, amounting to upwards of Pags. 2,500, were, he considered, sufficient to justify the opening of the hospital.

On the report of the Chief Engineer that the institution consisted of two substantial blocks, each of two wards, with verandas all round, besides detached structures for Brahmans and others, and a terraced Dispensary, Government resolved to rent the buildings at Pags. 150 a month, and to appoint Underwood as Superintendent of the Infirmary on Pags. 100. The Hospital was to be subject to inspection by the Medical Board.[2]

The institution was managed by a Committee, which consisted at the outset of Messrs. William Webb, Nathaniel Kindersley, Charles Baker, Henry Sewell, and John De Fries. Within a month of its formal establishment the hospital contained 89 patients, and several applicants had, from want of space, been refused admission. The Committee advised that the number of in-patients be restricted to 80, and out-patients to 100. The income from subscriptions had risen to Pags. 3,200.[3]

About the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century the Native Hospital was amalgamated with the Monegar Choultry.

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[1] Established in 1794 by Valentine Conolly.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxxix., 20th Sept., 1799.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxl., 18th Oct., 1799.

CHAPTER XXXIII

1794—1800

TAVERNS AND PUNCH-HOUSES—MARINE TOPICS—THE CUSTOM HOUSE—ROADS AND BUILDINGS

Taverns and Punch-Houses.

On the 31st December, 1794, the Justices recalled all punch-house licences in view to the reduction of the number. Francis de Silva, whose licence was withdrawn, petitioned for renewal. He represented himself as a clerk in the Military Department, where he had held office for eleven years. When attending on General Medows in 1792 he was granted permission to supplement his income by keeping a punch-house. He paid Pags. 130 for his licence to Captain Gomond, the Town Major, and Pags. 14 to Captain Alexander Beatson, Gomond's successor.[1]

The Secretary to Government to the Justices.

(*P.C.*, vol. cc., 15th May, 1795.)

'To Theodore Corbett, John Humphrey Skardon,[2] Alexander Macleod, and William Jones, Esquires.

'The Right Honble the President in Council having thought it expedient that twenty punch houses should be licensed for the accommodation of the public at this settlement, I am accordingly directed to desire that you will issue that number of licenses to twenty of the forty three persons who held them before the last act of Parliament in India, and who, in your opinion, shall be found most deserving of this indulgence. . . . J. Webbe, Secretary.'

John Storey and William Ross, who were not of the elect, though represented to be of good character, petitioned Government for consideration. Storey had held a licence for the 'New Inn in the Black Town,' and had fitted up his house in a commodious manner and laid in a large stock of requisites. Ross's former licence was for the 'London Tavern in the Black Town.' Government regarded these cases as exceptional, and granted renewal.[1] In the following year Justices Skardon and Jones proposed modifications in the form of annual licence, and submitted the following wording, which Government approved:—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxcviii., 27th Feb., 1795.

[2] Mr. Skardon was a civil servant who had had experience of a Mysore prison, having been taken by the French at Cuddalore and delivered to Hyder Ali.

Form of Licence.

'To —— ——.Inhabitant of Madras.

'You are hereby Licenced and permitted to keep a Public House of Entertainment, and to sell all manner of wholesome Liquors, so that they may be drank in your House; but you are not on any account whatever to sell any kind of Liquors, by way of Trade or otherwise, to be consumed or drank out of it, this Licence being intended to extend no further than to your keeping a House for victualling and Lodging Strangers, which you are permitted to do under the Restrictions following, namely—

'You are not to have your House open, or any drinking in it, after nine o Clock at Night.

'2. You are on no account to suffer any unlawful Games to be played at your House, nor are you to permit Billiards or any Game to be played there on Sunday.

'3. You are on no account to suffer any of the soldiers to be entertained or purchase Liquor in your House or at the door, neither in Drams nor mixed with water. . . .

'6. You are to keep at least two Cots, with suitable accommodation and wholesome diet, for strangers, and you are not to refuse to entertain any that should desire it (soldiers excepted as before), unless they are disorderly persons. . . .

'8. You are not to sell any Arrack or other Spirituous Liquors in your House by wholesale or in Drams to any Europeans or black People, this Privilege being given exclusively to the Arrack Farmer, to whom you are to pay a Duty of Five Pagodas for every Leaguer of Arrack or other Spirituous Liquors that may be expended, i.e. mixed with water or Punch, &c., at meal time in your House. . . .

'10. You are constantly to report to the Town Major the arrival of every Stranger at your House, and you are also, on the Monday of every Week, to send a return of your Lodgers to the Town Major and the Setting Justice at his office. . . .

'11. You are to have a Board fixed upon the Front of your House with your Name and the Words "Licenced Punch House" written thereupon in fair and legible Characters. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ccix., 27th May, 1796.)

In this year the Justices issued licences to twenty-three persons:—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cc., 25th May, 1795.

'A List of Tavern and Punch House Licenses granted by the Justices for the year 1796.

(*P.C.*, vol. ccx., 15th June, 1796.)

'Edward Bent, William Ross, John Storey, John Standiver Sherman, Richard Perriman, Charles Pereira, Leopold D'Atayde, Francisco Xavier, Andre Moraes, Lynn Pereira, Jean Louis, Joseph D'Cruz, Joseph Baptist, Francis D'Cunha, Lucas Rozario, John D'Silva, Pascall D'Silva Velloms, Mrs. Chaplin, Francis Cross, Eleanor French, James James, Leonard D'Silva, Francis D'Silva.

'Registered in the Office. 'STEVENS TOTTON.[1]
'Clerk to the Justices.'

Several of these tavern keepers became landed proprietors, and, indeed, the names of three are still commemorated in Madras, viz., John Standiver Sherman in *Sherman's Road*, Vepery; Lynn Pereira in *Lynn Pereira Street*, San Thomé; and Francis D'Silva in *De Silva's Road*, Luz. One of the licensees, J. S. Sherman,[2] had lately rebuilt his premises, which were situated at the south end of Stringer Street:—

Petition of John Standiver Sherman.

'That your Petitioner in the month of March last purchased an Upstair house from one Verrasawmy Dubash, formerly the Tavern of Robert Scowen deceased, situated at the west corner of Stringer Street on the boundary of the Esplanade, Black Town, for the sum of two thousand Star Pagodas. That the said Upstairs House, from its uninhabitable situation for want of timely repairs, was by your Petitioner pull'd down with an intention to rebuild it on a new plan; by which means your Petitioner relinquishes to the public benefit the use of a piece of Ground nine feet in breadth by fifty in length, which is by this means thrown into the entrance of the Street. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cci., 6th June, 1795.)

His workmen were stopped in May by authority, and he represents that, if he is not permitted to build an upper story, he will be put to great loss, as 'the design and business for which the house was intended to be erected (being that of a Tavern or Hotel) absolutely requires an upper story for Bed rooms and other conveniences.' The Chief Engineer reported that the ground given up was an encroachment on Stringer Street by the former lessee. By increasing the height of his house from 19 to 26 feet Sherman is violating a regulation under which 'no person has a right to build an upper story within one hundred yards of the boundary of the Esplanade.' Government directed Sheriman, as they call him. to curb his ambitious ideas.

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[1] The name of the Clerk is elsewhere given as Stephen Dinely Totton.

[2] In 1809 J. S. Sherman received a grant of ground in Vepery, and in 1822 owned Spring Gardens, Teynampett. He gave his name to Sherman's Road, Vepery, and probably to Sherman's Gardens, Nungumbaukum. He died in 1841. Another J. Standiver Sherman, doubtless a son of the former, entered the Madras army in 1820, attained the rank of Captain, and died at Vizagapatam in 1831.

The three principal public-houses, known as the *Navy Tavern*, the *King's Arms*, and the *Old London Tavern*, received the special concession recommended in the following letter:—

The Justices to Lord Mornington and Council.

'We Recommend that the Taverns on the Esplanade Called the Navy Tavern, the Kings Arms, and the Old London Tavern be permitted to be keept open until 12 at Night. The other Taverns and Punch Houses will be Shut at 9 at Night.

'Although the Sale of Cordials is not likely to produce the Effects of Ebreity among the lower Classes of the People, yet as the Arrack Farmer, under the Head of *all Spirituous Liquors*, claims the exclusive priviledge of Selling Cordials, We have been obliged to put the Additional Tax upon these Liquors, as well as upon Jamaica Rum, Gin, Brandy, &c. JOHN CHAMIER, WALTER BALFOUR, G. TASWELL.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxxv., 24th May, 1799.)

General Harris had in 1798 allowed one John Burden to open a tavern in the Fort, but the proprietor closed the house within a year for want of capital. In 1800 he applied for a renewal of sanction, and the Justices supported his request. Government passed the following order:—'Agreed to authorize the Justices to grant a License for the Tavern recommended by them for a period of one year, as a temporary convenience to the Public; but, as such an institution is inconsistent with the principles on which it is intended to regulate the Fort, Agreed also to desire that the license may not be renewed at the expiration of that time.'[1]

MARINE TOPICS.

In 1798 Captain William Caulfield Lennon,[2] Madras Engineers, not only revived the projects of Hastings and Davidson for the construction of a pier, but definitely proposed the formation of a closed harbour at Madras. As the description of his scheme covers nearly fifty folio pages, a few short extracts only can be here given:—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxlii., 28th Feb., 1800.

[2] William Lennon entered the service as Ensign in 1782, became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1806, and died at Cheltenham in 1835.

Captain Lennon to the Secretary to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. ccxxvii., 6th July, 1798.)

> 'In pursuing this idea I shall divide it into two heads answering to comparative degrees of convenience and expence. First, then, I propose to build a Pier of solid Masonry to be carried out to the depth of 14 feet low water, beyond which the surf is never too violent to prevent ships' boats, or other lighters that might be made use of, from watering, landing and Shipping all sorts of Merchandize at any time of the year. This Pier to run out nearly at right angles to the shore, so as to bisect the direction[s] of the surf in the different Monsoons, which in this case would at all times of the year strike slantwise on the Pier, and afford on the opposite side a lee side for the safe approach of boats, &c. . . . The best Situation, in my Opinion, for this Pier would be to run out from that part of the Black Town joining the esplanade, where a spacious Custom House should be erected close to the back.
>
> 'But from the reflection that the facility of communication is not the only advantage that might be derived, and that by a proportionate extension of the Plan we form a Harbour sufficient to Shelter within it's bosom all the Vessels that may have occasion to remain at Madras, even in the worst season of the year, I have formed the second plan for that purpose. In designing which, I have taken care to render it capable of defending itself against any attack from Ships: a sufficient space is secured within for several ships at a time; where dry docks might be erected for ships of the largest size; and the entrance carried into a sufficient depth of water for their admission in the worst season of the year. . . .'

Seeing that the surf breaks ordinarily at a distance of 200 yards from the shore, increasing during north-east gales to 400 yards, Captain Lennon assigned 450 yards as the minimum length of a single pier. The work would be of masonry, 36 feet thick at base and 30 feet at top, carrying double parapets. He proposed to remove the sand by mechanical scoops to a depth of 3 feet, sink caissons 20 feet by 12, and fill them with masonry, the spaces between the caissons being built up with brickwork. Above low-water level the masonry would be a solid mass. Provision was made for cranes at intervals, boat stairs, a battery of fifteen guns at the pier head, and a pipe for the delivery of water. Combating an objection that sand would accumulate on the south side of the pier,[1] Captain Lennon held that the current would be deflected along the pier, and so carry its suspended sand away to sea.

The single pier, which would cost £120,000, might be developed subsequently into a harbour; but if a harbour were undertaken at the outset, its projection from the shore should be not less than 650 yards, at which distance the depth of water was five fathoms. The cost of such a work would be £450,000. The mode of construction would be the same as for the pier, except that the inner parapet would be omitted, 'as the bason enclosed would be all still water.'

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[1] Experience with the existing harbour shows that the objection was well founded. The foreshore on the south side has advanced hundreds of yards since 1875.

Facing the pier, or harbour, should be a spacious building to serve as Custom House, Master Attendant's Office, and Exchange, 'for the building in the Fort intended for the latter purpose, in the event of the execution of this pier, would be then too far removed from the seat of business to be of any use in that respect.' The report continues:—

> 'The accompanying Plan for a new exchange, proposed to be erected opposite the pier at the S. E. angle of the Black Town joining the Esplanade, contains also a new Custom House and Master Attendant's Office, all in the same building. . . . As the present building of the Mayors Court is not only in very bad repair, but otherwise ill adapted to the purpose of a Court of Justice, and particularly as that Court is about to take a new form, a considerable expence will most probably be incurred on account either of radically repairing the present Court-house or perhaps building a new one altogether, . . . I am induced to suggest an expedient that may be equally advantageous to Government and the public. . . .'

Lennon then suggests the transfer to the Company of the Exchange in the Fort to serve as the Recorder's Court-house. The equivalent of its value, estimated at not less than Pags. 40,000, would suffice for the new buildings proposed at the harbour.

> 'This proposition would also have the desirable effect of inducing the Merchants and traders now occupying the greatest part of the Fort to remove to the Black Town, which would, in the course of a few years, become much more respectable from this circumstance, and by degrees leave full accommodation in the Fort for the Military stationed at the Presidency who are at present excluded, from the great number of Houses being private property, much to the prejudice of discipline and perhaps to the morals and manners of the junior part of the Army stationed here. . . .'

Lennon proposed to finance the scheme by raising three lakhs of pagodas in 600 shares, and he offered to complete the work of construction in three years.

Government Order.

'Agreed to inform Captain Lennon that, tho' the Board are fully impressed with the advantages which might accrue to the Company's trade and to

Commerce in general from prosecuting this design, yet they are not at liberty to adopt a work of such importance unless expressly authorized by the Court of Directors.

'Resolved, however, to transmit the proposals and plans for the consideration of the Court of Directors, and to point out to their Notice the pains which Captain Lennon has bestowed in explaining so useful an Undertaking.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxvii., 6th July, 1798.)

Nothing was done towards making a pier until more than half a century had elapsed, but Captain Lennon's arguments probably influenced Government in their decision to transfer the Custom House and Master Attendant's Office to Black Town.

The rates of passage money payable by members of the Civil and Military services for the voyage between England and India varied with the rank of the officers[1]:—

	£
General Officers	250
Gentlemen of Council and Colonels	200
Lieut.-Colonels, Majors, Senior and Junior Merchants, and Factors	150
Captains	125
Writers and Subalterns	105
Assistant Surgeons and Cadets	70

The rates from India were payable in Sicca, Arcot, or Bombay rupees, according as the journey was made from Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay. Factors and Captains paid Rs. 2,000; Writers, Subalterns, and Assistant Surgeons Rs. 1,500. Voyages made at this period were not unattended with fighting risks. The following notification was published at Madras in 1796:—

Government Notification.

'To whom it may Concern—A Squadron consisting of Six French Ships of War being at this time Cruizing between Madras Roads and Pondicherry and proceeding to the Northward, this intelligence is communicated for your information, and it is recommended that you should make the best of your way either to Coringa or Bengal River, according to your Opinion with respect to the Safety of your Ship; but the latter is conceived to be the only place where you can be perfectly secure. . . . J. WEBBE, Secretary.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxi., 24th Aug., 1796.)

Four years later the following letter from Bengal was published at Fort St. George for general information:—

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxv., March, 1797.

Fort William to Fort St. George.

'I am directed by the Most Noble the Governor General in Council to request that you will acquaint the Right Honorable the Governor in Council that L'Adele, French Privateer, commanded by Captain Nicholas Surcouff, was captured on the 13th Instant about 30 Leagues to the Southward of the Sand Heads by His Majesty's Ship Albatross, commanded by Captain Waller.

'I am further directed to request that you will inform the Right Honorable the Governor in Council that the Honorable Company's Ship Phoenix, commanded by Captain Moffat, arrived at this Port on the 24th Instant, and that on the 10th Instant, about a degree to the Southward of the Sand Heads, she captured the French Privateer the General Malartic, commanded by Captain Duterte. G. H. BARLOW, Chief Secretary.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxlviii., 9th Dec., 1800.)

THE CUSTOM HOUSE.

Since the founding of Fort St. George, the Sea Customs had ever been collected at the Sea Gate, save only during the reconstruction of the east front of the fortifications, when temporary sheds were provided for the Sea Customer on the beach of the northern Esplanade. It was left to Lord Clive to transfer the Custom House to the site in the Black Town which it still occupies. At the beginning of 1798 the Board of Trade were desired to report on the suitableness of 'the building now occupied by the French prisoners of war.'[1] This structure, a large square pile of 300 feet side, built round an interior court or quadrangle,[2] was the old North Granary, which had repeatedly been used as a place of confinement for prisoners of war. The Board of Trade, consisting of Messrs. E. W. Fallofield, C. B. Dent, John Chamier, and Roger Darvall, reported in favour of the conversion of this edifice into a Custom House and Marine Yard. They had consulted James Call, the Sea Customer, and George Taswell, the Master Attendant. The latter stated that the northern half of the building would suffice for the Sea Customer, and he asked that the remainder should be allotted to the Master Attendant and Marine Storekeeper. Adjoining the Granary, on its south side, was land belonging to the Nawab, and Taswell advised that a strip measuring 300 yards north to south, and of the same depth as the building, should be acquired to form a Naval Yard.[3]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxii., 6th Jan., 1798.

[2] On the beach, about 1½ miles north of the Sea Gate. It is depicted on the map of 1798.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxiii., 16th Feb., 1798.

While the subject was under discussion, claims for space in the Fort compelled the Sea Customer to vacate his office, and betake himself to tents on the beach. In the sweltering month of June he complained that 'the Servants of the employ have suffered very much from the extreme heat, the land wind blowing over the Glacis carrying with it such a vortex of sand that the greatest part of the Merchandize at present landing is liable to be wholly damaged.' Remarking that the sea had receded sufficiently to allow of goods being landed nearly opposite the old Custom House, where the Sea Gate and godowns afford security to property, he asked to be allowed to return to his former offices. Mr. Secretary Webbe replied that the fiat had gone forth for the Custom House to be permanently established in the Black Town, and that the question of return to the Fort could not be entertained. Temporary sheds, however, might be erected on the beach.[1]

There the Sea Customer remained for a year and a half, and it is not improbable that exposure contributed to Mr. Call's sudden breakdown and death in July, 1799. In April of that year we find the Chief Engineer, Major-General Patrick Ross, advising that the repair of 'the Paddy Godown on the North East Beach, lately occupied as a French Prison,' be carried out while the building is still untenanted.[2] The transfer of the Custom House from the Fort was no more agreeable to the European mercantile firms than it was to the Sea Customer. They addressed the following remonstrance to Lord Mornington at the end of March:—

The Merchants of Madras to Lord Mornington in Council.

(*P.C.*, vol. ccxxxv., 10th May, 1799.)

'Understanding that it is the intention of Government to remove the Custom House from the Fort, where it has been time immemorial (except for these last few Months), to the French Prison, We humbly beg leave to represent to your Lordship in Council the consequences which such removal will have upon private property in the Fort, and the enormous expence we shall be put to in Conveying our Goods, when landed, to our Store-House. It may not be necessary to represent to your Lordship that a very Considerable part of the Buildings of the Fort of Madras is private property, which in the course of the last Twenty five years has, the most of it, changed its owners by Purchase; that the Value of this Property has been estimated from its Security in case of

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxvi., 11th and 13th June, 1798.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxxiv., 5th April, 1799.

Attack by an Enemy, and from the Fort being the place of resort of all business, and to which almost all Europeans in times of Apprehension have retired for Security, and from all valuable property when landed having been placed in Godowns in it as the most secure depot, while the Merchants have only placed their Gruff and least Valuable Articles in Warehouses in the Black Town called Banksalls.' But should this removal take place, it would appear as a prelude to some further Steps for removing Merchandize altogether from the Fort, it having been understood in a former Government that it was in Contemplation to forbid any Shops to be opened in the Fort. . . .

'We trust that, when we represent the Expence we have already been put to in the conveyance of our Goods in Consequence of the Removal of the Custom House to the North Glacis, where it now is, without any Public Cause of Necessity which we can perceive, we shall not still be put to a farther expence by having it removed to the French Prison, a Place perhaps the most inconvenient to us of any which could be pitched upon for the purpose, situated near a Mile and a half from the Fort, and considerably to the Northward of any part of the Black Town inhabited by Europeans, Portuguese or Armenians; and we hope that your Lordship will be pleased to Order it to be removed to its former Situation in the Fort. . . .

'We have further to add that, in case it had been the intention of the Honble Company to have made the whole of the Buildings of the Fort their own Property, and have made it solely a Military Garrison, as is the case we understand of Fort William, there have been abundance of Opportunities for so doing, The Property, having, as we have before observed, been frequently resold in the last Twenty five years; and if the Wisdom of Government shall think such a Step necessary, We hope it will be done by a fair purchase of the Property, as we feel Confident that your Lordship would not wish to depreciate the Buildings and render them of little Value in Order to purchase them.

'ROEBUCK, ABBOT & CO.
'TULLOH, BRODIE & CO.
'KINDERSLEY, WATTS & CO.
'CHASE, SEWELL & CHASE.
'STEPHENS & COCKELL.
BASIL COCHRANE.
DRING, GORDON & CONNELL.
FRANCIS LAUTOUR & CO.[1]
ADRIAN, JOHN, AND LEWIS DE FRIES.
SAMUEL M. MOORAT.
COLT, BAKER, DAY & CO.

'Fort St. George,
'28th March, 1799.'

Lord Mornington turned a deaf ear to these solicitations, definitely resolved on the adaptation of the Old Granary, and ordered the Chief Engineer to divide it between the Sea Customer and Master Attendant, and have it ready for occupation by the end of October. At the beginning of that month General Ross reported progress. 'The Buildings have been divided by a Wall carried across the square from the East to the West face, the North side of which is appropriated for the Custom House, and the South side to the Marine Store.' Repairs to three sides of the building, as well as to two long sheds within the square, were finished. The alteration of a portion of the east face, 136 feet in length, to accommodate offices, had been delayed through the loss of the plan prepared in February, 1798, by Mr. Taswell and the late Mr. Call, but the cost of this further adaptation, including an upper story and the construction of verandas 20 feet wide both above and below, was estimated by Colonel Gent, the Executive Engineer, at Pags. 10,486. Government expressing dissatisfaction at the delay, General Ross engaged to have the buildings ready for occupation by the end of November, 1799.[1]

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[1] Francis Lautour arrived at Madras in 1777, and established the mercantile house of Francis Lautour & Co. Having flourished for over a quarter of a century, the firm was joined in 1803 by George Arbuthnot, and seven years later, on Lautour's retirement, it became known as Arbuthnot, De Monte & Co. In 1808 it was designated Arbuthnot, De Monte & McTaggart, and ultimately Arbuthnot & Co.

The assertion of the merchants that a considerable number of the buildings in the Fort were private property is borne out by the following extract :—

Messrs. Harrington, Watts & Co. and others to Lord Clive.

(*P.C.*, vol. ccxlii., 14th Feb., 1800.)

'Understanding it to be the desire of Government that all Houses of Business shall be transferred to the Black Town in order that the Fort may be exclusively appropriated for the Military and for such of the Publick Offices as may be found convenient to continue therein, we are anxious to meet your Lordship's wishes upon such terms as may appear reasonable, and have the honor to enclose you a Statement of the large Property possessed by Individuals within the Fort, which we are ready to dispose of to the Honorable Company at a fair valuation. . . .

'Harrington, Watts & Co.,
'Attorneys for J. D. Porcher.'

'*Statement of Houses the Property of Individuals in Fort St. George.*

Description.	Value S. Pags.	To whom Belonging.
Mosses House	25,000	F. Lautour & Co.
Storey's House	14,000	
Pasley's House	13,200	
Mackay's House	13,500	
Stone's two Houses	32,500	
Hollond's House, formerly Mr. Brook[e]'s	9,000	
One House on the N.E. Face	25,000	Roebuck, Abbott & Co.
One Do. on the Parade	10,101	
One Do. in Court Street	3,200	
One Do. occupied by the Justices, and another opposite to it	15,000	Do. for Andrew Ross's estate

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxxix., 8th and 10th Oct., and vol. ccxl., 8th Nov., 1799.

Description.	Value S. Pags.	To whom Belonging.
One House on the Parade	20,000	J. Tulloh
One Do. in St. Thomé Street	8,000	
One Do. call'd the Noah's Ark	16,000	Edward Dent, for estate of T. Pelling deceased
One Do. in York Ally	5,000	
One Do. in Gloucester Ally	5,000	
Three Houses near the Mint	15,000	Geo. Garrow, for Edw^{d}. Garrow
One House in the Court Street	9,500	Adrian, John & Lewis De Fries
One Do. in the Middle Gate Street	4,000	
One Do. in St. Thomé Street	6,000	Thos. De Mello
One Do. called Powney's House	10,000	C. Singannah
One Do. opposite the Charity School	6,000	Ravanapah
One Do. in Middle Gate Street, North of Do.	12,000	
One Do. opposite the Justices	5,000	Vencataramah Chitty
One House near the Walajah Gate	15,000	Henry Sewell, Executor of the last Will of R. Henderson deceased
One House on the N.E. Face	10,000	W. Gent
Mr. John Hunter's House	6,000	J. Hunter
Mr. Bold's House	3,000	Bold & Riorden
Tyapah Moodelly's House	4,000	Collinga Roy, Executor
House of Mr. Dobbyn's Estate	8,500	Chase & Co., for the Estate of W. A. Dobbyn deceased
Mr. Cecil Smith's House	6,500	Harrington, Watts & Co.
Mr. Porcher's House	12,500	
House occupied by the Board of Trade	10,400	Hope, Card & Reynold
Mr. Milven's House next to the Admiralty House	18,000	A. Melvin
Do. his House in Bandicoot Ally	6,500	
Messrs. Colt & Baker's House	8,500	—
Messrs. Wright & Hurst's House	5,000	J. Wright
House in Powney's Street, South end	4,500	Rungah Pillah
Do. do. North end	3,000	
Do. do. to the South of the Warehouse	2,000	
House belonging to Mrs. McIntosh below the Warehouse	5,000	J. Tulloh, Attorney to Mrs. McIntosh
House in the Court Street	6,000	Ganapaty
House in the North Gate Street	4,500	J. Hunter
House adjoining to the Admiral's House	4,000	Francis De Silva
Two Houses	7,000	A. Jones for Mrs. Fairney
Three Godowns in Bandicoot Ally	2,000	Roebuck, Abbott & Co. for Mr. Turing
House next to Mr. Hunter	3,500	C. Vencata Narrain
House in the Admiralty Street	7,000	Lingapah Chitty
Madras Exchange, the rooms and Godowns, exclusive of the Long Room, called the Exchange	30,000	John Abbott, Agent to Madras Exchange Company
Mr. Moubray's House belonging to the British Bank	7,500	J. Hunter, Secretary to the British Bank
Shamier Sultan's House near the Arsenal	9,000	—
Star Pagodas	4,90,901	

Government Order.

'Resolved to decline the above offer, the Board having no occasion for the Houses tendered for sale to the Company.'

ROADS AND BUILDINGS.

A reform of the Mount Road was in progress during 1795 and 1796, a constant service of carts being placed at the Chief Engineer's disposal for 'the new road lately constructed towards St. Thomas's Mount,' and for 'repairing and gravelling the new road to St. Thomas's Mount.'[1] There could have been little change in the alignment of this ancient highway, but the work may perhaps have consisted in refounding, metalling, and draining. Colonel Gent proposed the construction of parapet walls 'on the long bridge near the Governor's Garden,' but Government intimated that repair of the old teak railings would suffice.[2] The bridge traversed two river-channels and an intervening sand-bank. When the present St. George's Bridge was built in 1805 the course of the stream was confined within narrower limits.

After the completion of the Exchange with the aid of lottery funds, the profits of the annual lotteries were devoted to the Male Asylum, the roads, and other works of public utility. A causeway across the river, situated at the site of the present Commander-in-Chief's Bridge, was one of these works:—

The Merchants of Madras to Lord Hobart.

(*P.C.*, vol. ccix., 27th May, 1796.)

'We have the honor to inform your Lordship that, at the conclusion of the drawing of the Male Asylum and Bridge Lottery, we advertized for Plans to be laid before us for the construction of a Bridge over the River between the Gardens of Colonel Richardson and the one lately occupied by Major Hart, and also for Plans for Making a permanent Causeway over the River at the same Place.'[3]

'We received only one Plan for a Bridge which, with its explanation, we submitted to the Chief Engineer for the purpose of ascertaining how far it was calculated to answer the ends Proposed; but as doubts have been entertained regarding the security of a foundation in that part of the River, the expence of a Bridge of solid Masonry being also much beyond our finances, and Colonel Gent having proposed to make a Causeway, that he engages shall last for years, at the expence of about three thousand Pagodas, we have to observe that, after the most mature consideration, we conceive a Causeway of this description will fully answer every purpose, and which, with your Lordship's Sanction, we shall carry into effect without delay.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccii., 8th Aug., 1795, and vol. ccvii., 29th March, 1796.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cc., 25th May, 1795.

[3] Grant No. 1,228, dated 2nd October, 1807, to C. Singana Chetty of ground identified with the 'Umda Bagh, Poodoopauk, indicates that the causeway, which was duly constructed, occupied the site of the present Commander-in-Chief's Bridge. Faden's map of 1816 shows that Singana Chetty owned the 'Umda Bagh.

'The then surplus Cash for the last, and the Profits of the present, Lottery will be appropriated to other public works on the High roads, the first and most material of which appears to us the Construction of a Wooden Bridge on Brick Piers over the swamp near the Corner of the burial Ground on the road leading to Vippery,[1] and which place the Chief Engineer (who has been consulted) has given it as his opinion does not come within the prescribed range of the Fort.

'COLT, BAKER, DAY & CO.
'KINDERSLEY, WATTS & CO.
'CHASE, SEWELL & CHASE.
'TULLOH, JERVIS & BRODIE.
'MC. DOUALL, FRASER & HAY.
'STEPHENS & COCKELL.'

Sanction was duly accorded to the Merchants' proposals.

In 1798 a diversion of the Mount Road was made near the Garden House. Lord Clive stated that the house needed alteration for the convenient accommodation of himself and his family, and added:—

Minute by Lord Clive.

'[Lord Clive] is likewise desirous of informing the Board that, in consequence of the Situation of some Huts that have been erected immediately adjoining to the Company's Garden, His family have suffered considerable Inconvenience and disturbance from the noise arising from them, and requests therefore that they may be removed, and an alteration made in the direction of the Road according to a Plan which has been delivered in, and which he desires to lay before the Board; and that a reasonable Compensation may be made to those Persons who may have a right to the Buildings intended to be removed, or to the Ground which it is proposed to enclose, or make use of for the Road.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxix., 21st Sept., 1798.)

The original crooked alignment, which is depicted on the map of 1798, between the Triplicane Bridge and the junction with Pater's Road, was made straight, and a considerable area was thus added to the Government Garden on its west side.

The present De Silva's Road near the Luz Church derives its name from the person mentioned in the following letter:—

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[1] The site of this timber bridge appears to have lain between the General Hospital and the present Penitentiary. A bridge opposite the Hospital Gate of Black Town Wall is shown in the map of 1816, but not in that of 1798.

Major-General Patrick Ross to Government.

'I have the honor to acquaint you a piece of Ground near the Luz has lately been enclosed by Mr. De Sylva,[1] which has narrowed the Road from St. Thome by the Luz Church towards the high Road going from the Fort towards Mr. Moubray's Garden in one part to 20 Feet, and the Road from the Luz Village towards the beforementioned high Road to 28 feet. These roads being of considerable intercourse, I beg to submit to you the propriety of their being Widened throughout to the extent of 35 or 40 feet, and I could wish the repairs, when made to them, might be extended from their Junction to Moubray's Road. Imagining there might have been some Encroachment on the part of Mr. De Silva, I had the Ground measured, and, on the Contrary, found the Grant specified 50,795½ feet more than the Area can possibly contain, as will appear on inspection of the accompanying Plan.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxvii., 16th July, 1798.)

For some time prior to 1797 the sick of the naval squadron appear to have been treated at the General Hospital. Admiral Rainier announced in April that, after personal communication with Lord Hobart, he had 'purchased the Mansion late Doctor Lucas's to separate the Naval from the Military Hospital . . ., the patients being too numerous for accommodation in the General Hospital.' He had appointed Captain John Halsted, R.N., to be Governor of the new institution, and Lieut. T. C. Thompson to assist him.[2] The situation of Lucas's house is determined by the circumstance that the new Naval Hospital occupied the site of the present Gun Carriage Factory in Poonamallee Road. The thoroughfare bounding the eastern face of the factory is still called Naval Hospital Road.

Among minor improvements effected about this period, we find boundary stones fixed to mark the limits of the Company's Washing Green;[3] extensive repairs done to Admiralty House at a cost of Pags. 8,397;[4] the transfer of the Post Office to a building adjoining the offices of Messrs. Lautour and Co.,[5] and the acquisition of the late Mr. Thomas Pelling's residence for the use of the Board of Trade.[6]

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[1] This was Francis De Silva, clerk and publican (*vide* Grant No. 276 of 14th April, 1798, for 255,471 square feet at the Luz). Further grants of land in the same locality were made to De Silva in 1801 and 1803 (Nos. 742 and 937).

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxvi., 4th April, 1797.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. cxcix., March, 1795. In Ravenshaw's map of 1822 five obelisks are shown on the Esplanade, north of Black Town Wall, between Royapuram and the Monegar Choultry.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cciv., 13th Nov., 1795.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxvii., 1st Aug., 1798.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxxix., 6th Sept., 1799. This house was situated to the northward of the Exchange.

In 1796 Government received an address in which upwards of a hundred of the chief Christian residents of Black Town represented the need for a Protestant church in that locality. They proposed to erect a building by subscription, and asked assistance from the public purse. At the same time the Rev. Richard Kerr, who had lately been transferred from Ellore, stated that a project for a church at that station, to which Government had contributed Pags. 1,000, had fallen through, and he suggested that the materials collected and the unexpended balance of cash should be devoted to the Black Town scheme. He offered to 'Volunteer as Clergyman' without emolument provided the plan was carried out. Government promised to contribute if subscriptions were raised.[1] Kerr applied himself to this object, and in 1798 he sought a grant of land, suggesting a site on 'the Ground purchased from Mr. Popham for the purpose of making Compensation to the Inhabitants of Hog Hill.' The Chief Engineer reported as follows:—

Major-General Ross to Government.

'I am not aware of any inconvenience that can arise from its being appropriated to that purpose, unless the Idea of building a Square for the accommodation of the European Merchants who might find it convenient to follow the Custom House from the Fort to the Black Town should be again revived: in that case the whole extent will be scarcely sufficient for the purpose. The Ground is now valued at 160 Pagodas each Lot.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxvii., 24th July, 1798.)

Although the scheme of a Merchants' Square was not carried out,[2] the choice of a site for Kerr's chapel ultimately fell on that piece of ground which had been set apart for the Theatrical Society thirteen years earlier, but never utilized:—

Major-General Ross to Lord Mornington in Council.

'I have the honor to lay before Your Lordship a Plan of the ground appropriated for the purpose of erecting a Protestant Chapel. On referring to the Books in the Engineers Office, I find this Ground was applied for by the Theatrical Society in June 1786, but there is not any Record in the Office by which it appears to have been granted;[3] and it has ever since remained unoccupied untill the Chapel was built. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxxiv., 5th April, 1799.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxi., 9th Sept., 1796.

[2] The range of mercantile offices on the sea-front, known as Bentinck's Buildings was afterwards erected in lieu of a square.

[3] General Ross was mistaken. Sanction was accorded in Consultation of the 24th November, 1786.

Ross added that the ground formed part of an area purchased in 1781 by Mr. Maxwell, Superintendent of the Company's Lands, for allotment to the Hoghill claimants. One portion, bought from a man named Badraiya for Pags. 14,116, had, however, been reserved for building sepoy barracks, and the remainder, containing 62 lots and including the chapel site, had not yet been acquired owing to disputed ownership. In December Mr. Kerr reported that the new church, designed and built by Mr. Goldingham, was nearly finished, and he proposed to open it on the first Sunday in 1800. The cost, Pags. 4,500, had been met by donations and public subscription. The Asylum Lottery had contributed Pags. 1,500; St. Mary's Vestry, Pags. 800; Government, Pags. 748; and the Black Town residents, Pags. 886. Government resolved to apply to the Bishop of London for authority to consecrate the building.[1]

In 1799 the Committee of the Asylum and Road Lotteries wrote as follows:—

Committee of the Asylum and Road Lotteries to Government.

'In consequence of the Government Proclamation regarding Lotteries in this day's[2] Gazette, we have the honour to enclose a statement of the Produce of the Asylum and Road Lotteries, and of the appropriation thereof, from their Commencement; and we request permission to continue the Lottery for the same beneficial and public purposes. . . . ALEXR. COCKBURN, RICHARD CHASE, J. TULLOH, W. COCKELL.

'*Statement of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Male Asylum and Road Lotteries from the 1st August '95 to 24th November '99, shewing the Profits appropriation thereof.*

To amount paid for the Construction of the Causeway - - - - - - - - - -	2,917-„-„
To amount paid for the Construction of the Bridge near the Burying Ground - - - - - -	2,806-21-56
To amount paid towards the Construction of a Protestant Church in the Black Town - -	1,500-„-„
To amount paid towards the aid of the Mother Country - - - - - - - - -	5,000-„-„
To amount paid towards the Military Male Asylum	6,000-„-„
To amount paid towards the Repairs of the Roads in the Vicinity of Madras from the 21st Sept. '96 to 24th Novr. '99 - - - - - - -	12,170-„-„
To Balance - - - - - - - - - -	1,209-10-76
Pagodas -	31,602-32-52

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxl., 13th Dec., 1799. The Church, situated at h north end of Popham's Broadway, contains a portrait of Mr. Kerr.

[2] 30th November, 1799.

Government Order.

'The Board so entirely approve the appropriation of the produce of the Lottery under the management of the Commissioners that it is Resolved to permit them to continue it for the same purposes of public good.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxl., 6th Dec., 1799.)

After the death of Mr. Popham in 1795, his Black Town property was disposed of. The Chief Engineer subsequently drew attention to the circumstance that the bills of sale for grounds adjoining the Cannals in the Black Town purchased from the Representatives of Mr. Stephen Popham' were not enfaced with the conditions under which Popham held the ground. Those conditions, prescribed on the 2nd May, 1780, provided that—(1) a channel should be cut through the town and across the Esplanade to carry off storm water; (2) upper-roomed houses might not be built within one hundred yards of the Esplanade boundary, and (3) 'a strait road fifty feet in breadth shall be preserved the whole length of the ground on the side next to the Maratta Town, being the eastside thereof, and that such cross roads shall be left through the grounds sold as aforesaid as may be sufficient for the convenience of the Inhabitants to pass from one side of the Black Town to the other.' General Ross accordingly inquired how the channel was to be maintained in future. Government replied that the duty must devolve on the proprietors of the adjacent ground, and ordered that the liability should be set forth on the Bills of Sale.[1]

Consequent on the removal to Black Town of the Master Attendant's Office and Custom House, the boatmen petitioned for the transfer of their village, which was 'close to the Nabob's garden,' to a more convenient site. The Chief Engineer stated that their habitations south of the Fort covered 45 acres, and he proposed to allot them 60 acres north of Black Town. Government resolved to allow compensation for the huts evacuated, and to build new ones 300 yards to the northward of the northern rampart.[2] The new village was occupied on the 5th December, but the boatmen found the surroundings depressing. General Ross said they were 'very desirous of having removed two burning and burying Grounds, and the Gibbets on which the Malefactors condemned by the Court of Admiralty were lately hung.' Government met their wishes by the following order:—'One of the burial places mentioned in the letter of the Chief Engineer belonging to the Parsees, Resolved to direct that a sufficient compensation may be made for it, and that another Spot of Ground suitable for the purpose, according to the notions of that people, may be pointed out and allotted to them.'[1]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxxix., 21st Sept., 1799.

[2] *P C.*, vol. ccxxxix., 27th Sept., and vol. ccxl., 8th Nov., 1799.

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxli., 3rd Jan., 1800.

CHAPTER XXXIV

1794—1800

THE PRESS—LORD CLIVE'S REFORMS—DEATH OF NAWAB WALAJAH

THE PRESS.

ANOTHER weekly newspaper called the *Madras Gazette* was established in January, 1795, under the management of Mr. R. Williams. It shared Government patronage with the *Madras Courier*, controlled by Messrs. Brown & Ashton, official printing work being divided between the two Presses.[1] In the following year Messrs. R. Williams[2] and E. Samuel, managers of the *Gazette*, announced that, in accordance with the wishes of Government, they had, 'at a very considerable Expence, caused a font of Malabar types to be cast,' and that they were consequently prepared to insert advertisements in 'the Malabar Language.'[3] In 1799 the privilege of immunity from postage was withdrawn from the newspapers. Gilbert Ricketts[4] for himself and other proprietors of the *Courier*, and E. Samuel[5] for himself and other owners of the *Gazette*, protested against an order requiring the prepayment of postage, and Government consented to the levy of the prescribed fees on delivery.[6]

After the fall of Seringapatam, a censorship of the Madras Press was established by Lord Mornington. The editors of the *Courier* and *Gazette* were addressed as follows by the Chief Secretary:—'The Right Honble the Governor General in Council has been pleased to Resolve that the newspapers at this Presidency shall be submitted to the inspection of the Secretary to Government before their publication. I am therefore directed to desire that they may be regularly sent to my Office for that purpose, according to the practise observed upon the first establishment of your Paper. J. WEBBE, Secretary to Government.'

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cc., 14th May, vol. cci., 6th June, and vol. cciv., 6th Nov., 1795.

[2] Robert Williams had succeeded Popham as Company's Solicitor.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccx., 24th June, 1796. The language signified is Tamil, not Malyalam.

[4] Ricketts was in 1811 Registrar of the Supreme Court, and Prothonotary.

[5] Samuel, a Proctor, was formerly (in 1793) one of the proprietors of the *Courier*.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxxii., 11th Jan., 1799.

At the end of 1798 the Rev. R. H. Kerr, Superintendent of the Male Asylum, proposed to establish a Press at the School for the benefit of the institution. He remarked that printing as conducted at Madras was a monopoly and its cost exorbitant, and stated that his scheme, besides providing useful training for the orphans, would diminish the cost of printing work for the Government by one half. Lord Clive was sympathetic, but would not promise practical help.[1] Later, however, he modified his views:—

The Rev. R. Kerr to the Secretary to Government.

'In consequence of your having expressed a desire that I should consider the practicability of establishing a Government press at the Male Asylum, and sketch the principles on which such an arrangement ought to be founded, I now beg leave to state the result of the best consideration which I have been able to give to the subject.

'With regard to the practicability of the plan, it being known that a press on a small scale already exists at the Male Asylum with a prospect of considerable benefit to the charity, it is only necessary for me to state that there will be no difficulty in enlarging the establishment to any extent that Government may desire: it therefore only remains to discuss the principles upon which the arrangement ought to be made between Government and the Directors of the Charity. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxliv., 2nd May, 1800.)

Mr. Kerr proposed that the cost of the plant and materials should be met by Government, 'and that any compensation it may be pleased to make for the work perform'd by the boys of the Charity ought to be consider'd as a gratuitous addition to their present bounty.' The cost of official work would thus be very low, while the Asylum would gain great advantage from the profits of printing the Government Gazette. The prime cost of the scheme was estimated at Pags. 4,000, and Mr. Kerr stated that confidential work could be conveniently undertaken. He added that the press might be made 'a most useful instrument in the cause of Religion and morality.'

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxxi., 28th Dec., 1798.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board approve of the plan submitted in the above letter, and it is consequently agreed to desire Mr. Kerr to prepare the necessary plans and estimates for the alteration of the building and other expenses connected with the undertaking, to be laid before the President, who is requested to make the necessary Communication to the Directors of the Male Asylum.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxliv., 2nd May, 1800.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that the Directors of the Male Asylum have considered and approved the plan of the Reverend Mr. Kerr for the Establishment of the Government Press at Egmore Fort.

'Resolved accordingly to authorize Mr. Kerr to make such alterations to the Building as may render it fit for the purposes intended, and to purchase Types of the European and Native Languages, for which purposes the requisite Advances will be made on his application to the Secretary to Government.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxliv., 16th May, 1800.)

From this Press emanated the *Madras Male Asylum Almanac*, a useful publication which endured for many years, and, indeed, is still issued as the *Lawrence Asylum Press Almanac.*

LORD CLIVE'S REFORMS.

Lord Clive, having appointed a Committee of Reform to enquire into the details of administration, and having digested their reports and suggestions, presented a minute which covers 113 folio pages. In it he recommended a great variety of changes, among which were: relinquishment by the Governor of his allowances for mintage and coral consulage; transfer of the office of Mintmaster from the Governor to the Civil Paymaster; relinquishment by members of Council of the right to use public quarters; abolition of the Land Customer and amalgamation of his office with that of the Sea Customer; abolition of the Choultry Court and of the Nopalry; prohibition of private trade on the part of Government servants; improvement of the training and status of junior civilians; establishment of a Government Press; formation of a botanic garden at Bangalore; the control or abolition of public lotteries; the promotion of a paper currency; the redistribution of public buildings; and the appointment of a Civil Architect. The proposals were accepted *en bloc* by the Council. Some of the reforms have been dealt with on previous pages; others were not introduced until the nineteenth century, a period which is beyond the scope of this work; but those portions of the Governor's Minute which bear on the public buildings are here transcribed:—

Minute by Lord Clive.

'The first and second Members of Council, in occupying houses of the Company, have only followed precedent established by their predecessors consistently with the usages of the Service; but I entirely concur in the opinion of the Committee that the public Salary fixed by the orders of the Court of Directors was intended to be a full compensation for the duties and responsibility attached to the members of Government; and I shall therefore apply this principle in its fullest extent to these situations.

'With respect to the house hitherto occupied by the first member of Council or the Commander in Chief, I am happy in stating that Major General Brathwaite has met my first suggestion on the subject of relinquishing it with that chearfull zeal for the public convenience which always regulates the conduct of that officer.[1] I shall therefore propose that the house at present appropriated to the Commander in Chief shall be applied immediately to the purposes of the Military Board, it's offices and records. But as the house is commodious, the Commander in Chief of the Army will still be able to make such an arrangement as may admit of his giving audience to officers, and of assembling Committees of officers on matters of Military detail.

'With respect to the house heretofore occupied by the Second Member of Council, Mr. Petrie has, with the consideration for the public convenience, relinquished it, according to the wishes of the Court of Directors, to the Superintendent of the investment. But, it being inconsistent with the principles now established that buildings allotted to public purposes should become private habitations, I propose that the house commonly called the Export Warehouse, with the building immediately adjoining to it, shall be appropriated to the accommodation of the Board of Trade, its offices and records, as well as to the purposes of the Superintendent of the Investment, for the whole of which I consider those buildings to be fully sufficient.

'In consequence of this arrangement it will be proper to discharge the house at present rented for the use of the Military and Commercial Boards.

'The garden house, at present occupied by Myself, is so insufficient either for the private accommodation of my family and Staff, or for the convenience of the public occasions inseparable from my situation, that it is my intention to make such an addition to it as may be calculated to answer both purposes. As soon as the plan shall be arranged I shall communicate it to the Board, who are, I have no doubt, convinced of the necessity of the addition, and who will, I trust, be satisfied of my attention to œconomy in the execution of it.

'This addition will enable me to dispense with the use of the house commonly called the Admiralty; and I propose that it be immediately converted into an office for the revenue Department at this Presidency, which will enable the Board to effect a further reduction of expense by discharging the house at present rented for the use of that Board.

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[1] Many inhabitants of Madras still remember how a very distinguished Commander-in-Chief, unacquainted with the ruling of 1800, protested against the absence of public quarters by establishing a residential camp on the Fort Glacis.

'The House hitherto occupied by the Export Warehouse-keeper has already been appropriated to the use of the General Post office; and the house formerly rented for that purpose has been discharged.

'One of the apartments at present occupied by the Secretary to the Government will be relinquished by Mr. Webbe, and I recommend that it shall be applied to the purposes of the treasury.

'In conformity to the recommendation of the Committee, I propose that the whole of the Company's Civil buildings at the Presidency shall be placed under the Charge of the Board of Trade, and that they may be furnished with instructions, founded on the reports of the Committee of Reform and of the Committee of Godowns, for the future appropriation of the public buildings.

'In addition to these Suggestions, I propose that the buildings in the Fort Square and in the Portugueze Square, with the exception of those occupied in the former by the Secretary and Sub Secretaries to Government, may be immediately resumed; and that the Board of Trade be instructed to allot a sufficient number of rooms for the accommodation of the junior part of the Service, and to appropriate the remainder in the most œconomical manner to the use of the public offices for which house rent is at present paid.

'I further propose that the Board of Trade shall be instructed to make every practicable reduction of godown rent at present paid for the Commercial and Civil departments, and that separate quarterly reports be made on that subject to the Governor in Council.

'In their report No. 5 the Committee have gone into the Consideration of the expediency of erecting a new Court house for the Recorder on the site of the old building, which has been pronounced to be untenable; and the calculations contained in that report shew that to creat[e] a new Court house would be more Œconomical than to rent the building in the fort at present appropriated to that purpose. Circumstances however have since occurred which supersede the present expediency of that measure.

'It has long been considered a desirable object to remove from the interior of Fort St. George those establishments, public as well as private, which have been found by long experience injurious to the health and discipline of the garrison. The removal of the Custom House to the Black Town, which has been already effected, may reasonably be expected to be followed by the removal of all shops and Commercial establishments, which, by facilitating the introduction of spirituous liquors, have materially interfered with the regularity of the troops. Although the existence of a Court house in the interior of the fort is free from the inconvenience attached to Commercial establishments, it is subject to other objections arising from the indecorum of Subjecting any of the arrangements of the judicial power to Military restriction: and when the question relates not to the relinquishment of a public building suited to these purposes, but to the selection of a place for the erection of a new Court House, I have no hesitation in giving a decided preference to the Black Town. I therefore propose that the amount of the unclaimed deposits in the late Mayor's Court shall be applied, under proper restrictions for the security of eventual claimants, to the erection of a Suitable building for the Court of the Recorder in the Black Town.[1]

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[1] The new Court House was built on the site next south of the Custom House.

'I think it farther necessary to State that this recommendation is connected with a more extensive plan of buildings to be erected for general Convenience on the Company's ground in the Neighbourhood of the New Custom House, according to the advertisement which has been already published for that purpose.

'It does not appear to me that any of the other houses mentioned by the Committee can be appropriated to purposes different from those to which they are already applied. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxlii., 18th March, 1800.)

Minute by Lord Clive.

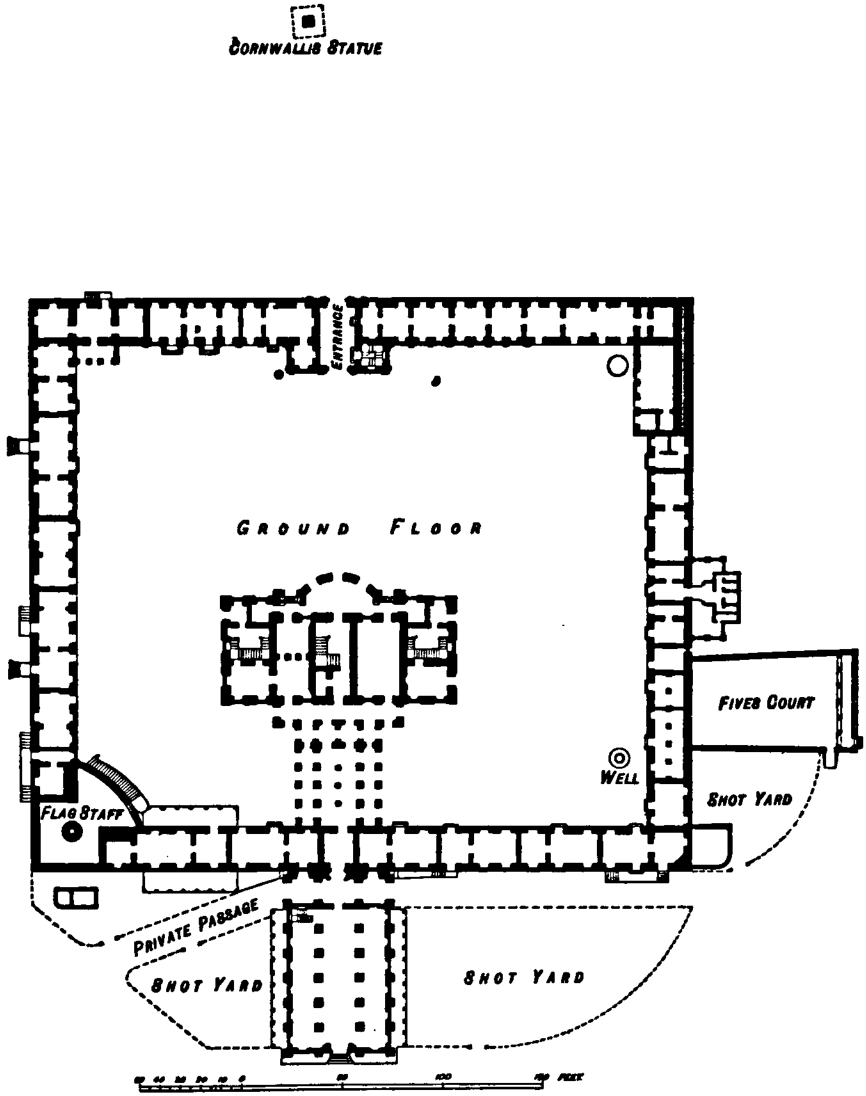
'The manner of making the occasional repairs required to the public buildings under this Presidency is an object deserving particular attention, and has, on this occasion, passed under the serious Consideration of the Governor in Council. The mode in which the erection, as well as the repair, of public buildings has for several years been effected has frequently excited the severest animadversion of the Governor in Council. But while the total insufficiency of the present mode, even under judicious checks established at your recommendation, has been repeatedly stated, it is impossible not to observe that there has been an evident want of science, or at least a miserable defect in its practical application; of which it is too notorious an example that every arched building lately erected has uniformly failed, while those erected at a remote period in Madras and Tanjour bear at this time no mark of present insufficiency or of probable decay.

'As far as a judgement of the qualifications of Mr. Goldingham can be formed from the execution of public buildings with which it has been thought expedient to entrust him, considerable benefit may be expected from the further application of his talents and knowledge; and as the Governor in Council has formed an opinion of that Gentleman's integrity not less sanguine than his Lordship is justified in entertaining of his zeal and science, the Governor in Council has been pleased to appoint that Gentleman to be Civil Engineer, and to direct that all repair of the Company's buildings at the Presidency, Civil as well as Military, shall be entrusted to his execution and Superintendance from the first day of May next, subject to the general controul and examination of your Board.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxliii., 19th March, 1800.)

The first duty which fell to Goldingham in his new capacity was a reform of the Fort Square, involving the evacuation of those ornamental buttecas which are depicted in Daniell's view of the east face of the Square:—

The Secretary to Government to Mr. John Goldingham.

'The Right Honorable the Governor in Council having adopted a plan for accommodating the Junior Covenanted Servants with apartments for their residence within the fort, has resolved that the Fort and Portuguese Squares shall be exclusively appropriated for their reception. I am accordingly directed to desire that you will immediately commence, under the particular instructions of the Board of Trade, such alterations and repairs in the buildings


CORNWALLIS STATUE
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FIVES COURT
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FLAG STAFF
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50 40 30 20 10 0
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The Fort Square.

(early 19th century).

of both as may be calculated to render the accommodations they may afford as extensive as possible.

'For this purpose all the rooms in both Squares must be made habitable; and with a further view to render the Fort Square commodious, it is proposed to remove the Boutiques situated on the East side of it to some other place which will be pointed out by the Town Major[1] for the purpose, where you are to erect an equal number of boutiques at the expense of the Company.

'As it is necessary, in order to effect this arrangement, that the office of the Sub Treasurer and Mint Master,[2] now within the Fort Square, shall be removed, you will immediately examine the present state of the Mint House, and put it in such a state of repair as may be necessary for the accommodation of the departments under that officer.

'The detailed instructions on all the above operations you will receive from the Board of Trade, under whose charge the direction of the civil buildings is exclusively placed, and with whom you will in consequence concert measures for the most effectual execution of the intention of the Governor in Council. J. Webbe, Secretary to Government.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxliv., 30th April, 1800.)

The Civil Engineer next reported on the condition of the Fort House, and received instructions to carry out the repairs he deemed necessary:—

'Report upon the state of the Government House in the Fort Square.

(*P.C.*, vol. ccxlvii., 26th Sept., 1800.)

'The body of the House strong and requiring no very material Repairs; but the eastern projecting Room is in a defective state, the Walls at the outer end being cracked through, occasioned principally by the insufficient strength of the Beams, which bend considerably.

'The Repairs required to the body of the House are—The Terrace to be made water proof. The Brick Floors to be repaired and pointed. . . . Some of the old Joists in the eastern arcade below to be removed, and new joists put up.

'To the Eastern projecting room—The walls to be rebuilt from the cracks, and plastered. A new Roof [required]. . . .

'The probable Expense of the Repairs to the body of the House will Amount to 820 Pagodas. To the Eastern projecting Room 580 Pagodas.

'J. Goldingham,
'Civil Engineer.'

The alterations to the Garden House were of a very extensive character. They were executed at a cost of Pags. 1,06,000 in 1801, and a description of them is consequently outside the scope of this work. The adjacent Banqueting Hall, built as a memorial of Plassey and Seringapatam, was designed and built by Mr. Goldingham in 1803 at a further outlay of Pags. 74,000. Lord Clive may have regarded the expenditure as economical, but the Directors deemed it wastefully extravagant. To the members of Council, who had been induced to surrender their habitations, it was perhaps tantalizing to witness the growth of their President's palatial mansion. There can be no doubt, however, that the enlargement of Government House had become a necessity, and that the Admiralty, the Exchange, and the Pantheon, in all of which Lord Clive entertained Madras society with a lavish hand, were inadequate to the requirements of state receptions. Succeeding generations, indeed, have cause to thank his Lordship for providing the noble hall in which a generous hospitality has since been dispensed continuously by a long line of Governors of Fort St. George.[1]

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[1] Captain Alexander Grant.

[2] Mr. William Jones, Sub-Treasurer, was appointed Mintmaster, and ordered to take over charge of the Mint from Mr. Benjamin Roebuck, the Assaymaster. (*P.C.*, vol. ccxliii., 19th March, 1800.)

DEATH OF NAWAB WALAJAH.

Early on the morning of the 13th October, 1795, passed away Muḥammad 'Alī, Nawab Walajah of the Carnatic,[2] at the age of 78, after a reign of forty-six years,[3] covering the whole period of the rise of British power in India. The *Madras Gazette* of the 18th pronounced the following eulogium:—

> 'His Highness the Nabob Walajah was the firm and sincere Friend and the faithful and zealous Ally of the English Nation, to which he was strongly attached by esteem and affection. He shared in all the fortunes of the English in this country, and always considered their interest and his own as one and the same: he was mild and affectionate towards his subjects; . . . polite and amiable in his manners; and no man better understood the art of conciliating men's minds than His Highness.'

Walajah was buried at San Thomé, but three years later his remains were transferred to Trichinopoly. The Secretary to Government then addressed Major-General Floyd, commanding the southern division of the army at Trichinopoly, as follows:— 'His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, being highly satisfied with the Honorable attention shewn by you to the remains of his deceased father as the Corps was passing to Tritchinopoly, has requested that his sense of your polite Conduct on that Occasion may be tendered you thro' the Channel of Government.'[1]

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[1] An account of the Banqueting Hall will be found in *Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House, Madras.*

[2] *M.C.*, vol. cxcix., 13th Oct., 1795.

[3] Estimated from the death of Nawab Anwār-ud-dīn in 1749.

Walajah's long career has been dealt with in earlier pages of this work, where his character has been sufficiently revealed. His personal appearance in his prime is thus described by Dr. Ives, who met the prince at Fort St. David in 1755.[2]

> 'The Nawab was between thirty and forty years of age and of middle stature. His complexion was much lighter than that of the common *Indian*. His dress was entirely white, and consisted of a long robe or vestment which reached down to his heels. His turban was also white and quite plain. In short he had no other marks of distinction about him than that of a truly majestic countenance tempered with a great deal of pleasantness and good nature.'

The following description, given by Colonel Alexander Dow in 1770, was probably inspired by Mr. John Macpherson:—'Mahommed Ali Chan is five feet ten inches high, well proportioned and of an engaging aspect. His eye is full, lively, and penetrating; his features are expressive of sensibility and a noble disposition of mind.'[3]

The portrait of the Nawab prepared for this work is reproduced from a mezzotint[4] by Dixon, published in 1771, after a painting by Ward, which was formerly in the possession of Lord Pigot. It depicts Muḥammad 'Alī at the age of about 38, as he must have appeared to Dr. Ives. Later portraits, painted by George Willison at Madras about 1774, showing the Nawab when he was some twenty years older, are preserved at the India Office and Government House, Calcutta, and a similar picture of him in company with Stringer Lawrence hangs in the Banqueting Hall of Government House, Madras. These portraits represent him as possessing a gentle expression of countenance and a dignified bearing.

Walajah hoped to secure the succession to his second and favourite son, Amīr-ul-Umarā, but that prince predeceased his father by seven years. Consequently the eldest son, 'Umdat-ul-

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxx., 10th Nov., 1798.

[2] *A Voyage from England to India*, Ives, 1773.

[3] *History of Hindostan*, Dow, 1770.

[4] Preserved in the British Museum.

Umarā, acceded to the musnud[1] without question on the Nawab's death[2]:—

Nawâb 'Umdat-ul-Umarā to Lord Hobart.

(*M.C.*, vol. cxcix., 23rd Oct., 1795.)

'I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, by the divine Favor, and through the auspices and support of my friends the Company and the English Nation, I have this day been seated in the Musnud of my Ancestors.

'I acknowledge with the most lively sensibility your Lordship's benevolen attention to the situation of my revered Father during his last illness, and I reflect with the most indelible gratitude on the humane anxiety which you manifested on that melancholy occasion. The friendship you have been pleased to shew me since his decease, and the solicitude you have expressed for my welfare, whilst they form a source of the most pleasing reflections excite sentiments of Gratitude so lively and lasting that they can only cease with my existence. . . .

'16th October, 1795.'

Lord Hobart to His Highness the Nawab of the Carnatic.

'I have had the honor of your Highness's letter of the 16th Instant and I understand its contents.

'Any anxiety I may have felt and manifested for your Revered Father during his indisposition was the result of a high respect for an old Ally of the Company, and a tribute to the most amiable and gracious manners that ever ornamented distinguished rank. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. cxcix., 23rd Oct., 1795.)

Lord Hobart then expresses the hope that the Nawab will consent to a modification of the financial agreement of 1792, which, as it stands, threatens to ruin the Carnatic. He proposes that the Company shall collect the revenue appropriated to the maintenance of the army, and urges the necessity of delivering the country from 'Usurers and Extortioners.' The Nawab, finding these suggestions both ill-timed and unpalatable, replied, in the third person, that the funeral ceremonies would prevent his attending to business for some time to come.

Soon after Walajah's death the people of Chepauk asserted their right-of-way along the beach opposite the Nawab's palace; and the Government made short work of the obstruction complained of:—

Petition.

'The humble Petition of the Boats Owners, Crews, and all the other Inhabitants of the Town of Chepauk Sheweth

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[1] *Musnud*, the cushion used by Indian princes as a throne; from Hind. *masnad*.

[2] There are portraits of both sons in the Banqueting Hall, Madras.

'Your Petitioners with infinite submission assumes the liberty to solicit you that one Mahommed Nauzer Cawn, son in law to his late Highness, has some months ago erected a Brick Wall Cross the Sea Shore, which was all along an open plain of Ground, by which said Road your Petitioners was passing and repassing to their several avocations. Your Petitioners begs leave, Your Honor, to observe that now by the High Surff the Water being far advanced and Beating against the Wall prevents the peoples from passing or repassing. . . .

'Therefore your Petitioners most humbly Implores your Honor will be so condescend[ing] as to direct the Chief Engineer to survey the said Spot, and order to destroy the said Wall, in order that the peoples may pass by the said Road without fear of their lives.'

Government Order.

'Several applications having been made without Effect to his Highness the Nabob for removing the Causes of Complaint preferred by the Boat People against Mahommed Nassar Khan; Resolved that a Copy of the above Petition be transmitted to the Chief Engineer, and that he be desired immediately to take the necessary measures for removing the obstructions therein mentioned. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ccvi., 22nd Jan., 1796.)

The Nawab was the possessor of considerable landed and house property in Black Town, in San Thomé, and on the Mount Road. In March, 1796, the Surveyors of Assessment complained that they had been refused access to thirty-seven houses and gardens belonging to His Highness and situated in various parts of Black Town. Among the localities specified were 'Vanamal Doss or Anderson Street, Sollay Street, Narrain Street, Mr. Popham's Street, Moor Street, Armenian Street, Mr. Jones Street, and Yagambaraswara Pagoda Square Street.'[1]

Nawab 'Umdat-ul-Umarā was the first native of India to be admitted to Freemasonry, having been initiated at Trichinopoly in 1775 by Dr. Terence Gahagan. The current tradition that he erected the curious structure called the 'Thousand Lights' in the wedge at the junction of the Mount Road and Peter's Road does not seem well founded, as the earliest map depicting it is that of 1822.[2] 'Umdat-ul-Umarā's rule lasted only six years. On the capture of Seringapatam in 1799 papers were brought to light which were held to prove the existence of a treasonable conspiracy between the Nawab and Tippoo Sultan. The Governor-General, with the approval of the Directors, resolved that the administration of the Carnatic should be assumed by the Company; but the execution of his orders was postponed in consequence of 'Umdat-ul-Umarā's illness. When the Nawab expired in 1801, at the age of fifty-three, British troops were ordered to occupy the palace. Lord Clive, camping in its precincts, offered terms to 'Alī Ḥusain, son of 'Umdat-ul-Umarā, which were rejected; and 'Aẓīm-ud-daula, son of Amīr-ul-Umarā, was elevated to the musnud. Under an arrangement concluded with him the Company virtually annexed the Carnatic, comprising the present collectorates of Nellore, North Arcot, South Arcot, Trichinopoly, and Tinnevelly.[1]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccvii., 29th March, 1796.

[2] The building is there marked *Majeed Dowlah.*

Nawab Walajah's name is commemorated in Madras by the title of a bastion and gate of Fort St. George; by the designation of the adjacent bridge constructed by John Brohier; by the Walajah Bagh, a garden house on the banks of the Spur Tank, and by the name of the road skirting Government House Park which connects Triplicane with the Chepauk Palace.

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[1] A brief account of the titular Nawabs of the Carnatic and Princes of Arcot will be found in *Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House, Madras.*

CHAPTER XXXV

1794—1800

MAP OF MADRAS IN 1798—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND EXTRACTS

MAP OF MADRAS IN 1798.

UNTIL lately the oldest map of Madras in the possession of the local Government was, excluding Wheeler's small scale lithograph of the lost plan of 1733, Ravenshaw's map of 1822. Enquiries made in England disclosed the fact that the India Office preserved two copies, drawn by hand, of a map of 1798, one to a scale of 800 and the other of 900 feet to an inch. One copy, which was made over to the Fort St. George Record Office, has been reproduced for this work.[1] The origin of the map is thus described in the Consultations:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Upon the establishment of the Court of the Recorder, the Board think it advisable, with a view to prevent all disputes and doubts in future, to fix and determine the limits and boundaries of Madras according to the power vested in them for that purpose by the 33rd of his present Majesty's, Chap. 52, Sec. 159. . . .

'It is resolved and ordered that the Southern limit shall be the Southern bank of the St. Thomé river as far as the road leading to the long tank; that the limit shall then be continued in a northern direction along the bank of the long tank, and from thence along the bank of the Nundumbaukum tank as far as the Village of Chettoopet upon the banks of the Poonamally river;[2] that the limits shall be continued in the same direction to the Villages of Kilpaukum and Peremboor, and from the latter village it do take an Eastern direction to the sea, so as to include the whole village of Tandearpetta.

'It is further Resolved and ordered that no lands situated to the Southward

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[1] In the reproduction, which was made in the first instance by the Madras Survey, the style of lettering on the original was not preserved.

[2] The Cooum.

> of the St. Thomé River, or to the westward of the banks of the long tank or o the Nundumbaukum tank, shall be considered within the limits of the sai town of Madras; but that all the lands included in the villages of Chettope Kilpaukum, Peremboor and Tandior shall be considered within the sai limits.
>
> 'As a considerable proportion of the lands within these limits pay a publi revenue to Government, Resolved to direct that the Chief Engineer d prepare a Map of them in quadruplicate, and that the whole of the publi lands paying revenue may be distinguished from the private lands which hav been granted to individuals. . . .[1]
>
> 'With a view to prevent the disputes which the Board apprehend could no fail to be excited if the authority of the Collector of the Jageer shoul continue over the lands now brought under the jurisdiction of the Court of th Recorder, Resolved that the Collector's authority be entirely and unequivocall excluded from the above described boundaries. . . .
>
> 'Resolved that, as soon as the Map is prepared, the Authority of the Polic Committee be extended to the same boundaries.
>
> 'Resolved upon this occasion to point out to the Notice of the Recorde that most of the land, the property of individuals within the limits of Madras, is held by grants from the Company for ninety nine years; but that a subsequent Sales which have taken place under the authority of the Sheriff i has been customary for that Office[r] to grant bills of sale to the purchasers in perpetuity; that as the Company, by the grants in question, do not dispossess themselves of their property in their lands, the Board do request of Sir Thomas Strange to adopt means for the prevention of this irregularity in future. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxx., 1st Nov., 1798.)

The map was executed by the end of January, 1800, when the Chief Engineer supplied the Government with three copies. One was handed over to the Recorder, and the other two are doubtless those which ultimately found their way to the India Office.[2]

A few comparative notes on the copy lately sent by the India Office to Madras may not, perhaps, be out of place. The map is drawn to a scale of 900 feet to 1 inch, and coloured. The sheet measures 56½ inches by 34 inches, and the limits of the map are practically those of the present Municipality. The names of the streets and roads are unfortunately omitted.

The Fort appears with its full complement of outworks. The Fort Square has the old Factory House[3] at its centre, the Sea Gate Colonnade projecting from it to the eastward. North of the Fort Square, between Middle Gate Street[4] and Choultry Gate Street is Portuguese Square. In the southern half of the Fort, the block of buildings, afterwards demolished, which lay between Charles and James Streets, is shown. Hanover Square is depicted, and the Arsenal consists of two blocks at right angles to each other. North of the Walajah Gate a road bounded the foot of the glacis, but there was no highway along the sea-front.

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[1] Private lands are marked *a* on the map.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxlii., 31st Jan., 1800.

[3] Now the middle portion of the Secretariat buildings.

[4] Also called North Street.

The Island possessed a less unbroken outline than at present, and the Triplicane River contained several islets. One of these was crossed by the Triplicane Bridge, a structure of great length, which appears to have been made defensible towards Chintadripetta. From the Walajah Bridge two roads under double avenues of trees diverged to the west and south-west across the Island, the first leading to Periamett, Egmore Redoubt, and the Poonamallee Road, the second to Triplicane Bridge, and the Mount Road. The two bridges named are the only ones depicted. The omission of the little Egmore Bridge, near the General Hospital, is perhaps accidental, but the old Garden House Bridge to the east of it appears to have been demolished. St. Mary's Cemetery and the Body Guard lines are shown.

Black Town[1] possessed nearly the same boundaries as at the present day. On the north and west sides they are indicated by the rampart of bastions and curtains built by Benfield to Call's design. The easternmost bastion on the north face lay near the present Clive Battery, which had not been built. The line of communication within the rampart is now called Wall Tax Road on the west side, and Old Jail Street on the north face. The North River outside the western rampart, soon afterwards converted into Cochrane's canal, appears to have dwindled to an insignificant streamlet. The area in the north-west angle of the town, westward of the Seven Wells, was given over to cultivation except where the Powder Mills (afterwards the Mint and now the Medical Stores) stood. There was also some cultivation towards the north end of Popham's Broadway. Popham's drainage channel is shown skirting Muthialpetta, and passing across the Esplanade. Except at Parry's Corner, the present First Line and Second Line Beach were non-existent, Moor Street being the easternmost thoroughfare. There was consequently a wide foreshore, occupied only by the North Paddy Godown, or French Prison, which was about to be converted into the Custom House. North of the Black Town may be seen several parallel roads leading northward towards Trivatore, much garden and agricultural land, the 'Washermens Town,' the village of Tandiore Pettah, and two or three native choultries.

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[1] This ancient name has lately been changed to Georgetown, in memory of the recent visit of His Majesty King George V. when Prince of Wales, and in deference to the sentiment of some of the inhabitants.

West of Black Town lay an open defensible tract of ground, half a mile wide. The southern portion, which has now become the People's Park, was partly waste and partly cultivated land; the northern section, where the Railway Goods Station now stands, was occupied by salt-pans. Farther west was the suburban village of 'Vipory.' Hunter's and Atkinson's Roads existed, as well as the Vepery High Road. On the Poonamallee Road the Naval Hospital[1] occupied the present Gun Carriage Factory premises; the house to the west of it, now called Stowe Hall, was Mr. C. B. Dent's; and the building opposite, in the compound now belonging to St. Andrew's Church, is believed to have been the Masonic Hall. A large block of buildings stood near the present S.P.C.K. Depot, and a substantial house on the south side of it. In the angle between Vepery High Road and Hunter's Road numerous edifices are depicted, but St. Matthias's Church is not distinguishable.

In Egmore, south of Vepery, Monteith's and Casamaijor's Roads are shown in their present alignment. The Pantheon Road extended from the river past the Pantheon[2] to open ground near the existing Court of the Presidency Magistrate.[3] Commander-in-Chief's Road started from the river, but had a length of only 300 yards. In this road the houses now known as Ottershaw and the Victoria Hotel are represented. In Pantheon Road a group of four large buildings appears, one of which is College Bridge House. The Pantheon is situated in a compound of immense size. Egmore Fort appears as a square redoubt, with sides measuring about 100 yards. Casamaijor's Road possessed one house, which, however, does not now exist. The portion of the Poonamallee Road eastward of the Spur Tank appears narrow and ill-defined.

In 'Chittoopett' and 'Keelpaukum' still farther west, Harington's and McNicholls's Roads and Spur Tank Road are shown as at present. In Harington's Road there was a considerable house, which still exists, nearly opposite Napier's Gardens. West of the Spur Tank the Poonamallee Road developed into an avenued highway, and was bordered by several garden houses, notably Landon's Gardens, the present Civil Orphan Asylum, and buildings near Dare's Gardens and Sladen's Gardens. In Kilpauk a house is shown in the present Lunatic Asylum compound.

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[1] It is so marked in Faden's map of 1816.

[2] Now the Museum.

[3] This building was in 1816 owned by Mr. J. De Fries.

Nungumbaukum, now one of the best residential districts of Madras, was in 1798 almost wholly under wet cultivation. From the Mount Road a track passed round the south and west sides of Mackay's Garden, struck the river, and then followed its bank to Chetput. The first section of this track, realigned so as to reduce the proportions of Mackay's Garden, forms the present Graeme's Road. Anderson's and Moore's Roads appear in embryo, but Nungumbaukum High Road was non-existent. Dr. Anderson's botanic garden, one of the show-places of Madras, which originally occupied the sites of Pycroft's Gardens, Tulloch's Gardens, and perhaps Graeme's Gardens, had been extended northward to College Road and eastward to the river.[1] A strip of garden land followed the river-bank to Chetput, and contained four or five houses, among which Doveton House[2] and the Observatory are distinguishable, and there were some small buildings in the compound of The Albany. Near the Mount Road, beside Mackay's Garden, with its rectangular tank, may be seen Cathedral Gardens on the Long Tank, Aziz Bagh, and other houses which will be mentioned presently.

In 'Chintautre Pettah' there were buildings on the site of Messrs. Simpson and Co.'s factory, and to the northward of them a considerable garden house in the present Napier Park. The Triplicane River, where it forms a loop almost encircling the village, was of insignificant width, far less than the stream had attained higher up in its course.[3]

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[1] M. R. Ry. N. Kuppuswami Aiyar, Tahsildar of Madras, has ascertained that the extension included, among other properties, those now known as Hadow House, Morison's Gardens, Red Craig, Linden Towers, Moore's Gardens, and The Mansion.

[2] Owned by Benjamin Roebuck.

[3] In Faden's map of 1816 the neck of the loop is crossed by a channel, so that Chintadripetta had then become an island.

South of the Madras end of the Mount Road was the populous suburb of Triplicane; and farther west lay the villages of Royapetta and Teynampetta. Government House Park was smaller than it is at present, the eastern boundary of the compound lying only 150 yards beyond the ornamental tank. Avenues of trees radiated from the front of the house towards the sea and Fort. The walled enclosure containing the Nawab's palace covered a vast space. It extended north and south from the river to the present Pycroft's Road, and westward as far as Bell's Road. The included area appears on the map as a blank. The main entrance was by the Walajah Road, south of the Government Garden. Triplicane was traversed by several streets and roads more or less parallel to the coast, most of which converged on Barber's Bridge spanning the drainage channel which separated Kistnampetta from San Thomé. The chief of these routes was the present Triplicane High Road, prolonged as Barber's Bridge Road. Leading westward were two principal thoroughfares now known as Pycroft's Road, with its continuation White's Road, and Ice House Road, with its prolongation Peter's Road. These highways and the Mount Road all converged so as to meet near Mackay's Garden. The area traversed by them was the oldest residential quarter in the suburbs.

The Mount Road from the western angle of the Government Gardens, where the Vizianagram Fountain now stands, passed straight to the bank of the river at the site of Harris Bridge, and then bent south-west till it joined the present line. From the point of contact with the river to Mackay's Garden the way was bordered by the compounds of residential mansions, of which four occupied the north and five the south side. The present Army Clothing Office, the Umda Bagh and the Ameer Bagh,[1] can be distinguished among the former; and the Commercial Club, part of the Madras Club, and Dent's Gardens among the latter. A little farther south Pater's Gardens and Road are depicted. Beyond Mackay's Gardens and around Teynampetta, houses are shown in the existing compounds of Church Park, the Cathedral, and the Horticultural Society's Gardens. The present Cathedral Road did not exist.

Among the garden houses on Peter's Road and White's Road,

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[1] Now the Elphinstone Hotel.

Fallofield is easily identified. A house nearly opposite to it on the north side of Peter's Road is shown, and others near the sites of Royapetta House and Myrtle Villa.

South of the villages of Teynampetta and Royapetta the whole country was under wet cultivation, extending eastward to the Luz Church, and southward to the parks on the Adyar River. Moubray's Road, which traversed this region from Royapetta, was skirted by a few parcels of private property, but the only considerable mansion in the locality was Sulivan's Gardens, the property, it is believed, of Benjamin Sulivan.

The area between Triplicane and San Thomé was filled with gardens and cocoanut groves. The natural drainage channel on the north side of St. Thomé was crossed by Barber's Bridge.[1] Near it was a substantial house occupying the site of Palm Lodge in Edward Elliot's Road. In Mylapore the Temple tank and Luz Church are marked. East of the church a large garden house is shown, which was not far distant from the existing Luz House. San Thomé Redoubt appears as a square blockhouse at the south end of the line of sand-hills which once carried the eastern fortifications of the old Portuguese town.

The banks of the Adyar River had not the alignment which they possess at the present day. The river exit in the bar was situated farther north, and the backwater north of Quibble Island was more extensive. Admiralty House is shown, as are Hudleston's Gardens and Brodie Castle. Moubray's Road from Royapetta led straight to Moubray's Gardens, now the Adyar Club.[2] On the south bank of the river one house is shown, situated opposite Brodie Castle, on the site of the present Theosophical Society's buildings.

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[1] Tradition ascribes the construction of this bridge to an engineer named Hamilton, a word corrupted by the natives into *Ambuton.* In process of time this designation was identified with the Tamil *ambattan*, a barber (*Manual of the Salem District*, Le Fanu). The story should be accepted with reserve. The original bridge was probably built by the Portuguese, as mention is made of it during the French occupation of San Thomé in 1672-1674—that is, anterior to the period of British control over the site. During the eighteenth century, Ensign James Hamilton, who was killed at Madura in 1764, was the only Engineer bearing that patronymic. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a portion of the channel on each side of the bridge was utilized for a bend of the Buckingham Canal.

[2] In Faden's map of 1816 the house is marked 'Mr. Moubrey's Cupola.'

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND EXTRACTS.

In 1797 the Directors called for local contributions to the work which ultimately took shape as Bruce's *Annals*:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'In order to enable the Company's Historiographer to complete a General History of the British affairs in the East Indies, and as we mean that the Plan of such a Work should comprehend the History of India and such part of that of China as is connected with our Trade, and also the progress of our Trade in general, we direct that such of our Servants as may be in situations to promote this public Work be intrusted to transmit to you, for the purpose of being forwarded to us, such information on the Chronology, Geography, Government, Laws, Political Revolutions, the progressive stages of the useful Arts, Manufactures and Sciences, and of the fine Arts, and particularly on the former and present state of internal and Foreign Trade, as they may be in stations to afford, or may from time to time be able to Collect.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxi., 16th Dec., 1797.)

Further encouragement was given to the study of the native languages. In lieu of the Moonshee[1] allowance, a reward was offered of 'a thousand Pagodas to such of the Company's Servants as may qualify themselves to transact business and to conduct a correspondence in any of the country languages without the aid of a native.'[2]

The Directors were not oblivious of the morals of their servants. An extract from their letter of the 25th May, 1798, was communicated to the Chaplains of Fort St. George with the request that they would 'assist Government in pointing out the existence of any improper amusements, in inculcating the necessity of attendance on public worship, and in reforming the general manners of the society where they may appear to require it.'[3]

In 1795 Mr. Anthony Gaudoin wrote to Lord Hobart explaining that he had traded wholesale in Madras for ten years, and had now signed covenants as a free merchant and sent his children to England for education. He asked permission to live in the Fort and begin business as an auctioneer. His application having been sanctioned, he established himself in rooms under the Exchange.[4] The designations of several of the houses of agency and mercantile firms have already been mentioned incidentally. In 1795 the promoters of the first Male Asylum Lottery were Messrs. Porcher, Redhead & Co., Colt, Baker & Co., Tulloh, Jervis & Brodie, McDowall, Fraser & Hay, Chase, Sewell & Chase, John Stephens, D. Christiani, F. Fraser, and Sharpe & Heifke.[1] Elsewhere are found the names of Messrs. Thomas Parry & Co., and Daly & Cockburn.[2] A few years later allusion is made to the firm of Lys, Satur & De Monte.[3]

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[1] *Moonshee*, a teacher of languages; from Hind. *munshī*, secretary, interpreter.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxi., 16th Dec., 1797.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxx., 20th Oct., 1798.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. cxcviii., 6th March, and vol. cc., 14th May, 1795. The name of Gaudoin is still represented in Madras.

Before the close of the century, private trading by public servants was absolutely forbidden, and the following officers were informed that no servant of the Company connected with a house of business or engaged in mercantile transactions of any kind was eligible to hold an office of trust under Government. The persons named were called on to elect within fifteen days whether they would resign the service or withdraw from commercial pursuits[4]:—

Mr. Benjamin Roebuck, Military Paymaster-General and Assay-master.
Hon. Basil Cochrane, Military Paymaster.
Mr. Charles Baker, Manager for the supply of 'Beetle.'
Mr. James Brodie, Garrison Storekeeper.
Mr. Robert Woolf, Accountant-General.

Among the petitions received by Lord Hobart, two, presented by old native servants of the Company, deserve mention. The first was from Droomo Nursoo (Dharma Narasu), the Boat Overseer, whose great-grandfather had been appointed to that office by Governor Thomas Pitt. During the caste disputes of Pitt's administration this progenitor was commissioned to Vizagapatam to engage boatmen and others who would not be subservient to the Right hand caste people of Madras. In recognition of the man's services Pitt 'settled on him and his heirs the employ of sea-side dubash and head man over the Massoola and Catamaran People' by a cowle of the 12th December, 1707. The petitioner, whose grandfather and father succeeded to the appointment in due course, had become blind in the service, and desired a recommendation to the authorities of the Male Asylum. Hobart's Government granted him a pension of Pags. 1½ a month.[1]

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cxcviii., 20th Feb., 1795.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. cci., 12th June, 1795. The firm of Parry & Co. is still one of the leading houses in Madras.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ccxlv., 11th July, 1800. Afterwards known for upwards of a century as Arbuthnot & Co.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. ccxliii., 18th March, 1800.

The other petition was from a watchman employed at the Fort House:—

Petition of Peon Koṇḍappa.

'The Humble Petition of Condapah, one of the Peons out of two employed in watching the Government House in the Fort, Most Respectfully Sheweth,

'Your Petitioner have been in the Honorable Company's Service for upwards of forty Years in the above Capacity with the Month Salary of 1½ Pagodas, and Conducted himself to the Satisfaction of Several Governors, and were attended to his duty regularly during Monsieur Lally's seize against Madras, and received a wound from the fire of the enemy. Your Petitioner is grown very old and infirm, and not able to attend to his duty with such regularity as he has hitherto been. Your Petitioner prostrate at your Lordship's feet, intreating that a pension may be indulged, in Consideration of his Service, to enable him to support himself the remainder part of his life, and permit his son to succeed him.' (*P.C.*, vol. ccxiii., 17th Dec., 1796.)

Government granted this man a pension of Pag. 1 per month, and engaged his son Ādiappa as his successor.

The postal arrangements were improved, and a regular monthly overland service established with Great Britain. The minimum postage was Rs. 12¼ for a letter weighing a quarter tola[2]:—

Government Notification.

(*P.C.*, vol. ccxxi., 28th Dec., 1797.)

In consequence of the establishment by the Honble the Governor in Council at Bombay of a regular Monthly communication with great Britain viâ Bussora, the Publick are hereby informed that Private Letters will be received for transmission at the Office of the Secretary to Government under the following Regulations:—

'1st. That no letter shall exceed in length four Inches, In breadth two Inches, nor be Sealed with Wax.

'2nd. That all Letters shall be sent to the Secretary of Government with a Note specifying the Writer, and with the Writer's Name signed under the address; to be countersigned by the Secretary previous to deposit in the Packet as a Warrant of permission.

'3rd. That Postage shall be paid on delivery of the letter at the rate of 3½ pagodas a single letter weighing one quarter of a rupee; for letters weighing half a rupee, 5¼ Pagodas; and for those weighing one Rupee, 7 Pagodas. . . .

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. cciv., 11th Dec., 1795.

[2] *Tola*, a measure of weight equivalent originally to 168 grains. In 1833 it was fixed at 180 grains, the weight of a rupee.

'4th. Two Mails will be transmitted by each despatch; one of which is intended to be despatched viâ Aleppo, the other viâ Bagdad; letters in duplicate will be placed in each Packet, or if Single, at the discretion of the Secretary.

'5th. No Packets or Letters are to be received by the Commanders of the Packets but through the prescribed Channel, nor will any, except through the same Channel, be forwarded by the Resident at Bussora.

'6th. The Mails will be despatched from Bombay the 1st day of every Month, and the first despatch will be on the 1st January 1798.

'J. WEBBE, Secretary to Government.'

A year later the inland postage rates were revised. Postage on all letters, save those despatched by the Governor and a few other high officials who enjoyed the privilege of franking, was to be prepaid in cash, the fees levied on service communications being subsequently refunded by the post office. Letters under one rupee in weight were styled single letters; between one and one and a half rupees, double letters; between one and a half and two rupees, treble letters, and so on. The postage prescribed for single letters was based on a mileage rate of one and a half fanams for every hundred miles. Special rates were payable on ship letters in addition to the overland postage.[1]

Madras had long enjoyed a reputation for the excellence of its rope manufacture. The old Rope-walk on the beach south of the Fort had disappeared, but Mr. William Webb established a factory at Pammal near St. Thomas's Mount:—

Dr. James Anderson to Lord Mornington.

'Happening to meet Lord Clive a few days ago at Mr. Webb's Rope Walk at Pummel, we were entertained with the manufacture of a Cable of 17 Inches, by order of the Admiral, from a species of Aloes that grows wild in this Country.

'As Mr. Webb said that the Cable was especially ordered to be made without Tar, and merely as an Experiment, his Lordship was desirous to know how soon a report of its success or failure might be expected, being I suppose as much surprised at the Gallantry of the Man in committing a new manufacture to so trying a Decision as at the exertion of the Individuals who could be at the pains and Expence of collecting the material, and expressed his wishes that such Documents as related to this subject might be submitted to Public inspection.

'As the preparation in Water is similar to that of hemp and Flax, which gives the greatest Probability of its Durability, from giving so strong a Fibre after this Process, and that Sir Hans Sloane has given in his History of Jamaica, volume the 1st, page 247, many Qwestions [? Quotations] to show the value of

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ccxxxi., 15th Dec., 1798.

Cordage obtained from a Plant of the same kind, I should hope, my Lord, that Government might be induced in the first Instance to order Mr. Webb's being supplied with all that can be collected on the Coast; and further Plantations to be made, as a great deal of valuable Time will thereby be saved, the Plant being of slow Growth, and that Mr. Webb finds difficulty in procuring Materials sufficient to employ the number of People he has so laudably employed. . . . JAS. ANDERSON.'[1] (*P.C.*, vol. ccxxxiv., 15th April, 1799.)

This account of Fort St. George and the urban area of Madras, covering a period of one hundred and sixty years from the founding of the settlement, is brought to a close with the final year of the eighteenth century. Thereafter a fresh epoch begins, in which, consequent on vast extensions of territory, the interest of tracing the history of municipal affairs and institutions fades in the light of the larger administrative problems of a great Presidency. Were additional reason needed for terminating the account, it would be found in considerations of space. Owing to the method adopted of allowing the records to tell in the main their own story—a plan which carries its own excuse—these volumes have assumed proportions whose exuberance a tropical environment may perhaps justify. The conscientious reader, who has laboriously plodded his way to this page, will assuredly rejoice that no further claim on his patience is to be made.

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[1] This distinguished man, to whom so many references have in these pages been made, died in 1809, at the age of seventy-two, after a service of nearly half a century. He was buried in St. Mary's Cemetery, where a monument, provided by his nephew, Dr. Andrew Berry, marks his grave. The officers of the Madras Medical Department subscribed for a separate memorial, which was executed by Chantrey, and erected by the west doorway of St. George's Cathedral.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LIST OF AGENTS, PRESIDENTS, GOVERNORS, AND DEPUTY-GOVERNORS OF FORT ST. GEORGE[1]

Name.	Assumed Office.	Remarks.
Mr. Andrew Cogan ...	20 Feb., 1640	Cogan and Day arrived at Madras 20 Feb., 1640.[2] Agency transferred from Masulipatam to Madras 24 Sept., 1641. Cogan resigned 27 Aug., 1643
Mr. Francis Day	27 Aug., 1643	Agent. Sailed for England 4 Aug., 1644
Mr. Thomas Ivie	4 Aug., 1644	Arrived from Bantam as Agent. Sailed for England 1648
Mr. Henry Greenhill ...	23 Sept., 1648	Agent
Mr. Aaron Baker	1 Sept., 1652	Arrived from Bantam as President. Sailed for England 1655
Mr. Henry Greenhill ...	20 Jan., 1655	Madras reduced to an Agency, under Surat, *cir.* 1656. Greenhill died at Madras 1659
Mr. Thomas Chamber ...	4 Jan., 1659	Agent. Dismissed 1662
Mr. William Blake ...	1 Aug., 1662	Provisional Agent. Transferred to the Bay
Mr. Charles Proby... ...	27 Aug., 1662	Provisional Agent.
Sir Edward Winter ...	22 Sept., 1662	Arrived from England as Agent
Mr. George Foxcroft ...	22 June, 1665	Arrived from England as Agent. Arrested by Winter in Sept., 1665
Sir Edward Winter ...	16 Sept., 1665	Usurped the Government. Yielded Fort St. George to Commissioners in 1668
Mr. George Foxcroft ...	22 Aug., 1668	Reinstated and appointed Governor. Langhorn arrived 1671. Foxcroft sailed for England 1672

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[1] The names of temporary incumbents are entered in italics.

[2] In Cogan's absence at Masulipatam during part of 1640, Day remained in charge at Madras. Day sailed for England at the end of 1640, and returned in 1642.

Name.	Assumed Office.	Remarks.
Sir William Langhorn ...	18 Jan., 1672	Agent and Governor. Master arrived 1676. Langhorn resigned 1678
Mr. Streynsham Master ...	27 Jan., 1678	Agent, Governor, and Commander-in-Chief
Mr. Joseph Hynmers ...	1 Aug., 1679	Deputy Governor during Master's absence in the Bay
Mr. Streynsham Master ...	25 Jan., 1680	Superseded 1681
Mr. William Gyfford ...	3 July, 1681	Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Fort St. George. In 1684 appointed President and Governor
Mr. Elihu Yale	8 Aug., 1684	Provisional Governor during Gyfford's absence in the Bay
Mr. William Gyfford ...	26 Jan., 1685	Superseded 1687. Returned to England 1688
Mr. Elihu Yale	25 July, 1687	President and Governor. Superseded 1692. Sailed for England 1699
Mr. Nathaniel Higginson	23 Oct., 1692	President
Sir John Goldsborough ...	5 Dec., 1692	Supervisor and Commissary-General. Sat as President. Sailed for Bengal 1693
Mr. Nathaniel Higginson	29 July, 1693	President. Appointed Lieutenant-General of India 1694. Resigned 1698
Mr. Thomas Pitt	7 July, 1698	President and Governor. Superseded 1709
Mr. Gulston Addison ...	18 Sept., 1709	Died at Madras Oct., 1709
Mr. Edmund Mountague ...	17 Oct., 1709	Provisional
Mr. William Fraser ...	3 Nov., 1709	Provisional
Mr. Edward Harrison ...	11 July, 1711	President and Governor. Returned to England 1717
Mr. Joseph Collet	8 Jan., 1717	Returned to England 1720
Mr. Francis Hastings ...	18 Jan., 1720	Dismissed Oct., 1721. Died at Madras Dec., 1721
Mr. Nathaniel Elwick ...	15 Oct., 1721	Resigned 1725
Mr. James Macrae ...	15 Jan., 1725	Superseded 1730. Returned to England 1731
Mr. George Morton Pitt ...	14 May, 1730	Resigned 1735
Mr. Richard Benyon ...	23 Jan., 1735	Resigned 1744
Mr. Nicholas Morse ...	17 Jan., 1744	Fort St. George capitulated to the French 10 Sept., 1746

On the surrender of Madras the Coast administration fell to Mr. John Hinde, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. He died on 14 April, 1747, and was succeeded by Mr. Charles Floyer, who became President and Governor at Fort St. David on receipt of the Company's orders of 24 July, 1747. On 21 Aug., 1749, Madras was restored under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Name.	Assumed Office.	Remarks.
Admiral the Hon. Edward Boscawen	21 Aug., 1749	Received possession of Fort St. George. Administered Madras with the aid of three Commissioners. Sailed 11 Oct., 1749
Major Stringer Lawrence	11 Oct., 1749	Administrator. From 11 Nov. became Deputy Governor of Fort St. George
Mr. Richard Prince ...	6 Dec., 1749	Deputy Governor of Fort St. George. Resigned 1752
Mr. Richard Starke ...	*cir.* 21 Feb., 1752	Provisional Deputy Governor
Mr. Thomas Saunders[1] ...	6 April, 1752	Presidency transferred from Fort St. David to Fort St. George. Saunders resigned 1755
Mr. George Pigot	14 Jan., 1755	President and Governor. Resigned 1763
Rev. Robert Palk	14 Nov., 1763	President and Governor. Resigned 1767
Mr. Charles Bourchier ...	25 Jan., 1767	Resigned 1770
Mr. Josias Du Pré ...	31 Jan., 1770	Resigned 1773
Mr. Alexander Wynch ...	1 Feb., 1773	Superseded 1775
George, Lord Pigot ...	10 Dec., 1775	Arrested by the Majority of Council 1776. Died in confinement 1777
Mr. George Stratton ...	24 Aug., 1776	Usurped the Government. Suspended 1777
Mr. John Whitehill ...	31 Aug., 1777	Provisional Governor
Sir Thomas Rumbold ...	8 Feb., 1778	Resigned 1780. Afterwards dismissed retrospectively
Mr. John Whitehill ...	6 April, 1780	Provisional Governor. Suspended 1780, and subsequently dismissed
Mr. Charles Smith ...	8 Nov., 1780	Provisional Governor
George, Lord Macartney...	22 June, 1781	Resigned 1785
Mr. Alexander Davidson ...	8 June, 1785	Provisional Governor
Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell	6 April, 1786	Governor and Commander-in-Chief. Resigned 1789
Mr. John Hollond	6 Feb., 1789	Provisional Governor. Resigned 1790
Mr. Edward John Hollond	13 Feb., 1790	Provisional Governor
Major-General William Medows	20 Feb., 1790	Governor and Commander-in-Chief
Mr. John Turing	17 May, 1790	Provisional President during Medows's absence on field service
Mr. Morgan Williams ...	14 June, 1790	Provisional President during Medows's absence on field service

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[1] President Floyer was dismissed 6 July, 1750. Lawrence then became Provisional Governor of Fort St. David until the arrival of Saunders from Vizagapatam on 18 Sept., 1750.

Name.	Assumed Office.	Remarks.
Sir Charles Oakeley	15 Oct., 1790	Provisional President during Medows's absence on field service
Major-General William Medows	21 April, 1792	Resigned Aug., 1792
Sir Charles Oakeley	1 Aug., 1792	Resigned 1794
Robert, Lord Hobart	7 Sept., 1794	Sir Alured Clarke, Commander-in-Chief, sat as President during Hobart's brief absences on tour. Hobart was recalled in 1798
Lieutenant-General George Harris	21 Feb., 1798	Provisional Governor
Edward, Lord Clive	31 Aug., 1798	President and Governor
Richard, Lord Mornington	31 Dec., 1798	Sat as President in virtue of his office as Governor-General
Edward, Lord Clive	5 Sept., 1799	Resigned 30 Aug., 1803

APPENDIX II

LIST OF COMMANDERS OF THE FORCES AT FORT ST. GEORGE

(*Some of the earlier dates are conjectural*)

Name.	Period.	Remarks.
Lieutenant Jermin[1]	1640-1649	Died about 1649
Lieutenant Richard Minors	1649-1651	Appointed locally
Captain James Martin	1651-1654	Sent from England viâ Bantam. Died at Madras
Captain Richard Minors	1654-1655	Retired
Sergeant Timothy Sutton[2]	1655-1658	Officiating
Captain Roger Myddelton	1658-1660	Transferred to Surat
Lieutenant William Hull	1660	Died at Madras
Captain Thomas Axtell	1661-1664	Appointed from England. Died at Madras
Lieutenant Francis Chuseman	1664-1668	Returned to England
Lieutenant Timothy Sutton	1668-1673	Discharged
Captain Philip O'Neale	1673-1680	Died at Madras

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[1] The evidence of this officer's command is indirect.

[2] Conjectural.

Name.	Period.	Remarks.
Captain James Bett	1680-1692	Died at Madras
Captain Francis Seaton ...	1692-1707	Transferred from Bengal. Dismissed
Captain Gabriel Poirier ...	1707-1716	Died at Madras
Major John Roach	1716-1719	Dismissed
Captain Alexander Fullerton ...	1719-1723	Died at Madras
Captain Alexander Sutherland	1723-1724	Superseded. Died at Madras in 1725
Major John Roach	1724-1729	Transferred to the Civil Service
Major David Wilson	1729-1738	Died at Madras
Captain Peter Eckman ...	1738-1743	Superseded
Major Charles Knipe	1743	Appointed from England. Died at Madras
Captain Peter Eckman ...	1743-1746	Captured at Madras by the French

During the French occupation of Madras, the command at Fort St. David was held by Captain John De Morgan from 1746 to 1747, and by Captain George Gibson, R.N. (lent by Commodore Griffin) from 1747 to 1748. Major Lawrence then assumed command, but was taken prisoner in 1748. Until he was exchanged in the same year, Captain John Holland officiated.

Name.	Period.	Remarks.
Major Stringer Lawrence ...	1749-1750	Proceeded to England
Captain Rodolphus De Gingens	1750-1752	Officiating during Lawrence's absence
Major Stringer Lawrence ...	1752-1754	Superseded
Lieutenant-Colonel John Adlercron	1754-1757	Returned to England
Lieutenant-Colonel Stringer Lawrence	1757-1759	Returned to England
Major Cholmondeley Brereton	1759	Officiating
Colonel Eyre Coote	1759-1761	Proceeded to Bengal
Colonel John Caillaud	1761	Officiating
Major-General Stringer Lawrence	1761-1766	Retired
Brigadier-General John Caillaud	1766-1767	Retired
Brigadier-General Joseph Smith	1767-1770	Superseded
Major-General Eyre Coote ...	1770	Returned to England
Brigadier-General Joseph Smith	1770-1772	Resigned
Colonel Sir Robert Fletcher ...	1772-1773	Returned to England
Brigadier-General Joseph Smith	1773-1775	Retired
Brigadier-General Sir Robert Fletcher	1775-1776	Died at Mauritius
Brigadier-General James Stuart	1776-1777	Suspended
Colonel Ross Lang	1777-1778	Officiating

Name.	Period.	Remarks.
Major-General Sir Hector Munro	1778-1782[1]	Resigned
Major-General James Stuart ...	1782-1783	Dismissed and deported
Lieutenant-General Ross Lang	1783-1785	Retired
Lieutenant-General Sir John Dalling, Bart.	1785-1786	Returned to England
Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell	1786-1789	Also Governor. Resigned
Brigadier-General Matthew Horne (Company's troops) Colonel John Floyd (King's troops)	1789-1790	Officiating
Major-General William Medows	1790-1792[2]	Also Governor. Resigned
Colonel John Brathwaite ...	1792-1796	Superseded
Major-General Alured Clarke...	1796-1797	Transferred to Bengal
Lieutenant-General George Harris[3]	1797-1800	Resigned
Major-General John Brathwaite	1800-1801	—

APPENDIX III

LIST OF CHIEF GUNNERS AND CHIEF ENGINEERS

(*Some of the earlier dates are conjectural*)

Name.	Period.	Remarks.
Mr. Jeremy Roote	1640-1654	Gunner. Lent to the King of Golconda
Mr. Christopher Wilkins ...	1654-1658	Gunner. Lent to the King of Golconda
Mr. Hugh Dixon	1658-1677	Gunner
Mr. William Dixon	1677-1684	Gunner. Retired
Mr. Edward Fowle	1684-1685	Engineer. Died at Bencoolen
Mr. Robert Ivory	1685-1690	Engineer. Died at Madras
Captain Putsham	1690	Gunner. Died at Madras
Mr. Thomas Meddowes ...	1690-1695	Gunner. Invalided
Mr. Robert Atkinson	1695-1711	Gunner. Died at Madras

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[1] In 1781-82 Sir Eyre Coote, Commander-in-Chief in India, assumed direct command of the Madras Army.

[2] In 1791-92 Lord Cornwallis assumed command of the army in Madras.

[3] Also provisional Governor during part of 1798.

Name.	Period.	Remarks.
Captain Frederick Matthew von Werlinhoffe	1697-1702	Engineer and Miner-General. Services dispensed with
Mr. Francis Hugonin	1711-1724	Gunner. Retired to England
Captain James Johnson ...	1719	Chief Engineer, Bombardier, and Fireworker. Transferred to Bombay
Mr. David Murray	1724-1732	Gunner. Died at Madras
Mr. John Goulding	1732-1738	Gunner. Died at Madras
Mr. William Percival	1738-1743	Gunner. Transferred to the civil service
Mr. John Waters	1744	Gunner. Died at Madras
Mr. Joseph Smith	1744-1746	Bombardier and Engineer. Transferred from Bombay. Died at Madras

During the French occupation of Madras, Mr. George Jones officiated as Engineer at Fort St, David from 1747 to 1748, when Captain Alexander Delavaux arrived from England. The latter deserted in 1749, and was cashiered.

Name.	Period.	Remarks.
Mr. Benjamin Robins	1750-1751	Engineer-General. Died at Fort St. David
Mr. John Brohier	1751-1753	Officiating Engineer
Lieutenant-Colonel Caroline Frederick Scott	1753-1754	Engineer-General. Died at Madras
Captain John Brohier	1754-1757	Engineer. Transferred to Bengal
Captain John Call[1]	1757-1770	Chief Engineer. Retired to England
Captain Henry Montresor ...	1770	Officiating Engineer
Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Ross	1770-1778	Appointed from England as Chief Engineer. Leave to England in 1778
Major William Stevens ...	1778	Officiating Chief Engineer. Killed at Pondicherry in 1778
Major George Maule	1778-1782	Officiating Chief Engineer
Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Ross	1782-1793	Leave to England in 1793
Major George Maule	1793	Officiating Chief Engineer. Killed at Pondicherry in 1793
Lieutenant-Colonel William Gent	1793-1797	Officiating Chief Engineer
Major-General Patrick Ross ...	1797-1802	Retired to England in 1802

[1] Afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Call, Bart.

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF PRINCIPAL MEDICAL OFFICERS

(*Some of the dates are conjectural*)

Name.	Period.	Remarks.
Dr. Edward Whiteing[1]	1651-1657	Returned to England
Dr. Robert Cowper	1657-1663	—
Dr. Edward Whiteing	1663	Transferred to the Bay
Dr. Philip Bradford	1665-1668	Died at Madras
Dr. Jardin	1668-1670	—
Dr. John Waldo	1670-1678	Returned to England
Dr. Bezaliel Sherman	1676-1680	Died at Madras
Dr. John Heathfield	1680-1685	Transferred to the Civil Service
Dr. Samuel Willmot	1685-1687	—
Dr. John Heathfield	1687-1688	Reverted to the Medical Department. Died at Madras 1688
Dr. Samuel Browne	1688-1697	Discharged
Dr. Edward Bulkley	1692-1709	Transferred to the Civil Service as Member of Council. Resigned 1713. Died at Madras 1714
Dr. Thomas Robson	1709-1710	Appointed locally
Dr. Richard Chadsley	1710-1711	Arrived from England. Died at Madras 1711
Dr. Thomas Robson[2]	1711-1720	Died at Madras 1720
Dr. Anthony Suplee	1711-1714	Returned to England
Dr. Andrew Peitchier	1714-1730	—
Dr. Duncan Munro	1720-1726	Returned to England
Dr. George Ramsay	1726	Died at Madras
Dr. Matthew Lindsay	1726-1730	Died at Madras
Dr. Robert Douglas	1730-1742	Returned to England
Dr. Nathaniel Barlow	1730-1746	—
Dr. Andrew Munro	1742-1746	—

During the French occupation of Madras, Dr. Andrew Munro appears to have served as Surgeon at Fort St. David.

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[1] Mention is made of an earlier Surgeon, but his name has not been traced.

[2] From 1711 there were two Chief Surgeons—one for the hospital, the other for attendance on the Company's servants.

Name.	Period.	Remarks.
Dr. Andrew Munro	1749-1757	—
Dr. Robert Turing	1752-1760	—
Dr. James Wilson	1757-1760	—
Dr. Stephen Briggs[1]	1760-1771	Appointed Surgeon-General to the Army in 1760
Dr. Gilbert Pasley	1771-1781	Appointed Civil Surgeon-General in 1780. Died at Madras
Dr. James Anderson	1781-1809	Appointed Physician General in 1786. Died at Madras 1809

APPENDIX V

LISTS OF MAYORS OF MADRASPATNAM[2]

I.—COMPANY'S CHARTER OF 1687[3]

Date of Election of Mayor, 29th September annually

Year.	Name.	Remarks.
1688-1689	Mr. Nathaniel Higginson	Appointed 29 Sept., 1688. Resigned March, 1689
1688-1689	Mr. John Littleton	Elected March, 1689
1689-1690	—	—
1690-1691	Mr. Thomas Wavell	Died July, 1691
„	Mr. William Fraser	—
1691-1692	Mr. William Fraser.	—
1692-1693	Mr. John Styleman	—
1693-1694	Mr. John Styleman	—
1694-1695	Mr. John Styleman	—
1695-1696	Mr. Thomas Wright	—
1696-1697	—	—
1697-1698	Mr. Nathaniel Stone	—

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[1] From 1760 the single head of the Department is named.

[2] Many entries in the lists of Mayors are due to Miss Sainsbury's research.

[3] As the election of Mayor under this Charter was not reported to Government, the compilation of the list has depended only on incidental allusions. The names of Mayors for the periods 1689-1690, 1696-1697, 1699-1707, 1708-1709, 1714-1715, 1716-1717, and 1719-1720, have not been traced.

Year.	Name.	Remarks.
1698-1699	Mr. Daniel Chardin	—
1699-1700	—	—
1700-1701	—	—
1701-1702	—	—
1702-1703	—	—
1703-1704	—	—
1704-1705	—	—
1705-1706	—	—
1706-1707	—	—
1707-1708	Mr. Jeremiah Harrison	—
1708-1709	—	—
1709-1710	Mr. Robert Raworth	—
1710-1711	Mr. Robert Raworth	—
1711-1712	Mr. William Jennings	—
1712-1713	Mr. William Jennings	—
1713-1714	Mr. Bernard Benyon	—
1714-1715	—	—
1715-1716	Mr. Thomas Cooke	—
1716-1717	—	—
1717-1718	Mr. John Legg	—
1718-1719	Mr. Richard Horden	—
1719-1720	—	—
1720-1721	Mr. Richard Benyon	—
1721-1722	Mr. Joshua Draper	Dismissed the service Oct., 1721
"	Mr. Catesby Oadham	—
1722-1723	Mr. Catesby Oadham	Died March, 1723
"	Mr. George Sitwell	—
1723-1724	Mr. George Sitwell	—
1724-1725	Mr. James Hubbard	—
1725-1726	Mr. Francis Rous	—
1726-1727	Mr. Francis Rous	Served until 17 Aug., 1727, when the new Charter was proclaimed

II.—CHARTER OF GEORGE I. OF 1727

Date of Election of Mayor, 20th December annually

Year.	Name.	Remarks.
1727 ...	Captain John Powney	Appointed 17 Aug., 1727
1728 ...	Mr. Francis Rous	Elected 20 Dec., 1727
1729 ...	Mr. Francis Rous	—
1730 ...	Mr. Thomas Weston	—
1731 ...	Mr. William Monson	—
1732 ...	Mr. John Bulkley	Died April, 1732

Year.	Name.	Remarks.
1732 ...	Mr. Paul Foxley	—
1733 ...	Mr. Samuel Parkes	—
1734 ...	Mr. Hugh Naish	—
1735 ...	Mr. John Saunders	—
1736 ...	Mr. Holland Goddard	—
1737 ...	Captain Rawson Hart	—
1738 ...	Mr. Edward Fowke	—
1739 ...	Mr. Samuel Harrison	—
1740 ...	Captain Timothy Tullie	—
1741 ...	Mr. Sidney Foxall	—
1742 ...	Mr. Cornelius Goodwin	—
1743 ...	Mr. Henry Powney	—
1744 ...	Mr. Samuel Greenhaugh	—
1745 ...	Mr. Sidney Foxall	
1746 ...	Mr. Joseph Fowke	The Charter lapsed on 10 Sept., when Madras was captured by the French

III.—CHARTER OF GEORGE II. OF 1758

Date of Election of Mayor, the First Tuesday in December annually

Year.	Name.	Remarks.
1753 ...	Mr. Cornelius Goodwin	Nominated, but obtained permission to go to England
„ ...	Mr. William Perceval	Appointed 30 July, 1753, *vice* Goodwin
1754 ...	Dr. Andrew Munro	Elected Dec., 1753
1755 ...	Mr. John Walsh	—
1756 ...	Mr. George Mackay	—
1757 ...	Mr. Andrew Ross	—
1758 ...	Mr. Samuel Ardley	—
1759 ...	Mr. Charles Turner	Elevated to Council March, 1759
„ ...	Mr. Claud Russell	—
1760 ...	Mr. Francis Taylor	—
1761 ...	Mr. Peter Marriette	—
1762 ...	Mr. John Lewin Smith	Appointed to Manila July, 1762
„ ...	Mr. Peter Marriette	—
1763 ...	Mr. John Debonnaire	—
1764 ...	Mr. Thomas Powney	—
1765 ...	Captain George Baker	Resigned through ill-health June, 1765
„ ...	Mr. Claud Russell	—
1766 ...	Mr. Edward Raddon	—

Year.	Name.	Remarks.
1767 ...	Mr. Anthony Sadleir	—
1768 ...	Mr. Charles Smith	—
1769 ...	Mr. Edward Stracey	—
1770 ...	Mr. Francis Jourdan	—
1771 ...	Mr. John Hollond	—
1772 ...	Mr. George Smith	—
1773 ...	Mr. John Macpherson	Resigned July, 1773
„ ...	Captain George Baker	—
1774 ...	Mr. George Savage	—
1775 ...	Mr. James Hodges	Resigned March, 1775
„ ...	Mr. George Moubray	—
1776 ...	Mr. John Turing	—
1777 ...	Mr. Andrew Majendie	—
1778 ...	Mr. James Call	—
1779 ...	Mr. George Proctor	—
1780 ...	Mr. Edward John Hollond	—
1781 ...	Mr. Benjamin Roebuck	—
1782 ...	Mr. Edward Garrow	—
1783 ...	Mr. William Webb	—
1784 ...	Sir John Menzies	—
„ ...	Mr. James Call	—
1785 ...	Mr. Philip Stowey	—
1786 ...	Mr. Robert Ewing	—
1787 ...	Mr. James Call	—
1788 ...	Mr. Edward John Hollond	—
„ ...	Mr. Edward Garrow	—
1789 ...	Mr. William Webb	—
1790 ...	Mr. Vincentio Corbett	—
„ ...	Mr. James Call	—
1791 ...	Mr. Josias Du Pré Porcher	—
1792 ...	Mr. Andrew Ross	—
1793 ...	Mr. John Mitford	—
1794 ...	Mr. Henry Chichley Michell	—
1795 ...	Mr. Benjamin Roebuck	—
1796 ...	Mr. James Daly	—
1797 ...	Mr. William Dring	—
1798 ...	Mr. William Abbott	Mayor's Court absorbed in Court of the Recorder[1]
1799 ...	Mr. Alexander Cockburn	—
1800 ...	Mr. Richard Chase	To March, 1800
„ ...	Mr. Henry Sewell	Died in July, 1800
„ ...	Mr. Benjamin Roebuck	—
1801 ...	Mr. Richard Yeldham	The last of the Mayors

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[1] The Mayor and Aldermen sat with the Recorder from 1798 to 1801, when the Recorder's Court was merged in the Supreme Court of Judicature.

APPENDIX VI

LISTS OF SHERIFFS OF MADRASPATNAM TO 1801[1]

I.—CHARTER OF GEORGE I. OF 1727

Date of Nomination of Sheriff, 20th December annually

Year.	Name.	Remarks.
1727 ...	Mr. Nicholas Morse	From 17 Aug., 1727, when the Charter was proclaimed
1728 ...	Mr. Augustus Burton	—
1729 ...	Mr. Augustus Burton	—
1730 ...	Mr. Richard Horden	—
„ ...	Mr. Joseph Walsh	—
1731 ...	Mr. Charles Peers	—
1732 ...	Mr. Nicholas Morse	—
1733 ...	Mr. Francis Rous	—
1734 ...	Mr. William Monson	—
1735 ...	Mr. George Torriano	—
1736 ...	Mr. William Johnson	—
1737 ...	Mr. Thomas Cooke	—
1738 ...	Mr. Matthew Empson	—
1739 ...	Mr. George Torriano	—
1740 ...	Mr. John Hammond	—
1741 ...	Mr. John Graham	—
1742 ...	Mr. Matthew Empson	—
1743 ...	Mr. William Johnson	—
1744 ...	Mr. Thomas Cooke	—
1745 ...	Mr. John Savage	—
1746 ...	Mr. Matthew Empson	The Charter lapsed 10 Sept., 1746, on the capture of Madras by the French

II.—CHARTER OF GEORGE II. OF 1753

Date of Nomination of Sheriff, the First Tuesday in December

Year.	Name.	Remarks.
1753 ...	Mr. John Browning	Nominated 13 Aug., 1753
1754 ...	Mr. James Alexander	Nominated Dec., 1753
1755 ...	Mr. Claud Russell	—
1756 ...	Mr. James Bourchier	Transferred to Devicotah July, 1756

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[1] Many entries in the lists of Sheriffs are due to Miss Sainsbury's research.

Year.	Name.	Remarks.
1756	Mr. Claud Russell	—
1757	Mr. George Stratton	—
1758	Mr. Edward Edwards	—
1759	Mr. Henry Eustace Johnston	—
1760	Mr. Robert Dowsett	—
1761	Mr. James Hay	—
1762	Mr. George Dawson	Transferred to Vizagapatam Feb., 1762
„	Mr. Charles Smith	—
1763	Mr. James Bourchier	—
1764	Mr. Richard Brickenden	Leave to Canton from July, 1764
„	Mr. Henry Brooke	—
1765	Mr. Edward Stracey	—
1766	Mr. Samuel Johnson	Elevated to Council Dec., 1765
„	Mr. William Cuming	Transferred to Cuddalore May, 1766
„	Mr. John Hollond	—
1767	Mr. John Turing	—
1768	Mr. Robert Maunsell	Transferred to Ganjam April, 1768
„	Mr. Alexander Davidson	—
1769	Mr. Cotton Bowerbank Dent	—
1770	Hon. Edward Monckton	—
1771	Mr. Charles Desvoeux	—
1772	Mr. George Moubray	—
1773	Mr. Edward Saunders	—
1774	Mr. James Daniell	—
1775	Mr. Charles Mordaunt	—
1776	Hon. Basil Cochrane	—
1777	Mr. Henry Norris	—
„	Mr. William Light	—
1778	Mr. William Turing	—
1779	Mr. William Jackson	—
1780	Mr. Kenelm Digby	—
1781	Mr. Hugh Vaughan	—
1782	Mr. Francis Lind	—
1783	Mr. John Mitford	—
1784	Mr. Thomas Kingscote	—
1785	Mr. John Snow	—
„	Mr. Robert Lathom	—
1786	Mr. Robert Lathom	—
1787	Mr. Neil Campbell	—
1788	Mr. George Sulivan Martin	—
1789	Mr. William Jones	—
1790	Mr. Benjamin Branfill	—
1791	Mr. Neil Campbell	Died in July, 1791
„	Mr. Thomas Pearce	—
1792	Mr. William Cockell	—
1793	Mr. Edward Atkinson	—
1794	Mr. George Webster	—
1795	Mr. Richard Borough	—
„	Mr. Richard Arthur Maitland	—

Year.	Name.	Remarks.
1796 ...	Mr. Richard Arthur Maitland	—
1797 ...	Mr. Richard Yeldham	—
1798 ...	Mr. William Hesse Gordon	—
1799 ...	Mr. William Cockell	—
1800 ...	Mr. William Fraser	—
1801[1] ...	Mr. John Binny	—

APPENDIX VII

POPULATION OF MADRAS

Year.	Population.	Authority.	Remarks.
1639 ...	7,000	Deduced from comparison of revenue in 1639 and 1648	Rough approximation
1646 ...	19,000	Deduced from the estimate of 1648 by adding loss during the famine of 1647. *O.C.*, No. 2046, 9 Oct., 1647	Before famine
1648 ...	15,000	*Ct. Bk.*, vol. xxii., 21 Aug., 1649	After famine
1670 ...	40,000	Captain Thomas Bowrey	*Countries round the Bay of Bengal*
1673 ...	33,300	Dr. John Fryer	*New Account of East India and Persia*
1674 ...	50,000	Sir William Langhorn. *O.C.*, No. 3792, 20 Aug., 1674	—
1681 ...	200,000	The E.I. Company. *Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22 Jan., 1692	—
1685 ...	300,000	Captain Wilshaw. *P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 12 Dec., 1687	—
1691 ...	400,000	The E.I. Company. *Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22 Jan., 1692	—
1715 ...	100,000	R. P. Norbert	*Mémoires Historiques*
1720 ...	80,000	Captain Alexander Hamilton	*New Account of the East Indies*
1726 ...	100,000	R. P. Ippolito Desideri	Manuscript
1733 ...	100,000	Governor G. M. Pitt. *P. to Eng.*, vol. x., 1 Jan., 173$\frac{3}{4}$	—
1791 ...	300,000	Letter from the principal inhabitants. *P.C.*, vol. clxvii., 2 Feb., 1791	—
1795 ...	60,000[2]	The Madras Justices. *P.C.*, vol. cxcvii., 7 Feb., 1795	Population of Black Town only

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[1] At the present day appointment to the office of Sheriff is made annually by Government.

[2] Perhaps an error for 260,000.

APPENDIX VIII

MADRAS FAMINES

Period.	Authority.	Remarks.
1646-1647 ...	*O.C.*, No. 2019, 21 Jan., 164$\frac{6}{7}$ *O.C.*, No. 2046, 9 Oct., 1647	Severe famine. In five months of 1647, 4,000 persons died in Madras Town out of a population estimated at 19,000
1658-1659 ...	*O.C.*, No. 2792, 8 Aug., 1659	Scarcity due to drought, and the neighbourhood of the armies of Golconda and the Hindus
1686-1687 ...	*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. iv., 19 Aug. and 27 Dec., 1686 *O.C.*, No. 5621, 29 Sept., 1687	Great famine. Relief given by Government and by public subscription. Governor Gyfford reported to Surat that 35,000 persons perished in Madras Town. This famine was experienced also in the Circars (*P.C.*, vol. clxxxi., 8 Feb., 1793)
1718-1719 ...	*P.C.*, vol. l., 5 Jan., 17$\frac{18}{19}$	Famine relief given by Collet's Government to several thousand inhabitants
1728-1729 ...	*P.C.*, vol. lix., 10 Oct., 1729 *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 23 Jan., 1729 [1730]	Scarcity. The Company learn of the famine through the presentments of the Grand Jury, and complain of the silence of the Consultations
1733-1734 ...	*P. to Eng.*, vol. x., 1 Jan., 173$\frac{3}{4}$	Scarcity of grain and consequent high prices. Government imported rice for the garrison, but felt unauthorized to supply food for a population of 100,000
1736-1737 ...	*P.C.*, vol. lxvii., 17 Jan., 173$\frac{6}{7}$ *P. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 29 Jan., 173$\frac{6}{7}$	After some years of scarcity, the rains of 1736 failed entirely. The famine-stricken crowded into Madras from the surrounding country. This famine was experienced also in the Circars (*P.C.*, vol. clxxxi., 8 Feb., 1793)
1781-1782 ...	*P.C.*, vol. cxxv., 31 March, 1781 *P.C.*, vol. cxxvi., 7 July, 1781 *P.C.*, vol. cxxvii., 1 Feb. and 24 May, 1782 *P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 7, 28, and 30 Sept., 1782 *M. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 31 Oct., 1782	Acute famine, due in part to devastation of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali. Numerous deaths from starvation in Madras City. Deportation of the famine-stricken

APPENDIX IX

CYCLONES AT MADRAS

Date.	Authority.	Remarks.
12 March, 16$\frac{39}{40}$	*O.C.*, No. 1748 of 1640	The Company's ships *Eagle* and *Unity* lost
28 Feb., 166½	*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 8 March, 166½, and 12 May, 1662	'Such a hideous Storme that the like hath not hapned in the knowledge of any man alive, at that time of year.' Experienced also at Masulipatam and Porto Novo. Nine vessels lost at Madras, and twenty-one others on the Coast
22 Nov., 1668	*O.C.*, No. 3247, 23 Jan., 166$\frac{8}{9}$	Described as a hurricane
21 to 23 April, 1674	François Martin's *Mémoire*	French ship *Breton* lost at San Thomé, and two Dutch ships at Triplicane. Great loss of life
3 Nov., 1684	*P.C.*, vol. ix., 3 Nov., 1684	No ships in the roads, but many boats were destroyed. Some loss of life. Serious damage to buildings in the Fort, and the native town devastated. Damage estimated at Pags. 20,000
4 to 8 Oct., 1687	*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 8 Oct., 1687 *O.C.*, No. 5629, 13 Oct., 1687	Two Company's ships and two country vessels wrecked off the Fort. Thirty boats destroyed. Some loss of life
22 Nov., 1695	*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. viii., 22 Nov., 1695	Only one ship in the road, and she escaped, but many cargo boats lost. Government buildings damaged, and houses in native quarter unroofed. Part of the fishing village washed away. Great destruction of trees
7 and 8 April, 1717	*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 7 April, 1717	Four vessels lost in the roads. Several missing from San Thomé
13 and 14 Nov., 1721	*P.C.*, vol. lii., 13 Nov., 1721	Very severe storm. Country flooded and bridges wrecked. Fishing village washed away. Three large Company's ships lost
Cir. 30 Oct., 1729	*P.C.*, vol. lix., 3 Nov., 1729	Damage to buildings, and to Triplicane Bridge. Trees on the Island uprooted, and roads washed away
2 Oct., 1746...	*Orme MSS.*, etc.	Great damage sustained by de la Bourdonnais's fleet at Madras. Two French ships of war lost, and four others blown out to sea and dismasted

Date.	Authority.	Remarks.
31 Oct. and 1 Nov., 1752	*P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 5 Feb. and — Aug., 1753	Damage to structures in the Fort and to other Government buildings. Town gates blown in. Injury to Triplicane Bridge and Island embankment
1 Jan., 1761 ...	*M.C.*, vol. xiv., 4 Jan., 1761	Storm at Madras, but centre of cyclone passed over Pondicherry, where H.M. squadron sustained immense damage, accompanied by deplorable loss of life
20 to 22 Oct., 1763	*Orme MSS.*, vol. xxx. Letter from Sunku Rāma to Orme, 6 Nov., 1763	Several vessels lost
30 Oct., 1768	*P.C.*, vol. c., 31 Oct., 1768 *P.C.*, vol. ci., 19 Jan., 1769	Buildings unroofed and Hospital washed out. Some loss of life. Cattle destroyed in large numbers. Assistance ordered to be given to suffering inhabitants
14 and 15 Oct., 1782	*P.C.*, vol. cxxviii., 14 Oct., 1782 *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxix., 4 Nov., 1782	Very severe cyclone. Ten ships and 105 country vessels lost
13 and 14 Nov., 1791	*Madras Courier* of 17 Nov., 1791	Rivers in flood. Marmalong Bridge breached. Two vessels lost

APPENDIX X

MADRAS PLACE-NAMES

THE origin of the present designations of roads and houses within the urban area of Madras is in many cases already forgotten. The following notes on place-names have been compiled mainly from maps, supplemented from the *Register of Grants of Ground from* 1774, the Madras almanacs, and Dodwell & Miles's Civil and Military Lists. The map of 1798 distinguishes private property, but it unfortunately records no street or house names. Consequently use has been made of later maps, such as Faden's plan of 1816, Ravenshaw's map of 1822, and Hill's survey of 1837-39, notwithstanding that they relate to a period outside the scope of these volumes. A number of properties shown on the maps are marked with names of persons who appear to have been the leaseholders. Information has also been derived from two manuscript plans preserved at the India Office, entitled *Survey of St. Thomé or Milapore*, by Lieuts. Bayley and Chavasse, 1805, and *Topographical Survey of Madras and its Environs*, by Officers of the Military Institution, 1806. The inferences drawn from small-scale maps whose accuracy is not unimpeachable are less trustworthy than conclusions derived from written records; hence these notes are occasionally of a tentative character. Still, it seems well to make a beginning in the hope that confirmation may be obtained eventually from the records of the Collector of Madras and from the title-deeds of landed property.

Ameer Bagh, Poodoopauk. This mansion, built before 1798, was the property of the Nawab, who frequently lent it to Governor Clive for public entertainments. At a later date it accommodated the Court of Sudder Adawlut, and was afterwards used by the Agra Bank. It is now the Elphinstone Hotel.

Anderson Road and *Anderson Bridge*, Nungumbaukum, are named after Dr. James Anderson, whose botanic garden was situated in the vicinity.[1] In 1798 the road was under 300 yards in length, and terminated at its junction with Moore's Road. The bridge was built in 1829.

Anderson Street, Georgetown, was laid out in the course of Stephen Popham's development of the waste land which, down to 1781, separated the two pettahs. The street, which is mentioned as early as 1782, was probably named after the Physician-General.

Atkinson's Road, Vepery, is believed to take its name from Mr. Edward Atkinson,[2] a civil servant of 1783, and Secretary to the Hospital Board in 1788, who appears to have owned a house in this street.

Beachborough, Adyar. The three properties known as Beachborough, Ben's Gardens, and Adyar House were cut out of the huge area of Moubray's Gardens after 1816. All four belonged in 1822 to Mr. John De Monte. At the junction of Moubray's Road with Elapatha Madha Kovil Street stood 'De Monty's Poor House,' where a small temple is now situated. The map of 1837 marks a 'Ruined Bridge' on the Adyar, at the end of the road leading from Beachborough to the river.

Benfield's Road, Esplanade, sometimes called Walajah Road, was constructed before the end of the eighteenth century, doubtless by Paul Benfield, civil servant, engineer, contractor, and financier. It led to *Benfield's Bridge*, now dismantled, across Popham's drainage-channel.

Bentinck's Buildings, Georgetown, were erected as mercantile offices during the administration of Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Madras from 1803 to 1807.

Binny's Road, Poodoopauk. The short thoroughfare connecting the Mount Road with Commander-in-Chief's Bridge takes its name from Mr. John Binny, whose residence afterwards became the Imperial Hotel. The site is now occupied by the premises of Messrs. Spencer & Co., and the Connemara Hotel. About 1797, John Binny, sen., like predecessors of his name,[3] entered the Nawab's service. He founded a firm which was described in 1803 as 'Binney & Dennison,' and before 1814 as 'Binny & Co.'

Blacker's Gardens, Teynampett, is so called after Lt.-Col. Valentine Blacker, C.B., historian of the Marātha War, who obtained a grant of 9 acres by the Mount Road in 1806 (Grant No. 1159 of 18th March). Valentine

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[1] A note on Anderson's garden will be found in the text.

[2] Edward Atkinson married Miss Sarah Andrews in 1803.

[3] Charles Binny, who came to India in 1769, was Secretary to Nawab Walajah from 1779 or earlier to 1792. Alexander Binny was purser of one of the Nawab's ships. George Binny was in 1779 Surgeon at Ganjam.

Blacker entered the Madras Army in 1797, and was Q.M.G. in 1813.[1] The date of his acquisition of land discredits the tradition that his house was occupied by Sir Arthur Wellesley.

Blacker's Road, Poodoopauk, was probably named after 'H. Blacker,' who in 1837 owned a house at the junction of that thoroughfare with the Mount Road.

Breithaupt's Road, Vepery, takes its name from Mr. Christopher Breithaupt, free merchant, who received a grant of 5 acres in that locality in 1798 (No. 250 of 14th April). Under grant No. 116 of 25th June, 1794, he held 16 acres in Pursewaukum. In 1816 he was a partner in the firm of Pugh & Breithaupt.

Brodie Castle, Adyar. A grant of 11 acres at 'St. Thomé' was made in 1796 to Mr. James Brodie (No. 195 of 2nd Sept.). The house built thereon, which is shown on the survey of 1798, is approached from Mylapore by *Brodie's Road*. James Brodie, of Brodie, a civil servant, was warned in 1800 that he must either relinquish private trade or resign. Two years later he was drowned in the Adyar River while boating. His brother, W. Douglas Brodie, was a partner in the firm of Tulloh, Brodie & Haliburton between 1803 and 1816.

Brunton Villa, Adyar, a ruined house at the south end of the river bar, was probably named after Colonel James Brunton,[2] who entered the Madras Army in 1776, became Lt.-Col. in 1800, and died in England in 1810. In 1804 he received a grant of 7 acres 'at Quibble Island' (No. 968 of 21st Jan.). He also held property in San Thomé High Road, and in White's Road, Poodoopauk.

Capper House, Kistnampett, was private property in 1816, and in the map of 1822 is marked 'Lt. Col. F. Capper.' Francis Capper entered the army in 1778, became Lt.-Col. in 1800, and was lost at sea in 1809.[3] James Capper, a civilian who was appointed Commissary-General with the rank of Colonel in 1773, received a grant of 11 acres at San Thomé in 1788 (No. 70 of 22nd Feb.). The site of Capper House was unoccupied in 1798.

Casamaijor's Road, Egmore, which existed in 1798, was probably named after James Henry Casamaijor (son of Noah Casamaijor), who arrived as a Writer in 1762, and was still serving in 1811. Later members of his family belonging to the civil service were John Casamaijor, who entered in 1792, James Archibald in 1802, and George James in 1812.

Castlets, Eastern and Western, Poodoopauk. These two castellated buildings on the Mount Road first appear on the map of 1822, where they are marked 'Major T. F. De Havilland.' That officer's property included the present Army Clothing Office in the vicinity, and a house in Egmore where the Government Record Office now stands. Thomas Fiott De Havilland entered the Madras Engineers in 1793, became Lt.-Col. in 1824, and died in 1866. His services have been mentioned in the text.[4]

Cathedral Gardens, Teynampett. A small house existing on the site in 1798 was enlarged before 1816, and was occupied for a considerable period by Mr. R. A. Maitland, partner in the firm of Abbott & Maitland, and a Justice of the Peace.

Catholic School House, San Thomé. This building was probably erected in the eighteenth century. In a survey of 1805 it is marked 'Once Col. Brunton's.'

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[1] Valentine Blacker married Miss Emma Johnson in 1813.

[2] James Brunton married Miss Mary Jackson in 1792.

[3] Francis Capper married Miss Elizabeth Fraser in 1791.

[4] Thomas De Havilland married Miss Elizabeth de Saumarez in 1808.

In the maps of 1822 and 1837 it appears as the property of General Lalande. Carey Lalande entered the Madras Army in 1769, became Lt.-Gen. in 1813, and died at Madras in 1824.

Cenotaph Road, Teynampett, was so called from its leading to the Cornwallis Cenotaph, which was erected on the Mount Road. The memorial was surrounded by an avenued oval drive, and was the daily objective of Madras society until the Beach Road to San Thomé was laid out. The Cenotaph now stands before the Port Office, North Beach.

Chamier's Road, Adyar, was developed from a cart-track between 1798 and 1816. Mr. John Chamier, of the civil service, who was Chief Secretary in 1803, does not appear to have held property at the Adyar, but in 1822 Gambier's Gardens, a demesne skirted by Chamier's Road, was owned by 'Mr. Jacob Nazar Shamier.'

Chepauk Palace, Chepauk, was built by Nawab Walajah about 1767. After the death in 1855 of the last titular Nawab of the Carnatic, the property was sold by auction and acquired by Government. The buildings became public offices, and the surrounding land was converted into a park.

Clive Battery, North Beach, was constructed at the beginning of the nineteenth century at the sea end of Black Town Wall. It was named after the then Governor, the second Lord Clive.

Clive Pettah, Perambore. The village of Nedumbari, near the Buckingham Mills, bears this name in the map of 1837. It may have been so called from its vicinity to Clive's (Cochrane's) Canal.

Cochrane's Canal was projected by the Hon. Basil Cochrane as a navigable channel to connect Ennore with Madras. It involved the realignment and improvement of the natural drainage-channel of the Elambore River. It was opened early in the nineteenth century, and was at first called Lord Clive's Canal after the Governor.

College Bridge House, Egmore. Three blocks of buildings existed on the site in 1798. In 1816 they were the property of the Hon. Basil Cochrane, and in 1822 of General Hamilton Hall, who also owned 'Egmore House' and 'Ottershaw.'

Commander-in-Chief's Bridge, Egmore, was built in 1825 to replace a causeway across the Cooum. It was so named from its vicinity to the Commander-in-Chief's residence, now the Victoria Hotel.

Company's Pettah, Perambore. The village of Kusapett is so marked in the map of 1822.

Conway's Gardens, Kilpauk. This property was owned in 1816 by Colonel Conway, C.B. Thomas Henry Somerset Conway joined the cavalry in 1798 became Lt.-Col. in 1826, and died of cholera at Guntoor in 1837. His statue by Turnouth in St. Mary's Church is inscribed 'The Soldier's Friend. Conway, Adjutant General.' The Military Female Orphan Asylum was moved to Conway's Gardens from Komalesvaranpett before 1822, and early in the twentieth century the property was made over to the Civil Orphan Asylum.

Dare's Gardens, Kilpauk, which was private property in 1798, belonged to Mr. Waddell in 1816, and to Mr. Dare in 1822. John William Dare arrived from Bombay in 1810, became partner in the house of Parry & Dare and member of the Committee of the Madras Insurance Co., and died in 1838. Parry & Dare occupied in 1822 the same business premises at 'Parry's Corner' that Messrs. Parry & Co. still use.

Davidson Street, Georgetown, parallel to and next west of Popham's Broadway, was laid out about 1785 on Stephen Popham's reclaimed ground, and was doubtless named after Mr. Alexander Davidson, then acting Governor.

Dent's Gardens, Poodoopauk, was private property in 1798. In the map of 1822 it is marked 'Mr. Cochrane,' probably James Cochrane, who entered the civil service in 1795. The map of 1837 shows it as belonging to 'J. Dent, Esq.' Mr. John Dent joined the civil service in 1812, and died at Madras in 1845.

De Silva's Road, Luz, was so called after Francis De Silva, a publican, who in 1798 received a grant of 6 acres in 'St. Thomé at Luz' (No. 276 of 14th April). In the map of 1837 nine properties about Luz Church Road, De Silva's Road, and Olliver's Road are marked 'Mr. De Silva.'

Disney's Gardens, Kilpauk, was private property in 1798. In the maps of 1822 and 1837 it is marked 'Mr. Disney.' Fownes Disney came to Madras in 1797 as Advocate and Attorney of the Mayor's Court.

Dobbin Hall, Vepery, was so called after Mr. James Dobbin or Dobbyn, who received grants of upwards of 20 acres in Vepery (No. 252 of 14th April, 1798, and No. 444 of 14th April, 1801). Dobbin, who had also acquired land at Perambore in 1795, did business as an auctioneer. He died in 1814.

Doveton House, Nungumbaukum. This fine mansion was built before 1798, probably by Mr. Benjamin Roebuck, whose name is attached to it in the map of 1816 though he died in 1809. In the maps of 1822 and 1837 the house is marked 'Lingey Chetty' and 'Sir J. Doveton.' Son of Frederick Doveton of London, John Doveton, sen., joined the Madras cavalry in 1783, served with distinction through the Mysore campaigns, and subsequently commanded the Hyderabad Contingent. He became Lt.-Gen. and G.C.B. in 1837, and died at Doveton House ten years later.[1] He is said to have surrounded himself with a colony of Brahman families, whose descendants assumed the name of Doveton in addition to their Hindu appellations.

Egmore House, Egmore, appears to have been built between 1798 and 1816. In 1822 it was the property of General Hamilton Hall, and in the map of 1837 it is marked 'Colonel Mandevill.' Charles Mandeville entered the army in 1795, became Lt.-Col. in 1815, and was invalided in India four years later.

Elephant Gate Road, Georgetown, was so called from the Elephant Garden of the seventeenth century, to which it led. The old 'Elephant Gate' was at the middle point of the west wall of (modern) Black Town, and the road communicated with Vepery by a bridge across the North River, now Cochrane's Canal.

Elliot's Beach, Adyar, is so called after Edward F. Elliot, son of the Rt. Hon. Hugh Elliot, Governor of Madras from 1814 to 1820. Edward Elliot, who was one of the sessions Justices in 1822, resided in 1837 on the south side of the Adyar River. The highway connecting Cathedral Road with the Beach at Capper House is named *Edward Elliot's Road*.

Fallofield, Royapetta, was built between 1798 and 1816, and was owned by Mr. E. W. Fallofield. Ernst William Fallofield entered the civil service in 1767, was a Member of Council in 1794, died at Pondicherry in 1816, and was buried at Cuddalore Old Town. In the map of 1816 the property is marked

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[1] John Doveton, jun., cousin of the above, and son of Sir William Doveton, entered the Madras Army in 1798, and was created K.C.B. in 1839. A third John Doveton, who was educated at the Male Asylum, Egmore, served in the Nizam's army, attaining the rank of Captain. On his death in 1854 he left funds for the endowment of the Doveton Colleges of Madras and Calcutta.

'Mr. Fallofield,' and in that of 1822 'General R. Lang.' Ross Lang, jun., entered the army in 1787, became Maj.-Gen. in 1813, and died in 1822.

Farran's Road, Pursewaukum, is so called after General Farran, who owned a house near the present Buckingham Mills. Charles Farran entered the army in 1788, and became Maj.-Gen. in 1837. In the map of 1822 his house is marked 'Colonel Farren,' and in that of 1837 'Major General Farron.'[1]

Flower's Road, Kilpauk, is probably named after Mr. Austin Flower, who was a resident of Madras between 1803 and 1822. In 1811 he was Clerk to the Justices, and later became also Clerk of the Peace and Collector of Assessment.

Gambier's Gardens, Adyar. In the map of 1822 this property is marked 'Mr. Jacob Nazar Shamier,' and in that of 1837 'Sir E. Gambier, Kt.' Sir Edward Gambier, then a puisne Judge of the Supreme Court, was Chief Justice from 1842 to 1850.

Gantz Road, Vyasarpadi, is so called after Mr. J. Gantz, who conducted a lithographic press in Popham's Broadway, and owned a house by the tank in 1837.

General Collins's Road, Vepery, derives its name from Edward Collins, who obtained a grant of ground in Vepery in 1803 (Grant No. 850). He entered the army in 1765, became Maj.-Gen. thirty years later, and died at Vepery in 1808 aged 75.

Graeme's Road, Nungumbaukum, takes its name from Henry Sulivan Graeme, who entered the civil service in 1797, and was a Member of Council for five years from 1823. At that time he owned 'The Mansion,' to which Graeme's Road leads from the Mount Road. The adjacent property called *Graeme's Gardens* is marked 'Mr. R. Clive' in the map of 1822, and 'Mr. Halliburton' in that of 1837.

Greenway's Road, Adyar, is named after Mr. Edward Croft Greenway, who in 1822 owned Serle's Gardens in the vicinity. He entered the civil service in 1797, and in 1811 was a puisne Judge of the Sudder Court. He received a grant of ground in San Thomé in 1807 (No. 1215 of 7th Aug.) and died at Mangalore in 1828.[2]

Hadow's Road, Nungumbaukum, takes its name from Mr. George John Hadow, who entered the civil service in 1805, and was Collector of Sea Customs in 1822. A house in that road known as 'Blenheim,' which has lately been demolished, is marked 'Mr. G. J. Haddow' in the map of 1822.

Hall's Road, Egmore, derives its designation from General Hamilton Hall or his widow.[3] The latter owned two houses in this road in 1837. 'Ottershaw' and 'East Nook' were also her property. Hamilton Hall entered the service in 1781, became Lt.-Col. in 1807, and died at Trichinopoly in 1827 when commanding the southern division of the army.

Hanson's Gardens, Nungumbaukum, a property which has been cut out of the compound of Doveton House, is marked 'Col. Hanson' in the map of 1837. James Hanson is described as Major in 1822 when serving as D.A.Q.M.G. though he was not promoted to Captain's rank until 1824.

Harington's Road, Chetput, takes its name from William Harington, sen., who joined the civil service in 1784, and received in 1796 a grant of about 10 acres on the 'South side of the Spur Tank' (No. 182 of 11th June). In 1799 he was unemployed, and in 1803 was a partner in the firm of Harington, Burnaby & Cockburn.[1] He was restored to the service in 1813, and died in 1821. William Harington, jun., was appointed Writer in 1815.

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[1] Charles Farran married Miss Elizabeth Oliver in 1804.

[2] Edward Greenway married Miss Isabella Sulivan in 1805.

[3] Hamilton Hall married Flora Tondeclair at Poonamallee in 1795.

Hunter's Road, Vepery, formerly called Hunter Street, is named after Mr. John Hunter, who owned Hunter House in that thoroughfare; a building long since demolished. Hunter arrived at Madras as a free merchant in 1787, served as Cashier of the Carnatic Bank, and about 1795 became Secretary of the British Bank and one of its Directors. In 1796 he received a grant of an acre of land in Vepery (No. 171 of 22nd April), and in 1803 was head of the firm of Hunter & Hay, whose offices were in Fort St. George.

Ice House Road, Kistnampett, is named from the old Ice House, a lofty structure built on a sand-hill by the Beach about 1842 for the storage of natural ice imported by sea.

Jarrett's Gardens, Egmore. In 1798 this property occupied the whole space between Casamaijor's Road and the river, but by 1816 it had been split up into two compounds. The western of these is marked 'Mr. T. Jarret' in the map of 1822. The house on the property has lately been demolished. Thomas Jarrett, a civil servant on the Bencoolen establishment from 1791, was transferred to Madras in 1805. He returned to England in 1822 and died in 1837. In the almanac for 1837 Thomas Jarrett, jun., is mentioned among the attorneys, and in the map of that year 'Mr. Jarrett's Office' is shown in 'Odacaul or Moor' Street, Black Town.

John Pereiras, Georgetown. This squalid quarter of the native city is built on the site of the garden of João Pereira de Faria, an eminent Portuguese merchant of Negapatam, who settled in Madras in 1660 during the administration of Agent Chamber. Pereira's daughter Escolastica became the wife of Cosmo Lourenço Madera, and their son, Luis Madera or Madeiros, sometime an Alderman of Madras, owned the residence which forms the nucleus of the present Government House.

Landon's Gardens, Kilpauk. This fine property takes its name from Mr. James Landon, a civil servant of 1778. In the map of 1822 it is marked 'Col. C. McKenzie,' probably Colonel Colin Mackenzie of the Engineers, the distinguished surveyor and archæologist.

Leith Castle, San Thomé. The compound contains the ruins of San Thomé Redoubt, which were acquired at the end of the eighteenth century by Colonel Brathwaite. In a survey of 1805 the house is marked 'Mr. Parry's,' but the next property to the north is shown as 'Major Leith's.' James Leith entered the army in 1781, became Maj.-Gen. in 1825, and died at Madras in 1829 after serving as Judge Advocate General for nearly thirty years. In the map of 1822 the house appears as a circular fort, and is marked 'Mr. T. Parry's Castle.' In that of 1837 it has become pentagonal. Thomas Parry[2] came out as a free merchant in 1788, and in 1795 founded the firm of Thomas Parry & Co., afterwards designated Parry & Co.

Lushington's Gardens, Saidapett, includes part, if not the whole, of the site of Dr. Anderson's Nopalry, instituted in 1789. In 1796 a grant of about 6 acres in 'Tanampetta' adjacent to Saidapett, was made to 'Mr. S. R. Lushington'[1] (No. 170 of 6th April), but it could not have been the Nopalry, as that establishment subsisted until 1800. In the map of 1822 Lushington's Gardens is marked 'Moonia Pillay's Garden,' and in that of 1837 'General Campbell's or Botanic Garden.' Hence the present designation of the property must be derived from some other Lushington, possibly Charles May Lushington, who entered the civi service in 1801, and became a Member of Council in 1838.

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[1] William Harington, sen., married Miss Ann Collet in 1793.

[2] Thomas Parry married in 1794 Mary, daughter of James West, and widow of Thomas Pearce.

Mackay's Gardens, Nungumbaukum. This property is marked 'Mr. T. Parry' in the map of 1822, and in that of 1837 'Mr. J. B. Pharoah's Library.' The origin of its present designation has not been traced.

Mackay's Gardens, Poodoopauk, is one of the oldest properties in Madras, having been acquired in 1758 by George Mackay, then a free merchant of twenty years' standing. The house was built before 1761, when Mackay visited England. He returned to Fort St. George in 1766 as Assaymaster and j[illegible] Member of Council, and ten years later took part in the revolution. On his death the property passed to his son, who sold it to Nawab Walajah. In the maps of 1816 and 1822 it is shown as belonging to the Nawab, and in the map of 1837 it is marked 'Mackeys Gardens or Azeembaugh.' The present compound is much reduced from the dimensions it had in 1798.

Mahfuz Khan Street, Georgetown, formerly skirted a large square walled garden of the same name, situated on the west side of the middle section of Popham's Broadway. The garden, which is shown on the map of 1798, may have taken its designation from Mahfuz Khān, eldest brother of Nawab Walajah. In the map of 1837 it is marked 'Maupskhaun's Garden.'

Mansion, Nungumbaukum. This property formed part of Dr. Anderson's garden extension. In 1816 it was owned by Anderson's nephew, Dr. Andrew Berry, and between 1822 and 1837 belonged to Mr. H. Sulivan Graeme of the civil service.

Marine Villa, Chepauk, was originally within the Nawab's compound, and was doubtless built by Walajah. It is identified with the 'Nabob's Octagon' mentioned in 1792.

Marshall's Road, Egmore, which existed as a thoroughfare in 1798, takes its name from General J. Marshall, who in 1822 was Presidency Paymaster and owned the adjacent house now called 'East Nook.' Josiah Marshall entered the Madras army in 1790, and became Maj.-Gen. in 1837.

Maskelynetottam, Pursewaukum, is a parchery on the site of the house and compound of Capt. Edmund Maskelyne, Clive's brother-in-law. A Writer in 1746, Maskelyne was transferred to the military service, and in 1753 applied for ground to the west of Vepery. His property was purchased by Nawab Walajah in 1762. It was situated on the Pursewaukum High Road, and is shown on the map of 1798 as laid out with walks, trees, and ornamental water. By 1816 it had disappeared.

McNichol's Road, Chetput, existed in 1798 as an avenued highway for the greater part of its course from Spur Tank Road towards Poonamallee Road. It derives its name from Robert McNichol, who was Assistant Master Attendant between 1811 and 1822. In the map of 1822 'Sladen's Gardens' and an adjacent property abutting on McNichol's Road are lettered 'Capt. McNicole.'

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[1] Stephen Rumbold Lushington entered the civil service in 1790, married Miss Ann Harris, daughter of General Harris, in 1797, and left India in 1803, prior to retirement. Nearly a quarter of a century later he was appointed Governor of Madras, and served from 1827 to 1832.

Mint Street, Georgetown, takes its name from buildings at its north end, which, erected as a Powder Factory in the eighteenth century, were afterwards converted into the Mint. They are now used for the Government Press and for Medical Stores. In Thomas Pitt's time the southern portion of Mint Street was known as 'Washing Street.' In the map of 1837 the south, centre, and north sections of the thoroughfare are marked 'Nandar Coil,' 'Sauly,' and 'Mackey Mootea Modaly' respectively.

Monteith Road, Egmore, existed in 1798, but Monteith House was not built until after 1822. Down to 1816 or later the space between Monteith Road and Commander-in-Chief's Road was occupied by the two compounds of 'College Bridge House' and 'Ottershaw,' and a cross road divided those properties. Monteith House, which absorbed the cross road, is marked 'Col. Monteith' in the map of 1837. William Monteith entered the Madras Engineers in 1809, became Lt.-Col. in 1826 and Lt.-Gen. in 1854.

Moorat's Gardens, Nungumbaukum, appears as two compounds in the map of 1816. By 1822 they were united, and belonged to Mr. David Hill of the civil service, Paymaster of Carnatic Stipends. In the map of 1837 the property is marked 'Mr. Moorat.' Edward Samuel Moorat, a wealthy Armenian, son of Samuel Mookartish Moorat, owned the 'Old College,' the Pantheon, Umda Bagh, etc. He died in 1837, and was buried in the Roman Cathedral in Armenian Street.

Moore's Road, Nungumbaukum. This road, one of the earliest in Nungumbaukum, communicated with *Moore's Gardens*, which formed part of the ground absorbed by Dr. Anderson. Moore's Gardens is marked 'Dr. A. Berry' in the map of 1822, and 'Moor's Garden or Mr. R. Taylor' in that of 1837. It was probably so called after Mr. George Moore of the civil service, who was Civil Auditor in 1814, and died at Madras in 1834.

Morison's Gardens, Nungumbaukum, was the property of Colonel Morison, C.B., between 1816 and 1837. W. Morison entered the Madras Artillery in 1799, and became Lt.-Col. in 1827. In 1822 'Lt.-Col. W. Morison' is shown as Commissary-General.

Moubray's Gardens, Adyar. This fine house and noble park, now the premises of the Adyar Club, were established by Mr. George Moubray, who arrived in Madras in 1771 as Government Accountant, and became the first Accountant-General. In 1791 he was a Member of the Board of Revenue. He acquired 105 acres of land at 'St. Thomé' at a rental of Pags. 80, and built thereon a house which was known as 'Moubray's Cupola.' The grant, No. 100 dated 22nd June, 1790, was probably a confirmatory document, as Moubray retired to England in 1792. In the map of 1822 the property is marked 'Mr. J. De Monte or Moubray's Gardens.' John De Monte was a partner in the firm of Lys, Satur & De Monte.

Moubray's Road, Luz. The long road leading from Royapetta to Moubray's Gardens was a cart-track in 1798. By 1816 it was a well-kept thoroughfare, avenued for the greater part of its length. It is now one of the most beautiful highways of Madras.

Munro Bridge, Chetput, was named after Sir Thomas Munro, during whose governorship it was built.

Murray's Gate Road, Luz, leading from Moubray's Road to Dunmore House, is named after the Hon. Leveson Granville Keith Murray, son of the 4th Earl of Dunmore, who owned the house between 1822 and 1831. Mr. Murray entered the civil service in 1793, and in 1822 was Collector of Madras and Member of the Road Committee. He retired in 1831.

Napier's Gardens, Chetput. The site was agricultural land in 1816, but in the map of 1822 the property is enclosed and designated 'Mr. W. Lane,' and in that of 1837 it is marked 'Col. J. Napier.' Johnston Napier entered the Madras Army in 1800, became Lt.-Col. in 1824, and Bt.-Col. ten years later.

Naval Hospital Road, Vepery, skirted the east side of the Naval Hospital. The buildings were afterwards converted into the Gun Carriage Factory. The site is marked 'Naval Hospital' on the map of 1816. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the compound was private property, and contained the residence of Dr. Colley Lucas.

Nungumbaukum High Road was non-existent in 1798, the whole of the land around the village of Nungumbaukum being then under cultivation. There was a track from the site of the future Munro Bridge to the village, and a section of this path was utilized for the highway when it was laid out at some time before 1816.

Observatory, Nungumbaukum. This property was acquired by Government in 1791 from Mr. Edward Garrow. The house was enlarged to form a residence for the Astronomer, and a new building to serve as the Observatory was erected in the compound by Mr. Michael Topping. Both structures are depicted in the maps of 1798 and 1816, and in the latter the property is marked 'Observatory.' In the map of 1822, however, it is lettered 'Mr. Gwatkin,'[1] while the adjacent compound of the 'Albany'[2] is shown as 'Observatory.' It is surmised that the legends were erroneously transposed.

Old College, Nungumbaukum. As late as 1816 this compound formed part of Doveton House enclosure, then belonging to the estate of the late Mr. Benjamin Roebuck. The property was divided and the Old College house built before 1822, when it is marked 'Mr. S. Moorat.' Samuel Mookartish Moorat died in 1816, and in 1827 his son Edward Samuel Moorat sold the house and ground to Government, who transferred to it their College for junior civil servants. The building contained a spacious and lofty hall, which was long used for dramatic and other entertainments. The house is now occupied as the office of the Director of Public Instruction.

Old Lunatic Asylum, Pursewaukum, formerly stood at the junction of Pursewaukum High Road with Brick Kiln Road. It was built in 1793 by Dr Valentine Conolly. It is marked 'Lunatic Hospital' in the map of 1816, and 'Lunatic Asylum' in that of 1837. The edifice was demolished when the Asylum was transferred to larger premises in Kilpauk.

Olliver's Road, Luz, existed as a track in 1816, and was developed into a highway before 1822. It was probably named after Mr. J. Olliver, who in 1837 owned a house lying between the road and the Luz Church.[3] Serle's Gardens, Adyar, was also his property at that time.

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[1] Mr. John Gwatkin was then a Member of the Board of Trade.

[2] The Albany belonged in 1816 to Colonel Orr, but the house was built later. Alexander Orr entered the Service in 1780, was A.Q.M.G. in 1803, and retired in 1809.

[3] It may be noted that William Oliver, a civil servant of 1800, received a grant of ground in San Thomé in 1803 (No. 925 of 2nd Sept.). He was a Judge of the Sudder Court from 1826, and became a Member of Council in 1831.

Orme's Road, Kilpauk. The western portion only of this road existed in 1798, but the remainder was laid out before 1816. It probably takes its name from Mr. Robert Orme,[1] who in 1803 was Company's Solicitor and Clerk to Sir Benjamin Sulivan. In 1811 he was also Clerk of the Crown. He owned property in Pursewaukunf (Grants Nos. 874, 876, and 879).

Ottershaw, Egmore. A residence on or near this site is shown in the map of 1733 as belonging to 'Mr. Torriano.' In 1822 the property was owned by 'Mrs. Gen. Hall.' General Hamilton Hall has been already mentioned in connection with Hall's Road, Egmore.

Pantheon, Egmore. This estate, which originally comprised 43 acres, and extended from Casamaijor's Road to the present Police Commissioner's Road, was granted in 1778 to Mr. Hall Plumer, civil servant and contractor (Grant No. 34 of 21st Aug.). He laid it out, and built a mansion. In 1789 or earlier the building was in use as 'Public Rooms' or 'Assembly Rooms,' and was subsequently designated the 'Pantheon.' In 1793 the property was acquired from Mr. Plumer by a committee of gentlemen formed to regulate the amusements of the settlement. The dramatic entertainments, balls, and dinner-parties which took place there were controlled by a Master of Ceremonies. In 1821, when a part of the extensive compound had been disposed of, the central portion, including the house, was sold to Mr. E. S. Moorat, and nine years later it was disposed of by him to Government. In the map of 1837 it is described as 'Pantheon or Collector's Cutcherry.' The house forms the nucleus of the present Central Museum. The *Pantheon Road* skirts the property.

Pater's Gardens, Triplicane, and *Pater's Road* leading thereto from the Mount Road, are shown on the survey of 1798. In the maps of 1816 and 1822 the property is marked 'Gen. J. Patter.' John Pater of the Madras Cavalry was Captain in 1784, became Major-General in 1805, and died at Madras a Lieutenant-General in 1817. The curious zenana-like court which now surrounds the house was non-existent during the General's lifetime.

Patullo's Road, Poodoopauk, connecting the Mount Road with White's Road, is shown on the map of 1798. It takes its name from Captain Patullo, who in 1822 owned the adjacent house called 'Hicks's Bungalow,' which now forms part of the Madras Club premises. Archibald Erskine Patullo entered the Madras Cavalry in 1802, became Captain in 1818, and died in 1824 when commanding the Body Guard.[2]

Popham's Broadway, Georgetown, was laid out about 1782 by Stephen Popham, Company's Solicitor, on marshy ground lying between Muthialpetta and Peddanaikpetta, which was granted him by Government for reclamation.

Presidency Magistrate's Courthouse, Egmore. This property is depicted on the survey of 1798 at what was then the termination of Pantheon Road. In the map of 1816 it is marked 'Mr. J. De Fries,' and in that of 1837, 'Old Police or Mr. Liddle.'

Pugh's Gardens, Adyar. The house, which was built after 1816, was in 1822 the property of Mr. James Minchin. In the map of 1837 it is marked 'Mr. Pugh.' This was probably Mr. Joseph Pugh, owner of Bishops Gardens, Adyar, who in 1816 was head of the firm of Pugh & Breithaupt. In 1837

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[1] Robert Orme married Miss Margaret Sowle in 1804.

[2] Archibald Patullo married Isabella, daughter of James Brodie, in 1820.

'Messrs. Pugh & Co.' had their offices at Parry's Corner. *Pugh's Road* led from Chamier's Road to the river, and gave access to Pugh's Gardens.

Pugh's Gardens, Teynampett. The house, which has long been occupied by Bishops of Madras, was erected after 1816. In 1822 it was the property of Messrs. Lys, Satur & De Monte. Nothing has been traced which would connect it with Mr. Pugh, but in the map of 1837 it is marked 'Mr. Poe or Col. Waugh.' Mr. Poe owned Sudder Gardens in 1822.

Pycroft's Gardens, Nungumbaukum. This property is identified as part of the area originally granted in 1778 to Dr. Anderson, and there is little doubt that the Physician-General built the house, and occupied it till his death in 1809. The demesne was then acquired by Mr. George Garrow, the Accountant-General, a civil servant of 1794. Garrow placed it at the disposal of Government for the use of the College of Fort St. George. On the transfer of that establishment in 1827 to the 'Old College' building, Anderson's house again became a private residence, and after occupation by Dr. Annesley of the Medical Board, passed to Sir Thomas Pycroft. The latter, who entered the civil service in 1829, was stationed at the Presidency from 1845, and became a Member of Council in 1862. He gave his name to *Pycroft's Road*, Triplicane.

Quibble Island, Adyar. This extensive area to the south of San Thomé was originally an island, formed by two branches of the Adyar River. The northern branch is now cut off from the main stream, but part of it exists as a backwater. Two properties are shown on it in the survey of 1798. In the map of 1816 it is marked 'Quibble Island,' but the whole area is left blank. The designation, whose source is unknown, is found in grants of 1808 and 1809 (Nos. 1255, 1277, and 1278).

Royal Hotel, Poodoopauk. This property is shown in the survey of 1798. In the map of 1816 it is marked 'Col. Caldwell,' and in that of 1822 'Ravanapah Chetty.' General James Lillyman Caldwell, G.C.B., entered the Madras Engineers in 1789, served through the Mysore campaigns, and became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1811, and General in 1854.[1] He planned St. George's Cathedral, his design being executed by Major de Havilland.

Rundall's Road, Vepery, was formed between 1798 and 1816. Its designation is perhaps due to Colonel Charles Rundall, who entered the army in 1800, became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1830, and died at Madras in the following year.[2] He occupied the post of Military Auditor-General in 1822.

Serle's Gardens, Adyar. This house, which was built after 1816, was in 1822 the property of Mr. Edward Greenway. In the map of 1837 it is marked 'J. Olliver, Esq., or N. B. Ackusworth, Esq.' Its present designation is probably due to William Ambrose Serle, who was Registrar of the Supreme Court about 1845.

Sherman's Road, Vepery, is believed to derive its name from John Standiver Sherman, who acquired ground in Vepery in 1809 (Grant No. 1308). In 1795 he owned a tavern in Stringer Street, Blacktown. In the almanac of 1803 he appears as 'Inhabitant of Vipery,' and in that of 1837 as following no occupation. He owned property in Nungumbaukum in 1822, and probably gave his name to *Sherman's Gardens* in that neighbourhood.

Sladen's Gardens, Kilpauk. A small house occupied the site in 1798. In the map of 1822 the property is marked 'Captain McNicole,' and in that of 1837

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[1] James L. Caldwell married Mrs. Jeanne Baptiste Johnston in 1794.

[2] Charles Rundall married Miss Henrietta Bell in 1809.

'Dr. Sladen.' Ramsay Sladen, who entered the medical service in 1819, eventually became Surgeon-General.

Spring Gardens, Nungumbaukum, appears to have been built after 1816. The property is marked 'Mr. Sherman' in the map of 1822, and 'Rev. Mr. Spring' in that of 1837. The Rev. F. Spring was then one of the chaplains serving at the Presidency.

Sterling's Road, Nungumbaukum, shown as a cart-track in 1816, takes its name from the former owner of an adjacent property, which is marked 'Mr. L. K. Sterling' in the map of 1822, and is now called Nabob's Gardens. Luke Hauteville Sterling, a subaltern of H.M.'s 74th Regiment, came to Madras in 1791, exchanged sword for quill, and became in 1799 Sealer of the Recorder's Court. In 1803 he was Sealer of the Supreme Court and Clerk to Sir Thomas Strange. He acquired ground in Nungumbaukum and Chetput (Grant No. 1257 of 6th July, 1808), and also owned property in Peter's Road, Royapetta. In 1822 he was one of the Sessions Justices.[1]

Stowe Hall, Vepery. This property, which is shown on the survey of 1798, is marked 'Mr. Dent' in the map of 1816, and 'Mr. C. Dent' in that of 1822. From an advertisement of 1793 in the *Madras Courier* it is judged that the house originally belonged to Mr. Cotton Bowerbank Dent, a civil servant of 1763.

Stringer's Street, Georgetown, is named after Mr. James Stringer, who was appointed Master Bricklayer in 1763. He owned a house in Stringer's Street, Blacktown, one of the thoroughfares laid out by Popham. In 1782 he complained of damage done by the King's troops to his house in Vepery. Stringer died in 1787 after twenty-four years' service. His tombstone describes him as 'Superintendent of Public Buildings, H.E.I.C.S.' In 1809 four grants of land in Vepery were made to James Stringer, jun., who died in 1822. It is uncertain whether father or son gave his name to *Stringer's Street*, Vepery.

Sudder Gardens, Luz, was private property in 1798, but no house was built until after 1816. In the map of 1822 it is marked 'Mr. Poe,' and in that of 1837 'Sadr Udalut Court.'

Sulivan's Gardens, Luz. A substantial house and ornamental grounds are shown in the survey of 1798. The property is believed to derive its name from Sir Benjamin Sulivan, Advocate-General, and afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court, who is known to have resided at the Luz in the eighteenth century. In the map of 1822 the demesne is marked 'Sydahmud Bauhder,' and in that of 1837 'Sullivan's Gardens or Mr. De Silva.'

Sydenham's Garden, Vepery, outside the north-west angle of the present People's Park, is so marked on the map of 1816. It takes its name from William Sydenham, who was for many years Town Major of Madras. He entered the army in 1768, and died a Major-General and Commandant of Artillery in 1801. *Sydenham Road* leads to the garden from Poonamallee Road.

Taylor's Road, Kilpauk, was laid out between 1798 and 1816. It probably takes its name from Mr. James Taylor, jun., who received a grant of 11 acres in Chetput in 1800 (No. 331 of 18th April). James Taylor entered the civil service in 1795, was Superintendent of the Investment in 1802, and became a Member of Council in 1828. He retired in 1833.

Thousand Lights, Poodoopauk. The compound, containing two buildings, is first shown in the map of 1816, and is lettered 'Nabob'; but the singular windowless edifice, built with insets, which adapts itself to the extreme angle between the Mount Road and Peter's Road, was not erected till later. In the map of 1837 the property, containing a Moslem graveyard, is marked 'Thousand Lights.'

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[1] Luke Sterling married Miss Mary Floyer in 1807.

Tulloch's Gardens, Nungumbaukum, appears to have formed part of the area originally granted to Dr. Anderson in 1778. The house is depicted on the map of 1816. In 1822 the property is marked 'Mr. Haliburton,' and in 1837 'Col. Tulloch.' Alexander Tulloch entered the army in 1803, was Captain and Deputy Assistant Commissary-General in 1822, and became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1836.

Umda Bagh, Poodoopauk. This imposing mansion, standing on the river-bank, is depicted in the survey of 1798. Under grants of 1807 and 1810 (Nos. 1228 and 1320) it became the property of 'Colah Singanah Chitty,' whose name is attached to it in the maps of 1816 and 1822. In that of 1837 it is lettered 'Mr. E. S. Moorat.' During the latter part of the nineteenth century it was occupied by the Begum of the last titular Nawab of the Carnatic.

Umpherston Street, Georgetown, is one of the thoroughfares laid out by Stephen Popham about 1782. It probably takes its name from Thomas Umpherston, a coach-builder, who is mentioned in 1792 as a resident of Black Town. In the map of 1837 the street name has degenerated to 'Humpherson's.'

Victoria Hotel,[1] Egmore. This property, which is shown on the survey of 1798, was long the residence of the Commander-in-Chief, who gave his official designation to the adjacent road. In 1822 the estate belonged to Mr. L. De Fries, and in the map of 1837 it is marked 'Mr. Angelo or Com.-in-Chief.'

Westcott's Road, Poodoopauk, derives its name from Mr. George Westcott, who entered the civil service in 1764. He was son of Foss Westcott, one of the commissioners appointed to receive Madras from the French in 1749. Between 1799 and 1803 George Westcott was senior member of the Board of Trade. In 1795 and 1797 he acquired about six acres of land in Poodoopauk (Grants Nos. 165, 225, and 226), and the map of 1816 attaches his name to a house on the site of Kobe Lodge in Westcott's Road. He died at Madras in 1809.

Whannell's Road, Vepery, was constructed between 1798 and 1816, and was named after Major Peter Whannell, who owned a house which formerly stood at the angle between this road and Poonamallee Road. The edifice is marked 'Col. Wannel' in the map of 1837. Peter Whannell, who was Military Auditor-General in 1822, became Major in 1832, and died at Madras in 1854, aged seventy-six.

White's Road, Poodoopauk, dates from the eighteenth century. It derives its present name from Mr. J. D. White, who obtained a grant of ground in Poodoopauk in 1809 (No. 1281), and built the house which forms the nucleus of the Madras Club. The map of 1822 marks the property 'Mr. J. White.'[2] White's Road skirts the south side of the club premises.

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[1] Madras hotel proprietors who move to other houses frequently carry the old place-names with them. The present Victoria Hotel was formerly the Royal Hotel, and the existing Royal was originally the Branch Elphinstone.

[2] Grants of 1809 (Nos. 1271 and 1274) allude to 'Doctor White's Garden' in Poodoopauk.

Wood's Road, Poodoopauk, takes its name from Mr. Edward Wood, who entered the civil service in 1800. In 1811 he was Registrar of the Sudder Court, and in 1822, when Chief Secretary to Government, owned the house which is now the Castle Hotel. Wood's Road, connecting the Mount Road with Pater's Road, skirts the compound.

Yeldham's Road, Teynampett, was laid out before 1816. It is named after Mr. Richard Yeldham, a free merchant, who in 1801 was the last of a long line of Mayors of Madras. In 1803 he was a Commissioner for the Recovery of Small Debts and 'Muster Master of the King's Troops,' and in 1811 was Treasurer of the Government Bank. He acquired one and a half acres of ground in Teynampett in 1796 (Grant No. 206), and built the residence now called Luz House. The map of 1837 marks the property 'Yeldham's Garden or Mr. De Fries.' Yeldham died at Madras in 1820 aged sixty-eight.

NOTES AND ERRATA

VOL. I.

Bibliography, pp. ix-xvi. Add the following:—

Munro, Innes. Narrative of the Military Operations on the Coromandel Coast against . . . Hyder Ally Cawn, 1780-84. 1789.

Trial of Avadanum Paupiah, Brahmin, Dubash to John Hollond, Esq. . . . at the Quarter Sessions held at Fort St. George . . . July, 1792. Reprint, Madras, 1825.

Introduction, pp. 1–8. Besides the acknowledgments made in the Introduction, the further thanks of the writer are due to Mr. William Foster, C.I.E., for reading the proof-sheets of this work, and communicating many useful hints in connexion with them. Acknowledgment is also made of fresh help rendered by Miss E. Sainsbury in tracing facts in the Court Books and other records. Indebtedness is, moreover, acknowledged to Mr. S. Charles Hill for information given on a variety of topics; to Miss Winifred Love for assistance in the compilation of the Index; and to Mrs. Frank Penny for permission to employ her valuable annotated transcript of Vestry records entitled *Marriages at Fort St. George*, of which extensive use has been made.

Page 7. *For* Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya *read* the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, *and for* Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson *read* the late Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson.

Pages 77, 78. The name 'Jaga' in *O.C.*, Nos. 2005, 2006, 27th Oct., 1646, should perhaps read Taga (for Tiyāga).

Page 89, line 32. Mackenzie writes of C. V. Boria in 1817: 'The connexion then [1796] formed with one person, a native and a Bramin, was the first step of my introduction into the portal of Indian knowledge: devoid of any knowledge of the languages myself, I owe to the happy genius of this individual the encouragement and the means of obtaining what I so long sought.' And in a note he describes him as: 'The lamented C. V. Boria, a Bramin, then almost a youth, of the quickest genius and disposition, possessing that conciliatory turn of mind that soon reconciled all sects and all tribes to the course of enquiry followed with these surveys.' (Introduction to Wilson's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection.*)

Page 90, note 8. The primary meaning of *mounza* is village. (*Cf.* vol. ii., p. 290, *n.* 5.)

Page 185, line 8. *For* Employing Mr. Winter *read* [? not] Employing Mr. Winter.

Page 187, line 11.
Page 188, line 18. } *For* 1787 *read* 1789.

Page 212, line 13.
Page 212, note 2. } Unless there were two Nawabs named Sayyid Mīr Ja'far, the death mentioned in *O.C.*, No. 2983, 30th July, 1663, must be that of Mīr Jumlah or his successor. Sayyid Mīr Ja'far was alive thirteen years later (*O.C.*, No. 4215, 23rd July, 1676, quoted on p. 356).

Page 216, note 2. *For* The Free Guard was the portion of the garrison off duty *read* The Free Guard was the portion of the garrison next for duty.

Page 222, note 4. *For* William Whitefield *read* Thomas Whitefield.

Page 325, note 2. *For* Neknām Khān *read* Mūsā Khān. It is true that Langhorn states in a letter to de la Haye of March, 1673 (quoted on p. 351), that the cowle for Triplicane was renewed by 'le vieux Nabob'—*i.e.*, Neknām Khān—but Triplicane is not mentioned in Neknām's cowle of 1672. The village was, however, specifically granted by Mūsā Khān in July, 1672.

Page 444, line 18. *For* Mr. Proby *read* Mrs. Proby. She was probably the widow of Charles Proby.

Page 481, line 3. 'Tea Caitae,' perhaps for Catty, from Malayo-Javanese *kālī* or *katī*, a measure of weight. (1⅓ pounds). whence Caddy, a box for holding tea.

Page 481, line 4. 'Pecull,' picul, a measure of weight, equivalent to 100 catties (133⅓ pounds).

Page 506, line 3. For *Fort St. George Consultation* read *The Company to Fort St. George.*

Page 535, line 9. 'Sevagees forces' in 1688—*i.e.*, the Marāthas. Sivājī himself died in 1680.

Page 553, line 23. *For* Edward Mountague *read* Edmund Mountague.

VOL. II.

Page 21, note 1. *For* Vasalāvada *read* Vasalavāda.

Page 110, note 2. *For* 1712 *read* 1711.

Page 180, line 20. *For* Beetle and Toddy Farm *read* Beetle and Tobacco Farm.

Page 181, note 1. *For* 1688 *read* 1684. Richard Farmer was transferred from Bengal to Madras about 1686.

Page 194, line 29.
Page 258, line 19. } The identity of Sunku Rāma and Sunku Venkaṭāchalam is determined by *P.C.*, vol. lv., 4th May, 1725, where Māhādeva complains of 'Suncavencatachelum,' while the Government describe the person complained of as 'Suncaramah.' The identity is confirmed by comparison

of *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 14th Jan., 17$\frac{29}{30}$, with *P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 12th Aug., 1734. In the first of these proceedings 'Sunca Ramah' is permitted to acquire a house in White Town under certain conditions of redemption. In the second those conditions are enforced against 'Sunca Vencatachulum.'

Page 281, line 9. 'Sahib Jadda' for *Ṣāḥib-zāda*, young gentleman. In a little book entitled *The Trial of Avadanum Paupiah, Bramin, Dubash to John Holland, Esq. . . . at the Quarter Sessions held at Fort St. George . . . July,* 1792, which was brought to the writer's notice by Mr. H. R. Farmer, late I.C.S., the following words occur on p. 32: 'Ram Row carried me to Saib Zaddah (or Nabob's eldest son), and thence to Mr. Haliburton's Garden.'

Page 294, note 2. The house in Charles Street probably belonged to James Barton, a seafaring man, whose name appears in the *List of Inhabitants* of 1740. Augustus Burton owned a house in St. Thomas Street.

Page 303, line 20. Antonia de Carvalho da Silva is described in 1719 as the granddaughter of John Pereira. (*Cf.* p. 168.)

Page 324, note 1. 'Herba' was tussore silk, as is pointed out by Sir Richard Temple in the *Diaries of Streynsham Master.*

Page 428, note 3. Of Clive's officers at Arcot, Bulkley, Revel, Glass, and Morrice belonged to the army, while Pybus, Trenwith, Dawson, and Turner were volunteers from the civil service. Philip Bulkley was killed at Conjeveram in 1751. Robert Revel, previously a sergeant, was commissioned for Clive's expedition.[1] Philip Glass and Sampson Morrice came out as Assistants to Benjamin Robins, and were subsequently commissioned. It has been ascertained by Mr. S. Charles Hill that the Christian names of Dawson and Turner were probably George and Charles respectively. George Dawson joined as Writer as late as July, 1751; Charles Turner dated from 1747. Richard Turner of the civil service could not have taken part in the expedition, as he died before August, 1751.

Page 465, line 24. The statement that the Portuguese and Armenian cemeteries were not restored until 1772 contains an inaccuracy, for the Armenian ground was delivered to the community in 1764. (*Cf.* p. 576.)

Page 515, note 1. Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān is said to have been a Hindu of the Vellala caste. Adopting a Moslem appellation, he was commonly known as the Nellore Subahdar, on account of his early service in the district of that name.

Page 570, note 1. Samuel De Castro and John Smith, freemen, appear to have arrived in 1749 and 1750 respectively, and not as stated in the footnote. Moses De Castro followed in 1766, and Daniel De Castro is mentioned in 1768. In 1760 there were four persons named John Smith at Madras, three of whom were civil servants—viz., John Smith, Councillor, whose service dated from 1740; John Smith, Senior Merchant, of 1752; and John Lewin Smith, of 1752. John Smith, freeman, officiated as Organist. For the date of Samuel Troutback's shipwreck *vide* p. 578 (Notes and Errata, vol. iii., p. 60, *n.* 4).

Page 611, lines 31, 32. *For* Dēwānkhāna *read* Dīwānkhāna.

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[1] *F. St. D. Cons.*, 9th Sept., 1751.

VOL. III.

Page 10, lines 15 and 17. John Smeaton, James Brindley, and Robert Mylne, mentioned by Hastings, were the leading engineers of the day. Smeaton was then connected with Ramsgate Harbour, and Mylne had just completed Blackfriars Bridge.

Page 12, lines 9 and 10. The Hon. George Monson, of the Bengal Council, was the Colonel Monson who served with Draper's Regiment at the sieges of Madras and Pondicherry, and in the Manila expedition. He was third son of the first Lord Monson.

Page 14, line 37. Apropos to the 'Regulations concerning the Hire of Servants' made in 1770; the observations of Innes Munro, written ten years later, may be quoted: 'The numerous band of servants that a gentleman is obliged to keep in this country occasions an immense expense in the support of a family. . . . No person considers himself as comfortably accommodated without maintaining a Dubash at four pagodas per month, a Butler at three, a Peon at two, a Cook at three, a Compradore at two, and kitchen boy at one pagoda; and as in India no man will put his hand to any business but his own, an Hairdresser and a Barber at half a pagoda each, with a Tailor occasionally at three pagodas must be had; to which add nine Palanquin boys at one and an half pagodas each, and an Horsekeeper and Grasscutter at two pagodas, and the amount of servants alone will be thirty-six pagodas, or 14*l.* 8*s.* sterling per month, without including the expenses of a horse or zenana.'

Page 58, line 22. The Hon. Edward Monckton (1744–1832) was fifth son of the first Viscount Galway.

Page 60, note 4. Samuel Troutback is shown in the *List of Inhabitants* for 1773 as having 'Arrived 14 Nov. 1719; Shipwrecked near Sadras, and remains in India.' The *King George* was at Madras on the 13th November, 1721, and was lost near Sadras on the following day (*cf.* vol. ii., p. 206). Consequently the year quoted in the *List of Inhabitants* must be erroneous.

Page 69, line 36. The 'Phirmaund from the Emperor Shaw Allum' was the grant of 1765. The Emperor Shāh 'Ālam must not be confused with Prince Shāh 'Ālam, who ascended the throne in 1707 as Bahādur Shāh.

Page 135, line 4. For *Captain J. Manoury* read *Captain I. Manoury.*

Page 135, line 32. *For* Braithwaite *read* Brathwaite.

Page 135, note 1. The 'Annacutta' mentioned in the text lay parallel to, not athwart, the river channels. Its purpose was to separate the Cauvery from the Coleroon at a point where there was risk of their coalescing.

Page 137, line 16. William Harcourt Torriano was seventeen years of age when he entered the civil service in 1766. He could not therefore have been a son of George Torriano, who died in 1741 (*cf.* p. 61).

Page 137, line 34. The Hon. Basil Cochrane was a younger son of the eighth Earl of Dundonald.

Page 234, line 12. A. F. Frank is probably identical with the Frederick Frank mentioned on p. 138 and p. 450, *n.* 1, as having come out in 1761. In the *List of Inhabitants* of 1786, however, Anthony Frederick Frank is shown as having arrived from Colombo in 1765.

Page 320, line 16. Charles Floyer, who was ordered to England after the revolution of 1776, was ultimately restored to the service. Miss Sainsbury has ascertained that he returned to Madras in 1786, sat in Council, and a few months later became Chief at Masulipatam. From this position he was dismissed, and he finally left India in 1789.

Page 323, note 2. In regard to houses on Choultry Plain, Innes Munro writes as follows in 1780: 'Every gentleman of note has a house upon *Choultry Plain*, which from being formerly a sandy desert, is now become a most beautiful retreat. I suppose there are not less than five or six hundred garden houses scattered upon these grounds, all within a circle of six or seven miles, and none above three miles from the garrison: nor is it easy to determine which of them is the handsomest. The houses are most of them two stories high, and appear as if supported upon elegant pillars of various orders. The apartments are generally up stairs, and on one floor; those below being used as cellars, kitchens, etc. Piazzas are constructed all round the house, both above and below, which keep it extremely cool and pleasant the whole day long.'

Page 348, line 19. *For* Walter *read* William.

Page 348, line 24. George Forster published in 1798 an account of his travels, entitled *Journey from Bengal to England through Northern India, Kashmire, Afghanistan, Persia, and Russia in* 1783-84.

Page 444, note 2. *For* John Dieurstedt *read* Eric Dieurstedt.

Page 448, note 2. Cameron Street may derive its name from David Cameron, who kept a Black Town tavern in 1786.

Page 448, note 7. Thomas and James Umpherston were brothers, who came to Madras in 1782 and 1787 respectively. They kept a shop in the Fort until they lost their permit through breach of Government orders. In 1795 they were trading to Ceylon.

Page 470, line 5. In regard to General Mathews's fate, Innes Munro, writing in 1784, says: 'General Mathews, with all the captains of the hundredth regiment, and other officers of distinction, had been forced to swallow poison; of which they all expired, at Seringapatam, in a manner too horrid for relation.'

Page 473, line 12. Nathaniel Edward Kindersley published, in 1774, *Specimens of Hindoo Literature, consisting of Translations from the Tamoul Language, with Notes.*

Page 481, line 29. *For* John *read* Eric.

Page 492, note 3. 'James Stewart,' whose name is so spelt in Burke's *Peerage*, was Major-General James Stuart. He commanded the Bombay force at Seringapatam in 1799, and became Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army in 1801 (*cf.* p. 76, *n.* 2).

Page 507, line 31. George Taswell resigned the office of Master Attendant in 1781 (*cf.* p. 269). Miss Sainsbury has ascertained from the Court Books that his reappointment was sanctioned by the Directors in 1796, and that he entered on his duties in 1797 after an interval of sixteen years. He retained the appointment until 1810.

Page 539, note 3. George Arbuthnot and John De Monte both appear to hav joined the firm of Francis Lautour & Co. The statement that Lys Satur & De Monte became Arbuthnot & Co., is consequently no strictly correct. On Lautour's retirement, his house was renamed Arbuthnot, De Monte & Co. (*cf.* p. 509, *n.* 1).

Page 561, note 3. Charles Binny (or Binney), who arrived in 1769 withou licence, is probably identical with the Charles Binny who came out i 1778 as Rumbold's Private Secretary (*cf.* p. 142).

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